THE

APPARATUS

TO THE

HISTORY

OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT.

BEFORE we enter upon the *Hiſtory* of the (*a*) *Holy Bible*, it may not be improper to enquire a little into the *Truth* and *Authority*, the *Perfection* and *Excellency*, the *Antiquity*, *Stile*, and other Properties of that Part of it, which we call the *Old Teſtament* (for what we have to ſay concerning the *New* muſt be reſerv'd to another Place) the *Number*, and *Nature* of the Books, whereof it is compos'd, and the ſeveral *Tranſlations*, and other incidental *Changes*, which, ſince the Time of it's Publication, it has undergone. And this we are the rather induc'd to do, becauſe a bolder Spirit of *Infidelity* than uſual, has, of late, gone out into the World; teaching *ſome*, to look upon all Religion, as a mere *Trick*, contriv'd by the *Arts* of *Princes*, and conſerv'd by the *Intereſt* of *Prieſts*; others, to call in Queſtion the *Genuineneſs* of ſome particular Books of Scripture, thereby to make way for the Subverſion of the *whole*; others, to diſparage the *whole*, as a *rude* and *immethodical*, a *flat* and *inſipid* Compoſition, un-

(*a*) The Books, which we look upon as the Foundation of our holy Religion, go under different Names. They are ſtiled *Sacred* and *Divine Books*, *Holy Writ*, and *Holy Scriptures*, becauſe they were wrote by Perſons divinely inſpir'd, and do contain the Commandments of God himſelf. Our *Saviour* calls them *the Scriptures* by way of Eminence, becauſe no other Book is comparable to them. Several of the Ancients gave them the Name of *Pandect*, and *Bibliotheca Sancta*, as containing all the Tracts, which were wrote upon the ſame divine Subject. Of later Ages the Word *Bible*, (which comes from the *Greek* Βιβλία, ſignifying *Books*) has univerſally prevailed; but how the Word *Teſtament* came to be applied to the Holy Scriptures, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to define; only we may obſerve, that the *Septuagint*'s uſing the Word Διαθήκη, (which ſignifies a *Teſtament*) might probably induce the *Latin* Interpreter to tranſlate it by *Teſtamentum*: But then we muſt remember, that this Word muſt not be us'd in its ordinary Senſe, as it means a Man's *laſt Will*, that is to be executed after his Death; but, in a more general Signification, to denote a *ſolemn Declaration* of the *Will* of God towards Men, containing his Laws, his Precepts, his Promiſes, and the Covenant which he has contracted with them. And for this Reaſon it is likewiſe call'd by the *Latins*, *Inſtrumentum*, i. e. an authentick *Deed*, containing ſolemn Ordinances, or Treaties, and Compacts. The Books, which comprehend what God reveal'd to the *Jews*, are called *the Old*, and thoſe, which contain what he declared by *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his Apoſtles, are ſtiled *the New Teſtament*. *Du Pin*'s Hiſt. of the Canon, &c.

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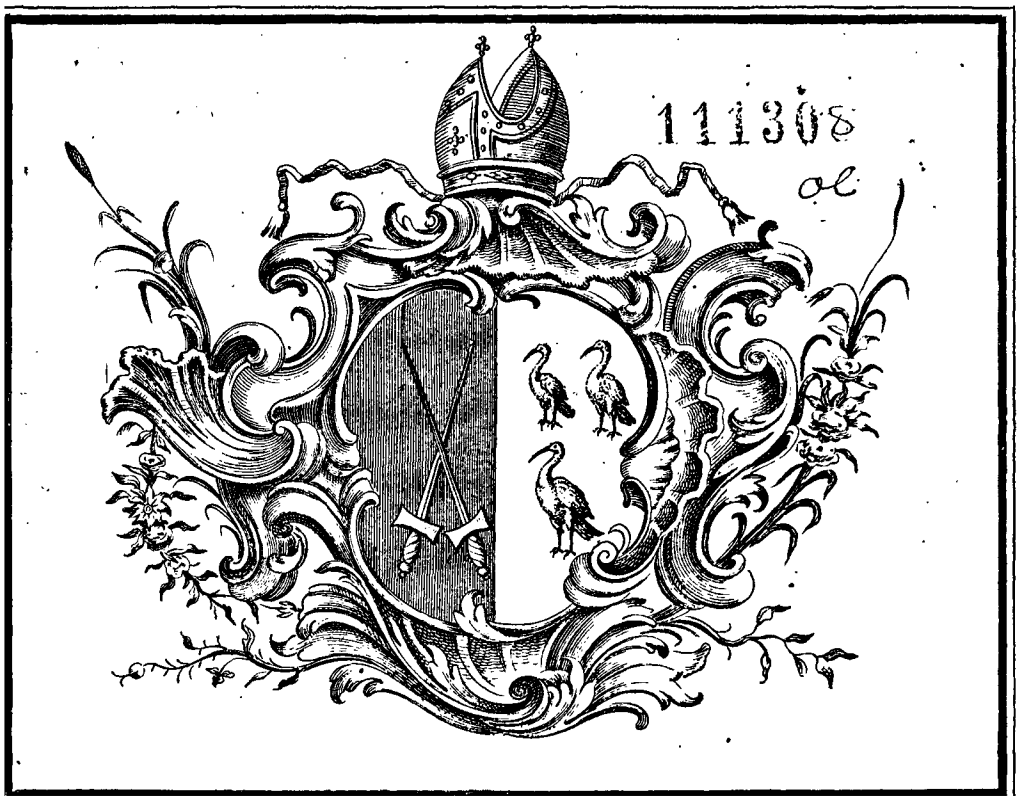
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TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

EDMUND,

Lord Biſhop of *LONDON*,

AND ONE OF

His MAJESTY's Moſt Honourable PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

THAT a Book of this Size, by a Perſon of my Obſcurity, ſhould, in ſo ſhort a Space of Time, after ſo large a Number already printed off, come to its ſecond Impreſſion, muſt be imputed very much to the Influence of your Lordſhip's Name in the Front,

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Front, which is of Weight ſufficient to ſtamp Authority upon any Thing, and to induce both Clergy and Laity to read what your Lordſhip has not diſdain'd to approve.

THERE is ſomething however, I hope, in the Laudableneſs of my Intention, which, in Conjunction with your Lordſhip's Influence, has been a Means to conciliate the good Opinion of the Publick, and to give the Work a greater Currency: For the Deſign of what I now preſent to your Lordſhip, is, ſo to methodize, explain, and illuſtrate the *Hiſtorical Part* of the HOLY BIBLE, as to remove the *Difficulties* in Reading it, which ſome have aſſerted, and others complained of, with an Intent, I fear, to prejudice the World againſt it: And were I under no previous Obligations to your LORDSHIP, the very Nature of my Subject would remit me to *One*, who has always been a known Encourager of Works of this Kind, and who has himſelf ſo glorioufly maintained the *Truth* and *Authority* of thoſe *Sacred Records*, and both the *Evidences* and *Excellency* of the Chriſtian Diſpenſation.

SINCE it is our Fate, my LORD, to live in an Age wherein Divine *Revelation* is rejected, the Senſe of antient *Propheſies* perverted, the *Miracles* of our Bleſſed Saviour degraded, the *Myſteries* of our Holy Religion ridiculed, its *Laws* and *Conſtitutions* ſlighted, and its *Guides* and *Miniſters* treated with Deſpite; we ought to account

account it the peculiar Bleſſing of Heaven, that in this great *Metropolis*, we have One *preſiding* over us, who is ſo well qualified to withſtand this *Inundation* of Impiety, who is both able and willing to *vindicate* the Cauſe of God and Religion, and, by his Example and Encouragement, to *animate* us in Defence of it.

To you, my LORD, we owe a full *Confutation* of Infidelity in your Lordſhip's moſt excellent PASTORAL LETTERS. To you we owe that wiſe Syſtem of *Directions* for our private Conduct, and the honourable Diſcharge of our Miniſterial Office, which, if duly obſerved, would make *us unto God a ſweet Savour of Chriſt*, and a glorious *Clergy* indeed. To you we owe the Knowledge of our Eccleſiaſtical *Laws* and *Conſtitutions*, which your Lordſhip, with great Care, and Pains indefatigable, has digeſted and explain'd. To you we owe the Defence of thoſe *Immunities* and *Privileges*, and the Preſervation of thoſe *Rights* and *Poſſeſſions*, with which thoſe *Laws* and *Conſtitutions* have inveſted us. And (however other Tongues may be ſilent) my Gratitude, I hope, will always oblige me to declare, that to you I owe the preſent comfortable Leiſure I have for Study, and the Generous Encouragement your Lordſhip has always been pleaſed to give to my weak, but well-intended Labours.

WHATEVER then, my LORD, the Perverſeneſs of this *preſent* Generation may be, *future* Ages muſt be told, what an exquiſite Judge and Maſter of all uſeful Learning, what

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what a firm *Friend* to Men of Merit, what a true *Patriot* to your Country, what a zealous *Defender* of the *Chriſtian* Cauſe, what a wiſe *Guide* and *Governor* of *Chriſt's Church*, what a kind *Protector* of his Miniſters, and ſtrenuous *Aſſertor* of their *Rights* and *Privileges*, you have all along been; in how large a *Sphere* your Lordſhip, theſe many Years, has mov'd, and with what Luſtre you have always adorn'd it.

THAT the great *Giver of every Good and Perfect Gift* may long preſerve your Lordſhip, a publick Bleſſing to this Church and Nation, is the daily fervent Prayer of

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's

Moſt Humble,

Obliged, and

Beenham in *Berkſhire*,
7 *April*, 1744.

Devoted Servant,

THOMAS STACKHOUSE.

becoming the Spirit of God to dictate, or Men of *Letters* to read; and others again, from the pretended *Sufficiency* of *Natural Religion*, to deny the Neceſſity of any *Divine Revelation* at all.

A Divine Revelation what.

WHAT we are to underſtand by a *Divine Revelation* needs no great Pains to diſcover. (*b*) In the moſt ſimple and obvious Senſe of the Word, *Revelation* is the making that known, which was a Secret before; and ſo, when applied to a *Religious* Uſe, "'tis God's making known himſelf, and his Will to Mankind, over and above "what he has made known by the Light of Nature or Reaſon." To this Purpoſe we may obſerve, that the Objects of our Knowledge are of three Kinds: Some are diſcernable by the *Light* of Nature without Revelation; ſuch is the Knowledge of God from the Effects of his Power and Wiſdom, as (*c*) the Apoſtle argues: Others knowable, not at all by the Light of Nature, but by Revelation only; ſuch is the Salvation of Mankind by the Death of *Jeſus Chriſt*, (*d*) *which* (as the Apoſtle expreſſes it) *has, from the Beginning, been hid in God:* And others, diſcoverable by the Light of Nature indeed, but very *imperfectly*, and therefore ſtand in need of a Revelation to give them a farther Proof and Evidence; and of this kind is that (*e*) *Life and Immortality*, which (the ſame Apoſtle tells us) our Saviour *brought to Light by the Goſpel:* But now be the Revelation of what Degree ſoever, whether *partial* or *entire*, whether a total Diſcovery of ſome unknown Truths, or only a fuller, and clearer Manifeſtation of them, it muſt be *ſupernatural*, and proceed from God.

The Poſſibility *of God's making one.*

THAT God can make a *Revelation* of his Will, either *immediately* to our Minds and *inward* Faculties, or *mediately* to our Underſtandings, by the Intervention of our *outward* Senſes, can never be queſtion'd by any one, who conſiders him as the Author of his *Being*, and therefore intimately acquainted with all the Springs and Movements of his Soul. (*f*) We find ourſelves capable of communicating our Thoughts to one another, either by Means of a Sound of Words, which ſtrikes the *Ear*, or by Writing, or other Signatures of our Intentions, which affect the *Eye*; and why cannot God make uſe of the like Means to impreſs what Idea he thinks fit on our Minds, or to give ſuch Motions to the *Brain*, as may occaſionally excite whatever Thoughts he deſigns to produce in us? or rather indeed, why may not he, without any intermediate or occaſional Cauſe at all, enlighten the Mind by a direct and naked View of ſuch Truths, as he deſires it ſhou'd know? for (*g*) *he that planted the Ear*, and *he that formed the Eye*, ſhall not he have Acceſs to them? or ſhall not he have Power of communicating his Thoughts, *who teacheth Man Underſtanding?*

The Probability *that he did.*

SINCE therefore it cannot be denied, but that it is *poſſible* for God to reveal his Will to Mankind, let us, in the next Place, conſider, which is moſt *probable*, which moſt agreeable to the Notions we have of him, whether he *ſhou'd*, or *ſhou'd not*, make ſuch a Revelation. Now, if we may judge of this by the general Senſe of Mankind, we ſhall hardly find any one, that believed the Exiſtence of a God, who did not believe likewiſe ſome kind of *Commerce* and Communication between God and Men. (*h*) This was the Foundation of all the religious *Rites* and Ceremonies, which every Nation pretended to receive from their Gods: And, what gave Birth to all their ſuperſtitious Arts of Divination, was the Perſuaſion that their Gods had a perpetual Intercourſe with Men, and, by ſundry Means, gave them Intelligence of Things to come.

AND indeed 'tis hardly to be imagin'd, that God ſhou'd make reaſonable Creatures on purpoſe to know him, and to be happy in the Knowledge, and Love, and Admiration of him, and yet withdraw himſelf from them, without giving them any viſible Tokens of his Preſence, or communicating any farther Knowledge of himſelf to them, than what they might perceive in the *Reflexion* of his Works. A Deſire to be acquainted

(*b*) Biſhop *Williams*'s Serm. at *Boyle*'s Lect. (*c*) Rom. i. 20. (*d*) Eph. iii. 9. (*e*) 2 Tim. i. 10. (*f*) *Fiddes*'s Body of Divinity, Vol. I. xlix. 9. (*g*) Pſal. (*h*) Dr *Sherlock*'s Serm.

quainted with the Will of the *Supreme Being* ſeems to be ſo connatural to the Soul of Man, that, in the more civiliz'd Parts of the World, we ſcarcely know any People of Note, who had not their *Sibyls*, ſuch as they accounted the *Mouth* of their Gods; and, without all doubt, none were without an *Oracle*, to which, upon all Exigencies, they had Recourſe, and to whoſe Injunctions they willingly ſubmitted. And if *ſuch* a Deſire be implanted in us, the Conſideration of God's Goodneſs will not ſuffer us to doubt, but that he has made a proper Proviſion to anſwer *this*, as well as our other natural Appetites. Whereupon we cannot but conclude, that the ſame Power and Wiſdom, which made Man a *reaſonable and inquiſitive* Being, and allow'd him a World of Wonders to employ his intellectual Faculties in the Contemplation of, has likewiſe taken Care to ſatisfy that noble *Deſire* of knowing what the Will of his *Maker* is, and what relates to his own eternal Welfare: And that is *Revelation*.

WITHOUT this, indeed, the Caſe is with him, as with one, that is born blind, (*i*) who, whatever other Evidence he may have of the Being of a God, wants *one*, the moſt convincing of all, *i. e.* the Wonders of an Almighty Power, and incomprehenſible Wiſdom, conſpicuous in the *Frame* of Nature, and the viſible Parts of the Creation. And, in like manner, whatever Senſe ſuch Men, as have only Reaſon for their Guide, may attain of the Mercy and Goodneſs of God; whatever they may obſerve, in the Courſe of his Providence, to confirm them in the *Belief* of it; whatever Hopes they may entertain of it from a general Notion of the divine Nature; whatever *Deſire* they may have for it from the Senſe of their own *Miſery*; yet they want that *Evidence* of it, which alone can ſatisfy, and compoſe their *doubtful* and diſtracted Minds, and that is *Certainty*, or, which is the ſame, *Revelation*; by which, and nothing leſs, that *Certainty* is to be attain'd.

THE plain Truth is, if there be no Revelation, we are, as it were, *without God in the World*; and, conſidering the Nature of ſome *Events*, cannot aſſuredly ſay, whether the *Divine Providence* interferes in the Government of it, or *Fate* and *Chance happen to all Things* (*k*). If there be no *Revelation*, *we are ſtill in our Sins*, and have no Sanctuary againſt the Accuſations of our enrag'd Conſciences, the Fears of our guilty Minds, or the Juſtice of an incens'd Deity. If there be no *Revelation*, we have *no Hope*, can have no Comfort in our Death, nor any Aſſurance of Immortality after it. In a Word, if there be no *Revelation*, we are in a perpetual *Maze*, as if we were at Sea, without Star or Compaſs, and knew not what Courſe to take to gain our Harbour. And therefore the ſame Reaſon, which we have to believe that God is *good* and *gracious* in all his other Diſpenſations, we have to believe likewiſe, that, from the firſt Creation of the World, he always vouchſafed Mankind ſome *Revelation* of his Will, whereby to direct their Conduct. *The Neceſſity of his doing it.*

ADAM, no doubt, was created, at firſt, in the full Perfection of his Reaſon; and yet, if we take a View of him in that State, we ſhall ſoon perceive, that he cou'd not attain a competent Knowledge of many Things, without the Aſſiſtance of Divine Revelation. (*l*) He felt indeed himſelf to *be*, but how he came to *be*, he knew not; for he *To the Firſt Man.*

(*i*) Our excellent *Milton*, in that *Epiſode* upon *Light*, wherein he bewails his own Want of Sight, very feelingly, has expreſſed this Thought with a great deal of Tenderneſs and Beauty:

——— Thus with the Year
Seaſons return, but not to me return
Day, or the ſweet Approach of Ev'n or Morn,
Or Sight of vernal Bloom, or Summer's Roſe,
Or Flocks, or Herds, or human Face divine.
But Cloud inſtead, and ever-during Dark
Surrounds me, from the chearful Ways of Men
Cut off, and, for the Book of Knowledge fair,
Preſented with an univerſal Blank
Of Nature's Works, to me expung'd and raz'd,
And Wiſdom at one Entrance quite ſhut out.
BOOK III.

(*k*) Biſhop *Williams*'s Sermons at *Boyle*'s Lectures.

(*l*) *MILTON*, whom I take to be a good Commentator upon what happened to *Adam* in his State of Innocence, introduces him thus expreſſing himſelf;

My ſelf, I then perus'd, and Limb by Limb
Survey'd, and ſometimes went, and ſometimes ran
With ſubtle Joints, as lively Vigour led.
But who I was, or where, or from what Cauſe
Knew not: To ſpeak I try'd, and forthwith ſpake:
My

he ſaw nothing about him, that cou'd either be ſuppos'd to have given him that *Being*, or cou'd inform him how he came by it. He ſaw he had a Body, but what that Body was originally made of, he cou'd not poſſibly tell; for how cou'd he ſuppoſe, that ſuch warm, ſoft, and tender Fleſh, ſuch firm and well-compacted Joints, ſuch bright and radiant Eyes, &c. were ever form'd of cold, ſhapeleſs, and unactive Earth? He felt his Body move obſequious to his Will, but what that inward *Principle* was, which mov'd it, he was wholly ignorant, nor could he poſſibly, of himſelf, conceive, that there was an *immaterial* Spirit, of a diſtinct Nature and *Subſiſtence*, vitally united to it, and what gave the *Spring* to all its Motions. He caſt his Eyes up to the Heavens, and there ſaw that glorious *Luminary*, which gave Light (as he perceiv'd) to all about him; but whether it was an *intelligent* Being or no, or, when it came to decline and *ſet*, whether it might not be incloſed in perpetual Darkneſs, he cou'd not underſtand. He found, towards the Approach of Night, an heavy Stupidneſs begin to ſeize him, and that he was forc'd to ſubmit to its Power; but he did not know, but that it was to be the *Extinction* of his Being, and that he was to cloſe his *Eyes*, and conclude *his Life* together. This we may very well ſuppoſe to have been the Caſe of *Adam*, at his firſt looking about him, immediately upon his Creation. For, tho' he had, what we call Reaſon, in a *ſovereign* Degree, yet even that Reaſon muſt have been his Torment for a while, when it made him *inquiſitive*, but could give him no Satisfaction: And therefore it is proper to believe, (the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God conſtrain us to believe) that, in order to relieve him under this Perplexity, God took Care, either by the *Miniſtry* of his holy *Angels*, or by ſome immediate *Inſpiration*, and *Impreſſion*, to inform him of every Thing, that was neceſſary for him to know, in the State wherein he had placed him.

He had placed him now in a beautiful *Garden*, and given him great Variety of Fruits for his Nouriſhment and Support; but might not ſome of theſe Fruits be deſign'd for other Purpoſes than Food? or might they not have ſome bad and pernicious Qualities in them, how apparently fair ſoever, and inviting? (*m*) Without making the *Experiment*, it was impoſſible for *Adam* to know what Food was proper for his Conſtitution, which Experiment (for ought he knew) might have proved fatal to him; and therefore we find God giving him this Direction: (*n*) *Of every Tree in the Garden thou mayeſt freely eat, but of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil thou ſhalt not eat of it, for in the Day, that thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt ſurely die.*

He had placed him, naked and defenceleſs, in the midſt of ſavage Creatures, all able and inclin'd to deſtroy him, had they not been reſtrain'd by ſome inviſible Power; and, in this Condition, he muſt have been miſerable beyond all Imagination, and under perpetual Apprehenſions, that the firſt Lyon, or Tyger he met, wou'd certainly devour him; but, to eaſe his Mind in this Particular, we find God giving him Aſſurance to the contrary, and inveſting him with this Authority: (*o*) *Have Dominion over the Fiſh of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over every living Thing, that moveth upon the Earth.*

He had formed a Woman, to be a Conſort and Companion to him; but how he ſhould know any Thing of a future State of Marriage, and the Ties of *conjugal* Affection among his Poſterity, (*p*) (as his Words plainly indicate) how he ſhou'd have a perfect Notion of *Father* and *Mother*, before there was any ſuch Thing as Father and Mother in the World; ſhould have clear Ideas, of the Affection and Endearments ariſing from that Relation, and yet, at the ſame Time, ſhou'd perceive, that the Affection

My Tongue obey'd, and readily cou'd name
Whate'er I ſaw: "Thou Sun, ſaid I, fair Light!
"And Thou, enlighten'd Earth, ſo freſh and gay!
"Ye Hills, and Dales! ye Rivers, Woods, and Plains!
"And Ye, that live, and move, fair Creatures! tell,
"Tell (if ye ſaw) how came I thus, how here——
"Not of my ſelf—by ſome great Maker then,
"In Goodneſs and in Power pre-eminent.
"Tell me how may I know him, how adore,
"From whom I have, that thus I move, and live,
"And feel that I am happier than I know?"

BOOK VIII.

(*m*) Revelation examin'd. (*n*) Gen. ii. 16, 17.
(*o*) *Ibid.* i. 25. (*p*) *Ibid.* ii. 24.

fection and Endearments, ariſing from Marriage, wou'd ſo far get the better of them, as to attach a Man nearer to a *Stranger*, taken into his *Boſom*, than to thoſe very *Parents*, whoſe Blood ran in his Veins; is a *Problem*, which cannot be reſolved without having Recourſe to Divine Revelation; and therefore we find our Saviour thus expounding it: (*q*) *Have ye not read, that he, who made them in the Beginning, made them Male and Female; and ſaid, for this Cauſe ſhall Man leave Father and Mother, and ſhall cleave to his Wife, and they twain ſhall be one Fleſh?* So that the Words of *Adam*, upon this Occaſion, were the Declaration of God himſelf, and only pronounc'd by *Adam*, in Conſequence of an expreſs Revelation from God. And if a Revelation, in theſe and ſuch like Inſtances, was needful for the Conduct of Man in his State of *Integrity*, much more was it neceſſary in a State of Defection and general Depravity.

And his Poſterity.

WHETHER we believe then, or not believe the Account, which *Moſes* gives of the Devil's deceiving our *firſt Parents* in the Form of a *Serpent*; yet, unleſs we will deny the Truth of all Hiſtory, we muſt allow, that in Proceſs of Time, (both before, and after the *Flood*) the Corruption of Mankind became univerſal; and that their grand *Adverſary* had ſo enlarg'd his Empire, as even to outvie the *God of Heaven* in the Splendor of his *Temples*, the Number of his *Votaries*, and the Pomp and Solemnity of his *Worſhip*. (*r*) In this Caſe, we do not indeed ſay, that Man had any *Right* to the Divine Aſſiſtance; *that* he had forfeited by his *Apoſtacy*; and where the Neceſſity is created by our own Fault, there lies no Obligation upon the Creator to provide a *Remedy:* But tho' God was under no Obligation to do it, yet, conſidering the miſerable Circumſtances Mankind were in after the *Fall*, more eſpecially through want of a Revelation, we may reaſonably conclude, that the *Benignity* of his Nature wou'd no leſs incline him to give them *one*, than if he had been oblig'd to it by a ſpecial *Promiſe* or *Covenant*.

FOR how can we believe, that a Being of *infinite Perfection*, when he ſaw Mankind under the Deception of Sin, and the Deluſions of *Satan*, ſhou'd take no Care to rectify their Miſtakes, and reform their Manners? (*s*) Can we ſuppoſe it conſiſtent with *infinite Truth*, to ſuffer all Nations to be expos'd to the wicked Deſigns of ſeducing and *apoſtate* Spirits, without ever offering them any Means to undeceive them? Can we imagine, that a God of *infinite Majeſty* and *Power*, who is a *jealous* God, and will not *give his Honour to another*, ſhou'd allow the World to be guilty of Idolatry; to make themſelves Gods of *Wood* and *Stone*; nay, to *offer their Sons and Daughters unto Devils*, without concerning himſelf to vindicate his own Honour, by putting a Stop to ſuch *Abominations?* We have no true Notion of God, if we do not believe him to be infinite in Knowledge, Holineſs, Mercy, and Truth; and yet we may as well believe there is no God at all, as imagine, that a God of *infinite Knowledge* ſhou'd take no Notice of what is done here below; that *infinite Holineſs* ſhou'd behold the whole World overſpread with Wickedneſs, and find no Way to redreſs it; and that Superſtition, and Idolatry, and all the Tyranny of Sin and Satan, for ſo long a Time, ſhou'd enſlave and torment the Bodies and Souls of Men, and there ſhould be no Compaſſion in *infinite Mercy*, nor any Care over a deluded World in a *God of Truth*. We may therefore juſtly conclude, that ſince a *Revelation*, in the State of Man's *Defection*, was ſo neceſſary in itſelf, and ſo agreeable to the known Attributes of God, there is abundant Reaſon to be perſuaded, that God was always inclinable to impart *one* to Mankind, whenever their Occaſions required it.

An Objection.

" BUT *what Occaſion cou'd there be for any Divine* Revelation (*t*), *when, by giving* " *them the* Light of Reaſon (*that* perfect *and* unerring *Guide*) *and implanting in them* " *the* Law of Nature, *God had made an ample and* ſtanding *Proviſion, both for the In-* " *ſtruction of their Minds, and the Direction of their Lives? when, by a due Attention*

C " *to*

(*q*) Mat. xix. 4, *&c.* (*r*) Bp. *Williams*'s Serm.
(*s*) *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs of the Chriſt. Relig. Vol. I.
(*t*) Chriſtianity as old as the Creation, *paſſim.*

" *to* theſe, *they might, at any Time, be enabled to* perceive *all, that was neceſſary for* " *them to* know, *and to* practiſe *all that was requir'd of them to* do, *without any* ſuper- " natural *Intervention, which, in this Caſe, ſeems highly needleſs and* ſuperfluous?"

Anſwer'd by ſhewing the Imperfection,

WE readily grant, indeed, that the great Principle of Action, in human Nature, is *Reaſon*; inſomuch, that to judge according to its Directions, is not the Privilege of the *Philoſopher* only, but a Thing *eſſential* to our very Beings, and as much inſeparable from all Perſons, as is the Senſe of their own *Exiſtence:* But then we are to conſider how ſmall a Portion of *Light* any Man's Reaſon has, that he can properly call its own. For, (*u*) as we derive our Nature from our Parents, ſo *that*, which we generally call *natural Knowledge*, or the *Light of Nature*, is a Knowledge and Light, that is made natural to us by the ſame Authority, which makes a certain *Language*, certain *Cuſtoms*, and Modes of Behaviour, Natural. Nothing, in this Caſe, ſeems to be our *own*, but a bare *Capacity* to be inſtructed, or a Nature fitted for any Impreſſions; as capable of *Vice*, as *Virtue*; and as liable to be made an *Hottentot*, by being born among *Hottentots*, as to be made a *Chriſtian*, by being born among *Chriſtians*. So that our *Moral* and *Religious* Knowledge is not to be imputed to the *internal* Light of our own Reaſon or Nature, but to the Happineſs of having been born among reaſonable Beings, who have made a Senſe of Religion and Morality as *natural* to our Minds, as articulate Language is to our Tongues.

WE allow again, that there is a moral Diſtinction between *Good* and *Evil*, *Right* and *Wrong*, founded in the Nature of Things; but then we affirm, that this is not from a *Philoſophical* Contemplation of the *Fitneſs* of the one, and the *Unfitneſs* of the other; that we prefer Virtue to Vice; but from the Inſtruction of thoſe, who had the Care of our *Education*, and the Formation of our Judgments from our *Infancy*. When we arrive at an Age of more *Maturity*, indeed, and happen to have a Genius fitted for *Philoſophical* Enquiries, we may then deduce Proofs, that will eſtabliſh our Notions of ſuch a *moral Diſtinction*; but theſe, we muſt allow, are an *After-knowledge*, not common to Men, but *accidental* Confirmations of that Senſe of *Religion* and *Morality*, which, more or leſs, was fix'd in us by the Inſtitution and Authority of thoſe, among whom we had the good Fortune to live. Now, if this be the true State of Reaſon, as it is *originally* in us; if this be all the *Light*, that we have from our own Nature, *viz.* a bare *Capacity* of receiving good or bad Impreſſions, right or wrong Opinions and Sentiments, according to the particular Country we chance to be born in; if we are nothing without the Aſſiſtance of Men; nay, if we are fooliſh and helpleſs *Animals*, till Education and Experience have *revealed* unto us the Wiſdom and Knowledge of other Men; then are we but weakly qualified to aſſert and maintain the *abſolute Perfection* of human Reaſon, in Oppoſition to the Neceſſity and Advantage of a *Divine Revelation*. But this is not all.

And Depravity *of human Reaſon.*

IT is not only the *Imperfection* of our Reaſon, but its frequent *Depravity* likewiſe, that ought to abate our Confidence in it; ſince, upon farther Examination, we ſhall find, that all the *Mutability* of our Tempers, the *Diſorder* of our Paſſions, and *Corruption* of our Hearts; all the Extravagances of the Imagination, all the *Contradictions* and Abſurdities, which are to be found in human Life, and human Actions, are ſtrictly and properly, the Mutability, Corruption, and Abſurdities of human Reaſon. We, indeed, in the common Forms of Speech, talk of our Reaſon, as a diſtinct Principle from our Paſſions, Affections, and Humours; but this is only a Diſtinction of Language made at Pleaſure, and without any real Diſtinction in the Things themſelves. (*x*) The ſame *Principle*

(*u*) *Law*'s Caſe of Reaſon, or Natural Religion fairly and fully ſtated. (*x*) *Ibid.* St *Paul*, indeed, in his Epiſtle to the *Romans* (Ch. vii.) ſeems to ſpeak of two diſtinct Things, when he tells us of the *Law in his Mind*, and the *Law in his Members*; but in this he might accommodate himſelf, in ſome Meaſure, to the known Forms of Diction, and yet poſſibly mean no more, than one and the ſame Principle, conſider'd in different Views, or acting differently. Without the *Will*, or Choice, there can be neither Virtue nor Vice in any Act we do; and yet it is a receiv'd *Maxim*, that *voluntas*

Principle, which is the Agent of all that is *good* in us, muſt be equally the Agent of all that is *evil*; for the Action and Power of Reaſon are as much requir'd to make any Thing *vicious*, as to make it *virtuous*: And if ſo, Reaſon is certainly the *worſt*, as well as the *beſt* Faculty we have; and not only the Principle of Virtue, but the certain Cauſe likewiſe of all that is baſe, and ſhameful in human Life.

BRUTES, we know, are incapable of *Imprudence* and *Immorality*, becauſe none of their Actions are Actions of Reaſon; and therefore, if our Reaſon be the only Faculty, which diſtinguiſhes us from *Brutes*, it muſt certainly follow, that all the Irregularities, whether of Humour, Paſſion, or Affection, which cannot be imputed to Brutes, muſt ſolely be aſcrib'd to the *Faculty*, whereby we are diſtinguiſh'd from them; and, conſequently, every Thing that is vain, ſhameful, falſe, or baſe, muſt be the ſole Product of our Reaſon; ſince, if they proceeded from any other Principle, they cou'd have no more Vanity, Falſeneſs, or Baſeneſs in them, than we have in our *Hunger* or *Thirſt*. And if the Matter ſtand thus with our Reaſon; if all that is wiſe or abſurd, holy or profane, glorious or ſhameful, in Thought, Word, or Deed, is to be imputed to it; then is it as groſs an Abſurdity to talk of the *abſolute Perfection* of human Reaſon, as of the unſpotted *Holineſs* of human Life, or the abſolute *Infallibility* of human Conjectures; ſince, upon Examination, it is found to be a Principle of an *ambiguous* Nature, productive of Vice, as well as Virtue; and capable of leading us into *Error*, as well as diſcovering *Truth*.

The Ignorance *of the beſt Philoſophers;*

IT will be no Diſparagement, I hope, to the preſent Age, to ſuppoſe that the *ancient* Philoſophers had as great Strength of Reaſon and Judgment, as ſincere a Deſire to find out Truth, and as great Diligence in enquiring after it, as any of our modern *Unbelievers*; and yet, if we look into their Writings, we ſhall find that they were utterly *ignorant* in many great and important Points of Religion, and ſtrangely *inconſiſtent* with themſelves in others.

THEY were ignorant of the true Account of the *Creation* of the World, and the Original of Mankind; and therefore *(y)* ſome of them held all Things to be *Eternal*, while others imputed them to (*z*) *Chance*; and thoſe, who allow'd them a *Beginning*, knew nothing of the Manner and *Gradations*, whereby they roſe up into ſo beautiful an Order.

THEY were ignorant of the Origin of *Evil*; whereupon they deviſed two contrary *Principles*, in perpetual Conflict with one another; and tho' they were ſenſible that human Nature was ſtrangely corrupted, yet they acknowledg'd, that its Corruption was a *Diſeaſe*, whereof they knew not the Cauſe, and cou'd not find out the Cure.

THEY were ignorant of any *Form of Worſhip*, that might be acceptable to God, and of a proper Way to appeaſe his Diſpleaſure, when they were conſcious of their Offences againſt him; and therefore we find *Cicero*, the greateſt and beſt Philoſopher that *Rome*, or perhaps any other Nation, ever produced, (*a*) "allowing Men to con-"tinue in the Idolatry of their Anceſtors, and adviſing them to conform themſelves "to the ſuperſtitious Religion of their Country, in offering ſuch *Sacrifices* to different "Gods, as were by Law eſtabliſh'd."

THEY were ignorant, at leaſt they taught nothing of the exceeding Love of God towards us; of his Deſire of our Happineſs, and his Readineſs to conduct us in the Ways of Virtue; and therefore (*b*) *ſome* of them made their ſupreme *Jupiter* a *ſolitary* kind of Being, wholly taken up in the *Contemplation* of his own Perfections, and leaving the Government (of all ſublunary Things at leaſt) either to ſome inferior *Agents*, or the Guidance of a *blind*, unthinking *Chance*.

THEY

voluntas ſequitur ultimum Intellectus practici Judicium; and, tho' that *Judicium* does not always happen to be right, yet ſtill it is the *Spring* and Cauſe of our Actions, be it right or wrong. *(y)* Peripateticks. (*z*) Epicureans. (*a*) A Patribus acceptos Deos placet coli. *De Leg. L. 2.* Item illud ex Inſtitutis Pontificum & Arufpicum non mutandum eſt, quibus hoſtiis immolandum cuique Deo. *Ibid.* (*b*) Epicureans.

THEY were ignorant, at leaſt (*c*) they taught nothing of *Divine Grace* and Aſſiſtance towards our Attainment of Virtue, and Perſeverance in it; and therefore we find (*d*) *others* of them *equalling* themſelves to the Gods, and ſometimes taking *Precedency*; "becauſe we have Difficulties, *ſay they*, to encounter, which make the Con-"queſt of Vice, and the Improvements in Virtue, more glorious in us, than in the "Gods, who are good by the *Neceſſity* of their Nature."

AND as theſe great Philoſophers were utterly *ignorant* of ſome, ſo were they far from being *clear* and *conſiſtent* with themſelves in other great *Articles of* Religion. They had but dark and confus'd Notions of the *Nature of God*; and therefore the renowned *Socrates* ingenuouſly confeſs'd, that all he knew of God was, that *he knew nothing*; and, for this Reaſon, endeavoured to draw Men off from *divine* and *heavenly* Contemplations, (as being what he found too high for human Reaſon to underſtand) and to betake themſelves to the Study of *civil* Life.

THEY had but dark and confus'd Notions of the *Summum Bonum*, or ſupreme Felicity of Man; and therefore *Cicero* tells us, that there was ſuch a *Diſſention* among them upon this Head, that it was almoſt impoſſible to reckon up their different Sentiments, even while himſelf is ſetting down the Notions of above *twenty* of them, all equally extravagant and abſurd.

THEY had weak and uncertain Notions of the *Immortality of the Soul*; for, however they might perceive it to have a ſpiritual Exiſtence, yet they cou'd from thence deduce no Argument, but that God might deſtroy it, if he pleas'd: And therefore (*e*) *Cicero* plainly declares that, *which of the two Opinions* (that the Soul is mortal, or that it is immortal) *be true, God only knows:* Which, among other Declarations of the like Nature, might probably induce *Seneca* to ſay, (*f*) "That Immortality (however de-"ſirable in itſelf) was rather promis'd, than prov'd by theſe great Men."

THEY had weak and uncertain Notions of a *future State*; for, tho' their Poets had prettily fancied an *Elyſium* and an *Hell*; yet all ſober Men look'd upon *theſe*, rather as well-contriv'd Reſtraints for the *Vulgar*, than any Matters of their own Belief: And therefore *Socrates* is introduc'd as ſaying, (*g*) *I hope there is a Place, where I, and good Men ſhall meet; yet I cannot affirm it:* And (*h*) *I wiſh*, ſays *Cicero*, *that you cou'd prove to me that our Souls are immortal*; ſo that, after all, they wanted Arguments to convince themſelves, and ended all their Diſquiſitions in a *Peradventure*, and a *Wiſh:* But, what is more,

THEY had no Notion at all of the *Reſurrection of the Body*; for, tho' their Poets made frequent mention of the *Ghoſts* of departed Men, appearing in a *viſible* Form, and retaining in the *Shades* below, their former Shape; yet by this (if they mean any Thing) they mean no more, than that the Soul, after this Life, paſſes into another State, and is there inveſted with a Body, made up of light, *aërial* Particles, quite different from what it had before: But, that the groſs Matter, which they ſaw laid in the Grave, and turn to Corruption, or burnt into Aſhes, and blown away in the Air, ſhou'd ever be rais'd, or collected again, and *revivify'd*; of this the moſt *Speculative* among them had no Conception.

And their Immorality *and* Viciouſneſs.

THUS ignorant, or thus doubtful at leaſt, were ſome of the greateſt Names of Antiquity of theſe prime and fundamental Truths, which muſt be acknowledg'd the great *Barriers* of Virtue and Religion: And therefore we need leſs wonder, that we find ſo many of them abetting Practices apparently *flagitious*; (*i*) that we find ſeveral *Sects* eſteeming *Revenge*, not only lawful, but commendable; and the Deſire of *popular Applauſe*

(*c*) Non quis, quod bonus vir eſſet, Gratias Diis egit unquam. Jovem optimum maximum ob eas res appellant, non quod nos juſtos, temperatos, ſapientes, efficiat, ſed quod ſalvos, incolumes, opulentos, copioſos. *Cic. de Nat. Deorum, L.* 3.

(*d*) Stoicks. Eſt aliquid, quo ſapiens antecedat Deum: ille, Naturæ Beneficio, non ſuo, ſapiens eſt. *Sen. Epiſt.* 53.

(*e*) Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. 1. (*f*) Epiſt. 100. (*g*) Plato in Phæd. (*h*) Tuſc. Quæſt. (*i*) *Vid.* Biſhop of *London*'s ſecond Paſtoral Letter.

Applauſe the greateſt Incentive to all kind of Virtue: That we find ſome of the greateſt of them full of the Praiſe of *Self-Murther*, and ſetting themſelves for the Example of it to their *Followers*: That we find *Cato* commending *Fornication*, as a proper Remedy againſt Adultery; *Plato*, aſſerting the Expediency of Mens *having their Wives in common*; and *Chryſippus*, teaching the Worſt of *Inceſt*, that of Fathers with their Daughters, and pleading the Lawfulneſs of *unnatural Luſt*: That we find, in ſhort, whole *Fraternities* degrading human Nature into that of Beaſts; the *Cynicks*, laying aſide all the natural Reſtraints of Shame and Modeſty, commit their Luſts openly; and the *Stoicks* affirming, that no Words or Speech of any kind ought to be cenſur'd and avoided, as filthy and obſcene: So true is the Obſervation, which *Quintilian* makes of the Philoſophers of his Time (*k*), "That the moſt notorious Vices were ſcreen'd under "*that* Name; and that they did not labour to maintain the Character of *Philoſophers* "by Virtue and Study, but conceal'd very vicious Lives under an *Auſtere* Look, and "an Habit different from the reſt of the World."

AND if theſe Men of *Speculation*, and profound *Reaſoners*, were thus ignorant in their Notions, and corrupt in their Principles, what Reaſon have any of our *modern* Contemners of *Revelation* to preſume, that, if they had liv'd in thoſe Days, they wou'd have acquitted themſelves better? What Grounds to imagine, that they wou'd have been wiſer than *Socrates*, and *Plato*, and *Cicero*? (*l*) Had their Lot been among the *Vulgar*, how are they ſure, they ſhou'd have been ſo happy, or ſo conſiderate, as not to be involv'd in that Idolatry and Superſtition, that Wickedneſs and Immorality, which then overſpread the World? Had they join'd themſelves to the *Philoſophers*, what *Sect* wou'd they have follow'd (for they were all *erroneous*) or what Book wou'd they have made the *adequate* Rule of their Lives and Converſations? Or had they ſet up for *themſelves*, how are they certain, they ſhou'd have been able to deduce the ſeveral Branches of their Duty, or to apply them to the ſeveral Caſes of Life, by Argumentation, and Dint of Reaſon? 'Tis *one* Thing to find out a Rule at firſt, and *another* to perceive its Agreement with Reaſon; and the Difficulty is not much (when once we know our Duty) to begin and deduce its Obligation from Reaſon: But to begin and diſcover our Duty in all Points, with all its true Motives, merely by the Help of *natural Reaſon*, is like groping for an unknown Way in an obſcure *Twilight*. 'Tis no improbable Opinion then, that the *Diſcoveries*, which the wiſeſt of the heathen World made (even in Points of *Morality*) were not ſo much owing to the Strength of their own Reaſon, as to certain *Traditions*, which they might either receive from their Anceſtors, or gain by the Converſation they might have with the *Hebrews*, to whom God had *committed the Oracles of his Will* by the Hand of his Servant *Moſes*. For this is certain beyond all Controverſy, that the moſt eminent Philoſophers, ſuch as *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Democritus*, and others, finding a Dearth of Knowledge at Home, travell'd for Improvement into other Parts; and, as *Egypt* was accounted the chief Seat of Learning, there were few Men of Note, who went not thither to compleat their Studies; where, converſing with the *Jews*, (who were there in great Numbers) and having the Opportunity of conſulting the Law of *Moſes* in the *Ptolemean* Library, they might from thence collect many remarkable Doctrines, tho' (when they came to publiſh them) they choſe to diſguiſe, and blend them with their own Notions and Inventions. However this be, 'tis manifeſt, that the *Philoſophers*, who have liv'd ſince the Publication of the *Goſpel*, have, in their ſeveral *Syſtems*, been much more clear and uniform, both as to the Meaſures of human Duty, and the Motives requiſite to the Performance of it, than they were before; which Clearneſs and Uniformity are really owing to the Help of *Revelation*, that has given us a far more perfect and exact Knowledge of the *Nature* and Attributes of God, from whence many of our Duties immediately flow; a greater Certainty of future *Rewards* and *Puniſhments*; and a

The beſt *of their Knowledge from* Tradition.

(*k*) Inſt. L. 1. Præf. (*l*) *Clarke*'s Demonſtration of Natural and Revealed Religion.

clearer Conviction of the *Neceſſity* of Sobriety, Temperance, and other moral Virtues, as preparatory to our Happineſs in the *next* Life, by perfecting our Nature in *this*.

THIS, (as I take it) is the true State of human Reaſon, in its preſent ruinous and deprav'd Condition: In its *Minority*, equally capable of *bad*, as well as *good* Impreſſions, and form'd entirely by the *Examples* we ſee, and by the *Inſtitution* of thoſe who have the Charge of our Education: In our *Maturity*, the Source of our Paſſions and Deſires, our Humours and Appetites, and the ſole Agent of all the *Evil*, as well as all the *Good*, we do: In the higheſt Pitch of its *Perfection*, unable to ſettle any certain Rule of *Morality*, and beholden to *Tradition* or *Revelation* for the chief and beſt Diſcoveries which it makes: In the Breaſt of the *greateſt Philoſopher*, over-ſpread with Error, ignorant in *many*, and doubtful in *all* the great Principles and Motives of Religion, and thereupon enſnar'd in *diverſe hurtful Luſts*: And much more, in the Breaſt of the *Vulgar*, ſunk into Ignorance and Stupidity, and thereby ſubmitted to the Wiles of the Tempter, and (*m*) *taken Captive by him at his Will*. And is this the Faculty of which we hear ſuch loud Boaſts, and to which the abſolute Perfection of *Immutability* and *Infallibility are aſcrib'd?* "Is this (*n*) the *fundamental Law* of the Univerſe, that can "tell us more than Books or Maſters, more than the two *Tables of Moſes*, or the "*twelve Tables* of the *Greeks*, and of which all other Laws are but *Copies* and *Tran*-"*ſcripts?*" Is this the only *Principle* that is allow'd us, to inform our Minds in all religious Truths, and direct our Conduct in all our *moral* Actings? This the only *Pilot*, to ſteer our Courſe thro' this tempeſtuous World, in the midſt of ſo many Dangers, Avocations, and Snares; with ſo many *Luſts* within, and *Temptations* without, to carry us wrong; ſo many *Syrens* to allure us, ſo many Rocks to daſh us, and ſo many Waves *to ſwallow us up quick?* Whether God, in this Method, wou'd have made a *ſufficient* Proviſion for Man's Salvation, we will not here diſpute: But, to conſider human Reaſon (as it is in Fact) modify'd by the various Diſabilities, Paſſions, and Prejudices, which will ever prevail among the greateſt Part of Mankind; and then conſider every Man left, in this wild diſconcerted State, without Rule or Guide, to ſearch out Truth and Happineſs by his own Collections; the Diſtractions and Perplexities which muſt needs enſue, wou'd make every wiſe Man wiſh for ſomething *better*: And if ſo, what can we imagine more deſirable, more appoſite to the Wants of human Nature in ſuch a Caſe, than that God ſhou'd interpoſe, and, by an *authoritative* Declaration of his Will, (committed to Perſons *ordained* to that Office) inſtruct the ignorant, and reduce thoſe that were going aſtray.

An Objection. "*BUT ſuppoſe that God, in Compliance to Mens Wants, ſhou'd vouchſafe to give them* "*a Declaration of his Will; yet ſtill the Queſtion is, Who are the Perſons, that are ap-* "*pointed to convey it? The Pretence to Revelation is ſo common, and the Number of Im-* "*poſtures ſo great; the Difference between a divine* Impreſſion *and a diabolical* Illuſion, "*natural* Enthuſiaſm *and ſupernatural* Inſpiration, *is ſo undiſtinguiſhable, and by us* "*who live at ſuch a Diſtance of Time, ſo impoſſible to be adjuſted; that the ſafeſt Way* "*is to ſuſpend our Belief, until we have a ſufficient Conviction, that what is offer'd as a* "*Meſſage from Heaven, infallibly comes from God.*"

Anſwer'd, by enumerating the different Kinds *of Revelation.* THE moſt uſual Ways, wherein God of old was wont to communicate his Mind to Mankind, were by *Viſions*, by *Dreams*, by *Voices*, and by *Inſpiration*. The *Jewiſh* Doctors, who treat of the Subject, have many curious Obſervations concerning the *Difference* of theſe ſeveral Kinds of Revelation, but the moſt plain and obvious Diſtinction ſeems to be this——That *Viſion* was the Repreſentation of ſome momentous Thing to Men, when they were awake, in Oppoſition to *Dreams*, which were Repreſentations made to them, when their external Senſes were aſleep; that *Voices* were either God's calling to Men from on high, (*o*) (as he did to St *Paul*) or his immediate converſing with

(*m*) 2 Tim. ii. 26. (*n*) *Vid.* Chriſtianity as old as the Creation, p. 60, 61, &c. (*o*) Acts iii. 4.

with them (as he did with *Moſes*) (*p*) *Face to Face, even as one Man ſpeaketh to his Friend*; and that *Inſpiration* was an *inward* Excitement of the Soul of Man, by the Operation of the Holy Ghoſt, without any bodily Perception or Senſation.

THESE are the ſeveral Sorts and Degrees of Revelation, which have commonly been aſcrib'd to God: And, what do we ſee in any of them, that he cannot, when he pleaſes, make uſe of, and that effectually? Cannot he, by ſome *viſible* Appearance, convince Men of his immediate *Preſence*, beyond the Poſſibility of Doubt? Cannot he, either with, or without ſuch viſible Appearances, talk as *familiarly* to them, as one Man converſes with another? Cannot he, who formed our Minds, and knows all the Ways of Acceſs to them, draw ſuch clear and bright *Scenes*, and *Pictures* of Things on our *Fancy* and *Imagination*, whether ſleeping or waking, as ſhall need no other Proof of their *Divinity*, but themſelves; even as Light is known by itſelf, and the firſt Principles of Reaſon by their own Evidence? In ſhort, why cannot he ſo clarify the *Underſtanding* by a Beam of Light let in from above, as ſhall be as evident a Proof of its *Divine Original*, as it is that the Light proceeds from the Sun, the *Fountain* of it?

How the Perſons inſpir'd *might* judge *of their own Inſpirations.*

WHATEVER it may ſeem to us, who have not the *Senſation* or Experience of ſuch Divine Repreſentations as the *Prophets* had, and therefore can no more deſcribe them, than the Perſon, who never had his *Eye-ſight*, can conceive what *Light* and *Colours* are; yet, as the blind Man may be convinc'd, that there are ſuch Things as *Light*, *Colour*, *Figure*, and *Sight*, by what he hears and obſerves from thoſe who are about him; ſo may we be aſſured, that there was, in the *Prophetick* Schemes, that powerful *Repreſentation*, on the Part of the Divine Agent, and that Clearneſs of *Perception*, on the Part of the Perſon *inſpir'd*, as wou'd abundantly make good thoſe Phraſes of *Viſion* and *Speaking*, by which it is deſcrib'd in Scripture; inſomuch that ſuch a Perſon, after ſuch Illumination, might as well queſtion what he heard and ſaw by the natural *Organs* of Senſe, as doubt of what was revealed to him by the *Impreſſions* made upon him through the Agency of the Divine Spirit.

How diſtinguiſh it from Enthuſiaſm.

" *BUT do not we ſee* enthuſiaſtic *Perſons as confident of their Inſpirations, and Vi-*
" *ſions, and* (*according to their Perſuaſion*) *as much obliged to follow them, as thoſe that*
" *are truly inſpired? How then ſhall we find out the Difference, and by what* Criterion
" *ſhall we judge?*" 'Tis own'd, indeed, that Confidence in *imaginary* Inſpirations may be ſometimes very great, but then the *Preception*, and conſequently the *Aſſurance* ariſing from thence, cannot be equal, or any Ways comparable to what is produc'd by a *real* one. For, tho' God Almighty can ſo communicate himſelf, as that the Perſon inſpir'd ſhall know moſt certainly that it is from him, and from him only (in which Caſe there is no abſolute Neceſſity for any farther Evidence) yet, that nothing might be wanting to the full Conviction of him who had the Revelation, God was frequently pleas'd to add ſome *Sign*, or *ſupernatural Proofs*, in order to ſatisfy the Party of the Truth of his Divine Miſſion. Thus *Gideon*, when requir'd to go upon a difficult Enterprize, was cur'd of his Fear, and confirm'd in his Mind (*q*) *by the Fire out of the Rock, which conſumed the Fleſh and the Cakes*; as *Moſes*, when ſent to deliver the Children of *Iſrael* from the *Egyptian* Bondage, perceiv'd that his Commiſſion was from God, upon ſeeing the *Buſh burn* without *conſuming*, (*r*) *and the Rod* in his Hand *turn'd into a Serpent*: A Courſe this, highly neceſſary to give the Meſſenger full Satisfaction, eſpecially when the Caſe is ſuch as *Moſes* ſeems to put it, (*s*) *they will not believe me, nor hearken to my Voice; for they will ſay, The Lord hath not appear'd unto thee.*

How we may judge when a Perſon is inſpir'd.

" *BUT ſuppoſe a Perſon never ſo well ſatisfy'd in what he calls a Revelation, and*
" *that* (*in his own Opinion*) *he is as ſure of it, as he is of his Being and Exiſtence; yet*
" *what is all this to* me, *unleſs I am equally ſatisfy'd that he really had ſuch a* Revela-
" tion; *that his Pretenſions to a* Miſſion *from Heaven are true, and he far from being*
" *an*

(*p*) Exod. xxxiii. 11. (*q*) Judges vi. 20. (*r*) Exod. iv. 3. (*s*) Ver. 1.

" *an* Impoſtor; *but how ſhall I judge of this?*" Why, the only Way is, to conſider with ourſelves, what it is, that we might expect from the Perſon, who pretends to be a Meſſenger ſent from God, and then obſerve whether he anſwers that Character. Now, as a Revelation is a Divine Communication, and a Mark of Divine Favour, we may well expect, that the Perſon, who pretends to it, ſhou'd be a Man of Virtue, good Senſe, and known Probity; *cool* and conſiderate enough, not to be *impos'd* on *himſelf*, and too *honeſt* and *upright*, ever to think of *impoſing* upon *others:* One, who has no Trick, no crafty Deſign, no ſecular Ends to ſerve, no Vanity or Ambition to gratify; who diſclaims all worldly *Greatneſs* and *Emoluments*, and intends nothing but the Good of Mankind, and the Glory of God, who ſent him: One, who by his whole Behaviour diſcovers that he is in earneſt, and really believes his own Commiſſion; is, conſequently, deterr'd by no Threats, diſcourag'd by no Oppoſition, but goes on with undaunted Courage, ſtill perſiſting in the ſame Aſſertions, and ready to lay down his Life in Confirmation of what he ſays. So far then as the *Credibility* of a Perſon is the Proof of a Revelation, and ſo far as the Wiſdom, Probity, and Sincerity of a Perſon is a Proof of his *Credibility*, we have an *Evidence* to reſt upon, and a *Character*, whereby we may try the Truth of his Revelation.

Viz. *From his* perſonal Character.

As the Revelation pretends to come from God, we may reaſonably expect, that it ſhou'd be *conſonant* to the Notions we have of the Divine Attributes, and *conducive* to the Happineſs and Inſtruction of Man; that therein we ſhou'd find the moſt lively Characters of the Divine Perfections, *Juſtice* and *Power*, ſet forth in all their Authority, to adminiſter Matter of Terror to the *Wicked*; but ſo temper'd with *Mercy* and *Kindneſs*, as to raiſe the Hopes, and attract the Love, and eſtabliſh the Comfort of the *Righteous:* Therein to find the *Myſteries* of the Divine Counſels unfolded, and the Beauty and Harmony of Divine *Providence* diſplay'd, as far as God's Government of the World, and the Condition of Mankind in it will permit: Therein to find the beſt *Principles* and *Precepts* to inform and direct us in what we are to know and do, the beſt *Arguments* and *Motives* for our Encouragement, and the beſt *Means* and Expedients for the purifying and perfecting of our Natures: Therein, laſtly, to find the chief Subjects of human *Enquiry*, and what is beſt and moſt neceſſary for Mankind to know, the Creation of the World, the Origin of Evil, the Supervention of Grace, the Condition and Certainty of a future State, and by what Method God may be appeas'd, Forgiveneſs obtain'd, and the heavy Load upon human Nature, ariſing from the Senſe and Conſciouſneſs of Sin, remov'd. So far then as its *Sublimity* and *Uſefulneſs* are an Indication of its Divine Original, we have another *Evidence* to reſt upon, and a farther *Character*, whereby we may try the Truth of a Revelation.

From the Subject-Matter *of his Revelation.*

Once more, we may expect, that a Perſon, coming with ſuch high Pretenſions, ſhou'd give us ſome Proof of his Delegation from Heaven, either by *predicting* Events of a very uncertain Contingency, or *performing* Works of a very ſupernatural Kind, in Confirmation of it: And, ſince *Miracles* and *Prophecies* require a Divine Power, and are always look'd upon as an *Authentic* Evidence of a Divine Commiſſion, the Man who does *theſe*, and does them fairly, without Fraud or Colluſion, muſt certainly be a *Prophet* ſent from God: Otherwiſe, we muſt be reduc'd to the Neceſſity of allowing, that God may ſometimes employ his Power for the Confirmation of a Falſehood, and ſet the *broad Seal of Heaven*, as it were, to a Lye; which is confounding the Notions we have of him, and inverting all his Attributes.

And the miraculous *Atteſtations given to it.*

These then are the Marks and Tokens, whereby we may judge of the Truth of a Revelation at any Time: The *Credibility* of the Perſon who brings it; the *Excellency* of the Doctrine he teaches; and the *Divine Atteſtation* which he produces. Where theſe are concurring, and with one Mouth, as it were, giving in their Evidence, we cannot but ſay that it is the *Voice of God*, and a Revelation, which carries upon it the conſpicuous Stamp of his Authority. And now, to try the Pretenſions of thoſe, in the

Old

Old Teſtament, who claim'd ſuch Commiſſion from God, by the foregoing Marks and Characters.

THAT there was really ſuch a Perſon as *Moſes* is atteſted by many of the (*t*) *Heathen* Writers, who ſpeak of him as an extraordinary Man, and the Founder of the *Jewiſh* Laws and Religion. That this *Moſes* pretended to have this Religion from God, and whatever he wrote or delivered to the People, to receive from him by immediate *Revelation*, is plain to any one who looks into his Writings: But that his Pretenſions in this Reſpect were *real*; that he actually receiv'd what he deliver'd from the Mouth, or Inſpiration of God, and was neither capable of being *deceiv'd himſelf*, nor deſirous to *impoſe on others*; this will appear from the Evidence we have of his Wiſdom and Veracity; from the Nature and Tendency of his Precepts and Doctrines; and from the miraculous Demonſtrations he gave of his Commiſſion. In order to which it will be neceſſary for us to look a little into the ſacred Records: Deſiring, however, that no more *Credit* may be given to them (as yet) than what is uſually given to any other *Narrative* of tolerable Repute, concerning the Actions of Perſons, who liv'd in former Ages. *Moſes's perſonal Character, as to his Wiſdom.*

NOW, beſides the Account of his ſtrange and miraculous Preſervation, the Scriptures acquaint us, that he (*u*) *was brought up in* Pharaoh's Court, educated in all Princely Qualities, and *ſkill'd in all the Learning of the* Egyptians. What the (*x*) Learning of the *Egyptians* was, we need not here relate: If we will believe *Macrobius*, who, (*y*) in one Place, makes Egypt *the Mother of all Arts*, and, (*z*) in another, the Egyptians *the Fathers of all Philoſophic Sciences*, there was not a Nation under the Sun that cou'd compare with them. How can we then imagine, that a Perſon, bred up in all the *polite* Literature of *Egypt*, and converſant among the wiſeſt Philoſophers of *Pharaoh's* Court, ſhou'd not be able to paſs a Judgment between an *Impoſture* and a *Truth*, between a familiar *Converſe* with God, and a *Deception* of his Senſes? Can we think that he, who had ſuch Opportunities of raiſing himſelf to the higheſt Pitch of Honour, ſhou'd willingly forſake all his preſent Pleaſure, and future Advantages, had he not been fully perſuaded of the certain and undoubted Truth of the Matters which he recorded? Is it poſſible, that a Man of common Senſe and Prudence ſhou'd ever venture himſelf upon an Affair ſo hazardous, and unlikely to ſucceed, as that which he undertook, had it not been by the Inſtigation of that God who appear'd to him, and promis'd him the Aſſiſtance of his Power, to enable him to accompliſh his Deſign? And what tolerable Ground can we have to imagine, that a Perſon, who really believ'd the Truth of what God had reveal'd to him, ſhou'd dare to write otherwiſe than as it was reveal'd?

To *extol himſelf*, or *aggrandize his Nation*, may be thought a probable Inducement: But, ſo far is he from magnifying himſelf, that he omits no Opportunity of recording (*a*) his own *Failings* and *Miſcarriages*; paſſes over in Silence his own (*b*) *Qualities* and (*c*) *Atchievements*; and opens the Account of his Miniſtry with the Relation of a (*d*) Fact (the Murther of the *Egyptian*) which nothing, but the Preſumption of his being acted by a Divine Authority, can juſtify or excuſe. Now had it been any Part of his Aim to have rais'd his *Reputation* into a ſuperſtitious Veneration among the *Jews*, or to have eſtabliſh'd his Family in any high Degree of Honour and Authority, how eaſily might he have done it? 'Twas but concealing what might ſeem to depreſs the *one*, and uſing the Power he had to advance the *other*: But, inſtead of that, we find him very ſecure, and careleſs in both Reſpects; relating his own Faults without Diſguiſe or Extenuation; conferring (*e*) both the *civil* and *eccleſiaſtical* Power upon other Families; and leaving his *own* in the meaneſt Sort of Attendance upon the *Tabernacle*. And ſo *And Diſintereſtedneſs.*

(*t*) *Vid.* Grot. de Veritate, *Lib.* 1, where he enumerates ſeveral. (*u*) Heb. xi. 25. Acts vii. 22. (*x*) Vid. *Stillingfleet's* Orig. Sac. (*y*) Macrob. Saturn. Lib. 2. cap. 15. (*z*) Som. Scip. Lib. 1. cap. 19. (*a*) Exod. iv. 10, 13. Numb. xi. 10, 11. Chap. xx. 12. (*b*) Heb. xi. 15. Acts vii 22. (*c*) *Joſephus* relates, that *Moſes*, for ſome Years, was General to *Pharaoh*, and that he obtain'd a very ſignal Victory over the *Ethiopians*. (*d*) Gen. xxxv. 25. Exod. 2. 12. (*e*) *Vid.* Grot. de Verit. and *Shuckford's* Connect. of the ſacred and profane Hiſt. *Lib.* 12.

far was he from *aggrandizing* his Nation, that he ſets forth the *leſs*, as well as the *greater* Enormities of their firſt Progenitors; that he ſpares not the Stock of his own Family *Levi*, but records very punctually *(f) his*, and *Simeon*'s Inhumanity to the *Sichemites*; and, thro' the whole Courſe of his Hiſtory, ſeems as if he were deſcribing (*g*) the Obſtinacy, and Unbelief, and Unthankfulneſs, and Diſobedience of a People towards a gracious God, rather than any Way inhancing their Reputation in the World. Hitherto it appears, that *Moſes* acted like an honeſt and ſincere Man; let us, in the next Place, make ſome Inſpection into the Revelation he makes, both as an *Hiſtorian*, and a *Law-giver*.

The Subjects he treats of, as an Hiſtorian.

As an *Hiſtorian* then, what cou'd he deliver to the World more becoming the Majeſty of God to impart, and the Neceſſities of Men to know, than the Origin of the *Univerſe*, and the firſt Beginning of all Things; than the *Formation* of Man, his State of Innocence at firſt, his *Fall*, and the conſequential Evils of it; his *Redemption*, and the glorious Hopes and Expectances of the *new Covenant*; than the Propagation of Mankind, their general Defection, the univerſal Deluge, the Confuſion of Tongues, and, thereupon, the Plantation of Families, and Origin of Kingdoms; than the Selection of one particular Family (of which *Chriſt* was to come in the Fleſh) from the reſt of Mankind, and the many wonderful Works, which God did to redeem them from Bondage, and conduct them thro' the Wilderneſs, until he had ſettled them in the promis'd Land, and given them Laws and Ordinances, *whereby they were to live?*

Wherein other Hiſtorians agree with him.

THESE are ſome of the great Subjects, which *Moſes* has treated of in the *Pentateuch*; and 'tis no ſmall Confirmation of their Truth and Reality, that we find the ſame Things related, much in the ſame Manner, by the moſt ancient and beſt Authors. What *Moſes* ſays of the *Origin* of the World is (*h*) recorded in the old Hiſtories of the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*. The *Formation* of Man according to the *Image of God*, and his *Dominion* over other Creatures is deſcrib'd by *Ovid*, who had it from the *Grecians*. The Hiſtory of *Adam* and *Eve*, the Tree of *Knowledge*, and the tempting *Serpent*, were found formerly among the *Indians*, as *Maimonides* tells us, and is ſtill among the *Brachmans*, and Inhabitants of *Siam*, as later Voyagers report. The Hiſtory of the *Deluge*, of the *Ark*, and of thoſe who were ſav'd therein, is recorded by *Beroſus*, by *Plutarch*, and *Lucian*; nay, *Abydenus* (as he is cited by *Euſebius*) makes mention of the very *Dove*, which was ſent out to explore the Waters. The Building of the Tower of *Babel*, and the *Giants* attempting to reach the Height of Heaven, is the common Tale of every Poet. The Burning of *Sodom* is related by *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Tacitus*. The Account of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and *Joſeph*, in the ſame Manner as *Moſes* relates it, was found in many ancient Hiſtorians, quoted by *Euſebius*, and is ſtill extant in *Juſtin*, from *Trogus Pompeius*; and (to mention no more) the Actions of *Moſes* himſelf, how he led the People of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, receiv'd the two Tables of the Law from the Hand of God, and inſtituted ſeveral Rites and religious Obſervances, are to be found in moſt of the ſame Authors, but more eſpecially in the *Verſes* which are aſcrib'd to *Orpheus*, and in *Hiſtories* which treat of the Affairs of *Egypt*.

As a Law-giver.

THUS conſonant to the Greatneſs and Majeſty of God, and the receiv'd Opinions of the earlieſt Ages of the World, are the *Hiſtoric* Facts which *Moſes* relates. And (to conſider him in his *Legiſlative* Capacity) what can be more agreeable to the Notions we have of God, than the Prohibition of Idolatry and Polytheiſm, and the Inſtitution of his true Religion and Worſhip; than the Prohibition of Perjury and vain Swearing, of Theft, of Murder, of Adultery, of Covetouſneſs of all Kinds; and the Injunction of the contrary Virtues, of Juſtice and Mercy, of Chaſtity and Charity, together with all due Reverence to Parents, both in a *natural* and *civil* Capacity? What can be more becoming the Character of a Divine *Legiſlator*, than his often *inculcating* upon the People (as we find almoſt

(*f*) Gen. xxxiv. (*g*) Deut. xlvii. Chap. ix. 7, &c. (*h*) *Vid.* Grot. de Veritate.

almoſt in every Page *Moſes* does) the many Obligations they had to God, and the innumerable Favours they had receiv'd from him; his frequent and pathetic *Exhortations* to Obedience, and living anſwerably to the ſingular Mercies conferr'd upon them; his conſtant *reminding* them of their former Miſcarriages, their Murmurings, and Rebellions againſt Heaven, and his compaſſionate *forewarning* them of the Judgment of God, and of the various Plagues and Puniſhments, which wou'd certainly be the Conſequence of their perſiſting in their Sins? Nay, the very *ceremonial* Precepts (which he enjoins to diſcriminate them from other Nations) are a ſufficient Indication that he received them from God; ſince, had they been of his own Invention, he wou'd have conſulted the People's *Eaſe*, and his own *Popularity* more; and (*) not impos'd ſo many *laborious* and expenſive Ordinances, ſo many Sacrifices both *ſtated* and *occaſional*, ſo painful an Inſtitution, as that of *Circumciſion*, and ſuch *annual* and *weekly* Ceſſations from Labour, as were apparently againſt the Intereſt of a Nation, whoſe great Subſiſtence was upon Paſturage and Agriculture. Nor can we conceive how any People wou'd have ſubmitted to ſuch *arbitrary* Injunctions, but that they were fully ſatisfied they came *Originally* from God, and were only deliver'd to them by the Hand of his Servant *Moſes*. And, for their farther Conviction of this, they had all the Evidence that cou'd be requir'd, the *Prediction* of Events, which none but God cou'd foreknow, and the Demonſtration of *Miracles*, which none but God cou'd perform.

His Miracles.

FOR not to inſiſt, at preſent, (*i*) on the ſeveral Prophecies (contain'd in the *Pentateuch*) which *Moſes* himſelf foretold, and accordingly came to paſs; what can we account the whole Method of his conducting the People of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, both in its Progreſs, and in it's Execution, but one continued Miracle? Nothing, but a Series of Wonders, *ſurpriſing* in their Nature, and *dreadful* in their Effects, cou'd have prevail'd with *Pharaoh* to let the People go; and nothing, but a Divine Power, which went out before the People, cou'd have given them a free Paſſage, and the *Egyptians* a total Overthrow in the *Red-Sea*. The wonderful Support of ſo great a Multitude in a waſte and barren Wilderneſs, when neither their *Rayment* decay'd, nor their *Bread* and *Water* fail'd, and the Victories, they afterwards gain'd in their Way to the *promis'd Land*, were both Convictions of the *Almighty*'s Power, and a Confirmation of the Truth of the *Moſaic* Revelation; ſince it wou'd be impious to ſuppoſe, that Providence wou'd, in the *Sight of the Heathen*, have favour'd *Iſrael* with ſuch wonderful Succeſſes, under the Conduct of a *Leader*, who only pretended to act, and make Laws by an *Authority*, which he was not really inveſted with. So that the Whole turns ultimately upon the Veracity of God. The conſtant Apprehenſions, which both Reaſon and Religion give us of him, forbid us to imagine, that he will employ his Power to *deceive* his Creatures; and yet, if he ſhou'd permit the ſame Evidences to be produced for *Errors*, as for *Truth*, this would be a Way to put a Deception upon them, as well as to cancel his own *Credentials*, and make Miracles of no Significance at all.

A Recapitulation of the Argument.

UPON a Review then of what has been ſaid in Relation to *Moſes*, *viz.* That he was a Perſon of great Wiſdom and Integrity, unlikely to be impos'd on himſelf, and unwilling to impoſe upon others, and without any private Deſigns of *Popularity*, or Self-Exaltation in what he did; that, as an *Hiſtorian*, he related *Facts*, neceſſary for Man to know, and becoming the Nature and Majeſty of God to reveal; as a *Legiſlator*, gave Laws and Ordinances, which had a manifeſt Stamp of Divine Authority; as a *Prophet*, foretold ſuch Things, as none but God (who has all Events under his Intuition) cou'd know; and, as *a Worker of Miracles*, did ſuch Things, as had all imaginable Evidence of an Almighty Power aſſiſting him: It will neceſſarily follow, that, as ſure as God is true, and cannot be an Abettor of Falſhood, what he *did*, was by the *Order* and Appointment;

(*) Shuckford's Connect. *Ibid.*

(*i*) Vid. Exod. xxxiv. Numb. xiv. Deut. xxviii. 53. Compar'd with *Joſephus*, de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7.

pointment; what he *deliver'd*, was expreſsly the *Will*; and what he *wrote* (for the Books, that go under his Name, we ſhall hereafter prove to be *his*) was infallibly the *Word* of God.

The Education of the Prophets.

THAT there was to be a Succeſſion of *Prophets* after *Moſes* is very plain, not only from the *Rules*, which God has (*k*) preſcrib'd for the *Trial* of them, but from that expreſs Promiſe likewiſe, which *Moſes* made to the People; *A Prophet will the Lord thy God raiſe up to thee of thy Brethren, like unto me, unto him ſhalt thou hearken.* For, tho' the Words, in their full and compleat Senſe, relate to *Chriſt*, who is the great Prophet of the *Church*; yet, whoever attends to the main Scope of them, will eaſily perceive, that their immediate Aſpect is towards an *Order of Prophets*, who ſhou'd ſucceed *Moſes*, to inſtruct the People in the *Spiritual* Senſe, and true Obligation of the Law; and to make ſuch farther Diſcoveries of the *Almighty*'s Will, as he, from Time to Time, ſhou'd give them Commiſſion and Authority to do. And to this Purpoſe we may obſerve, that the firſt *Schools* of theſe Prophets, among the *Jews*, were in the Cities of the *Levites*, which, for the Conveniency of inſtructing the People, were diſpers'd up and down in the ſeveral *Tribes*; that (*l*) the firſt *Inſtitution* of theſe Schools ſeems to be about *Samuel*'s Time; and that he, very probably, was ordain'd *Preſident* over *one*, or more of them, and had the Care and Tuition of ſuch, as were to be train'd up to the *Prophetic* Office.

IN what particular Manner they were there train'd up, in order to attain a previous Diſpoſition to Propheſy, the Scripture is not expreſs; but this we may ſuppoſe, that they were put upon ſuch Studies and Spiritual Exerciſes, as had a Tendency to improve their Underſtandings and natural Abilities, to regulate their Paſſions and Appetites, and to raiſe their Affections to Things ſublime; that they were employ'd in ſearching out the hidden Senſe of the Law, in contemplating the Nature and Attributes of God, in adoring him, and celebrating his Praiſes. To which Purpoſe, becauſe there was a certain *Quality* in it to allay the Paſſions and elate the Heart, they always made uſe of Muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental; for ſo the firſt Company of Prophets (*m*) that we read of are deſcrib'd, (*n*) *coming down from the high Place, with a Pſaltery, and a Tabret, and a Pipe, and a Harp before them.*

Their Integrity.

OUT of theſe *Seminaries*, or Colleges of Prophets, God uſually made Choice of Perſons to be ſent upon Meſſages; tho' he did not ſo ſtrictly tie himſelf up to this Method, but call'd ſometimes one from the *Court*, as he did *Iſaiah*, and ſometimes one from the *Herds* (as he did *Amos*) and *bad them go, and propheſy to the Houſe of* Iſrael. And, whenever he made Choice of any one, he always gave him ſuch a full Conviction, both of the *Reality* of his own Inſpiration, and the Importance of the Meſſage, he ſent him upon, as made it impoſſible for him to reſiſt the *Impulſe*; for ſo *Ezekiel* tells us of himſelf: (*o*) *The Spirit lifted me up, and took me away, and I went in Bitterneſs, and in the Heat of my Spirit; for the Hand of the Lord was ſtrong upon me.* And indeed, conſidering that the Prophets were Men of ſober *Senſe*, and moſt of them of very liberal *Education*, we can hardly believe that they wou'd have ventur'd upon ſo hazardous an Employ, where Perſecution was ſure to be their Lot, had they not been urg'd to it by an *immediate* and irreſiſtable Call from Heaven. The Apoſtle has given us a very dolorous Deſcription of the many Calamities, which their Profeſſion brought upon them: *(p) They had Trials of cruel Mockings and Scourgings, yea, moreover of Bonds and Impriſonments: They were ſtoned, were ſawn aſunder, were tempted, were ſlain with the Sword,* &c. Now what Men in their Senſes wou'd have expoſed themſelves to all theſe Perſecutions and Sufferings, in the Execution of an Office, had they not

(*k*) Deut. xviii. 21, 22. (*l*) Vid. *Stillingfleet's* Orig. Sac. *and* Lewis's Orig. Hebrææ, Lib. 2. c. 15.
(*m*) Wheatly's School of the Prophets. (*n*) 1 Sam. x. 5. (*o*) Ezek. iii. 14. (*p*) Heb. xi. 36.

not been perſuaded of the Truth of their *Vocation*, and under an indiſpenſable Neceſſity to purſue it, whatever Penalties might ſtand in their Way?

NOTHING then can be more evident, than that the *Prophets* (if we allow them to be Men of *common Senſe*) were Men of *Integrity* likewiſe, and far from pretending to a *Commiſſion*, which they had not; ſince (in Acceſſion to what has been ſaid) the *Doctrines* they taught, the *Predictions* they gave, and the *Miracles* they did, loudly proclaim'd them to be *ſent from God*.

The Excellency of their Doctrine.

FOR, what can be more ſuitable to the Nature of God, than thoſe Exprobations of Superſtition and Idolatry, and thoſe many *Exhortations* to inward Piety, and real Holineſs, ſo frequently, ſo kindly occurring in the Prophets? (*q*) *Wherewithal ſhall I come before the Lord, and bow myſelf before the moſt high God? Shall I give my Firſt-born for my Tranſgreſſion, the Fruit of my Body for the Sin of my Soul?* No. God requires nothing of thee, *but to do juſtly, and to love Mercy, and to walk humbly before him.* What can be more agreeable to the divine Mercy and Goodneſs, than thoſe earneſt *Calls* and *Invocations* to Repentance? (*r*) *Turn ye, turn ye from your evil Ways; for why will ye die, O Houſe of* Iſrael! *For, as I live, ſaith the Lord, I have no Pleaſure in the Death of the Wicked.* What is more conducive to the Honour and Glory of God, than thoſe rapturous *Songs* of Praiſe, wherewith the *Royal Pſalmiſt* tunes his *Harp*; and thoſe tender *Strains of Grief*, wherewith the *mournful Prophet* wets his Bed? (*s*) *Oh! that my Head were Waters, and mine Eyes a Fountain of Tears, that I might weep Day and Night, for the Slain of the Daughter of my People.* What *Diſcovery* can be of ſuch Importance, as That of the *Birth* and high Character of the Saviour of the World? (*t*) *Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, and his Name ſhall be called Wonderful, Counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace:* As That of his *Death* and vicarious Puniſhment? (*u*) *He was oppreſſed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his Mouth; he made his Soul an Offering for Sin,* and, *for the Tranſgreſſion of my People was he ſtricken:* And, laſtly, as That of the happy Effect, which his Religion wou'd produce: when (*x*) *the Wolf ſhou'd dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard lie down with the Kid, and the Calf, and the young Lion, and the Fatling together, and a little Child ſhou'd lead them*; as the *Evangelical Prophet* expreſſes it in that beautiful *Allegory*.

Their Prophecies.

THAT the *Prophets* ſhou'd be able to foretel Things ſo many Ages before they came to paſs; that *He*, who went from *Judah* to denounce God's Judgments againſt the Altar of *Bethel*, and againſt (*y*) *Jeroboam*, for ſetting it up, ſhou'd make mention of the very Name of *Joſiah* (who was to be God's Inſtrument in executing them) three hundred and ſixty one Years before the Event happen'd: That (*z*) *Elijah* ſhou'd denounce all the Puniſhments, which God wou'd bring upon *Ahab* and his Family for their great Impiety, ſome Years before the Thing came to paſs: That *Iſaiah* ſhou'd propheſy of *Cyrus* by Name, (*a*) two hundred and ten Years before the Accompliſhment of his Prophecy; (*b*) foretel his rebuilding of the Temple, and deſcribe his Conqueſts, in ſuch full and expreſſive Terms, that the Hiſtory of *Cyrus* by *Xenophon* has hardly done it better: And (to mention but one *Prophet* more) that *Daniel* ſhou'd ſpeak of the *Profanation* of the Temple and Sanctuary by *Antiochus Epiphanes*; declare the Manner of his *Death*; and delineate the very *Temper*, and *Countenance* of the Man, (*c*) four hundred and eighty Years before the Accompliſhment: This, and much more that might be mention'd, can be aſcrib'd to nothing elſe, but the *Inſpiration* of God, which made the ſame ſtrong Impreſſion upon the Minds of the Prophets, and guided their Tongues to the ſame Words and Expreſſions, as if the Things had been actually preſented before their Eyes.

(*q*) Micah vi. 6. (*r*) Ezek. xxxiii. 11. (*s*) Jer. ix. 1. (*t*) ~~Iſa.~~ ix. 6. (*u*) *Ch.* liii. (*x*) *Ch.* xi. 6. (*y*) 1 Kings xiii. 2. (*z*) *Ch.* xvii. (*a*) Vid. Joſeph. Antiq. L. 2. Cap. 1. (*b*) Iſa. xliv. 45. 46. (*c*) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 11.

Their Miracles.

THE Prophets indeed did not work many *Miracles*, becauſe there was not that Occaſion for them. The Law of *Moſes*, which they were ſent to enforce, not invalidate, had been ſufficiently confirm'd by Miracles before; and, as they were a ſtanding *Order* of Men, which the People were well accuſtom'd to, the People were inclinable enough to believe them, without a Divine Atteſtation. However, when they were employ'd upon *great* and important Meſſages to Perſons, who either believ'd not the God of *Iſrael*, or had revolted from his Service, God was never wanting to accompany them with a Power of working Miracles, to be the *Credentials* of their Commiſſion. Thus, upon the Defection of the ten *Tribes*, and when *Calves* were ſet up in *Dan* and *Bethel*, in Oppoſition to the Worſhip at *Jeruſalem*, the Prophet, who was ſent to denounce God's Anger againſt ſuch Procedure, was enabled by a Word's ſpeaking, (*d*) *to rend the Altar*, and both *to wither, and reſtore again*, Jeroboam's *Hand*. In the famous Controverſy between the Prieſts of *Baal* and *Elijah*, the Prophet was empower'd (*e*) *to call Fire down from Heaven, which conſum'd his Sacrifice*, and gain'd him the Victory over his Adverſaries; and, to convince *Naaman* the *Syrian* of the *true God's being in* Iſrael, *Eliſha* was directed (*f*) to cure him of his *Leproſy*, by the ſimple Preſcription of dipping himſelf in the River *Jordan*. Upon theſe, and the like Occaſions, when the Honour of God, or the Truth of the Prophet ſeem'd to be call'd in Queſtion, a Power of working Miracles was communicated to him, as an evident Demonſtration of God's *abetting* his Cauſe, and atteſting the Truth of what he pretended to reveal.

A Recapitulation of the Argument.

PUTTING all this together then, *viz.* that the Prophets were Men of *Sobriety*, and good *Education*, but void of all *Craft* and *Diſſimulation*; that they expos'd themſelves to infinite *Hazards* and *Difficulties*, in the Execution of their Office; that they taught *Doctrines* conſonant to the divine Attributes, and made *Diſcoveries* of the greateſt Importance; *foretold* Events, which none but God cou'd know; and *perform'd* Works, which none but God cou'd do; gave all imaginable Evidence of the Truth of their Commiſſion, and ſealed it very often with the Teſtimony of their own Blood: It will certainly follow, that we have all the Reaſon we can deſire (all indeed that the Nature of the Thing will bear) to believe, that they were *Meſſengers*, ſent from God, to ſupply the intermediate Space between *Moſes* and *Chriſt*, and conſequently, that the *Revelation* of God's Will in the *Old Teſtament* (ſo far as they are concern'd in declaring it) is indubitably true.

An Objection.

" *BUT be the Character of* Moſes *and the* Prophets *(as Meſſengers ſent from God,*
" *to impart his Will to Mankind) never ſo well eſtabliſh'd; yet, what is that to us, who*
" *live in Times, ſo diſtant and remote from them, and have only the Tradition of Men*
" *uninſpir'd, and the Teſtimony of a Set of Books (ſaid indeed to be dictated by the Holy*
" *Ghoſt, but how truly we cannot tell) for the Foundation of our Faith? Had we liv'd*
" *indeed in the Days of* Moſes *and the* Prophets, *when Revelation was attended by* Signs
" *and mighty* Wonders, *the Teſtimony of many glorious* Miracles, *and the Completion of*
" *many remarkable* Prophecies, *we ſhou'd have then been inexcuſable, had we remained*
" *incredulous amidſt theſe Inſtances of Divine Power: But ſince, in our preſent Circum-*
" *ſtances, we are reduc'd to the* bare Letter *of the Scriptures, which, for ought we know,*
" *may be* ſpurious *and* corrupt; *or, if* genuine, *ſeem to have ſmall Signatures of a divine*
" *Spirit in their Compoſition; which, almoſt in every Paſſage, are loaded with* Abſurdi-
" ties *and* Contradictions, *with* Myſteries *and* Riddles, *and* obſcure *Paſſages; and, where*
" *they chance to be intelligible, are ſo* trifling *in their* Narrations, *ſo* illogical *in their*
" Reaſonings, *ſo* confus'd *in their* Method, *ſo* inſipid *in their* Stile, *ſo* tedious *in their*
" Repetitions, *ſo* ambiguous *in their* various Readings, *and, in the Whole, ſo* barren *of*
" *any* real Entertainment *to an ingenious Reader; that, inſtead of poring in theſe muſty*
" *and perplex'd Records, (and which perhaps too may not be ſo* ancient *as is pretended)*
" *we*

(*d*) 1 Kings xiii. 3. 4. 5. 6. (*e*) *Ch.* xviii. (*f*) 2 Kings 5.

" *we think it the eaſier and ſafer Way, to attend to the Sentiments of our Minds, and* " *thoſe plain and* immutable *Laws, which God* has written upon the fleſhly Tables of " our Hearts."

The State of the Caſe between Contemporaries *with the Prophets, and thoſe of* After-Ages.

WE allow indeed, that there is a great deal of Difference between thoſe, who were *Contemporaries* with *Moſes* and the *Prophets* and *us*, who are at ſome thouſand Years diſtance. The Completion of a Prediction gave Sanction to the Prophet's Pretenſions, and Miracles carried with them a clear and preſent Conviction; they enter'd quickly, and gain'd Aſſent without any Argumentation: Whereas our Faith now is founded on *human* Teſtimony, and the Evidences of our Religion compris'd in no very large Volume. But then, we are to conſider, that we give Credit to the Contents of other Books upon no better Grounds; that, upon this very Account, we firmly believe, that *Alexander*, about two thouſand Years ago, conquer'd a great Part of the World; and that there was ſuch a Perſon as *Julius Cæſar*, who, upwards of ſeventeen hundred Years ago, conquer'd *France*, and came into *England*: And yet the Authority of the *ſacred* Records has been more ſtrictly examin'd into, and found to be better atteſted, than That of any *human* Compoſition. The *Contemporaries* with inſpir'd Men were convinc'd by Senſe, and ocular Demonſtration; but in this we have the Advantage of them, that, having liv'd to ſee the whole *Scheme* of Revelation compleated, and at once placed in our View, we can compare one Part with the other, and thence obſerve, how the *Myſtery* of Man's Redemption gradually advances; what *Harmony* there is between the *Old* and the *New* Teſtament; and how the many Prophecies in the one receive their Accompliſhment in the other; which cannot but give great Comfort and Satisfaction to an *inquiſitive* Mind.

IT is not to be doubted then, but that *we*, of After-Ages, *upon whom the Ends of the World are come*, have ſufficient Grounds for our Faith to reſt upon, if we can but ſatisfy ourſelves —— That the Perſons, by whom God made Revelations of his Will, *at ſundry Times, and in diverſe Manners*, were directed by him to *record* them in certain *Books* —— That, in writing theſe Books, they were aſſiſted by the *Inſpiration* of his infallible Spirit —— That, according to the beſt Computations, they were wrote by the very ſame *Perſons*, to whom they are *aſcrib'd* —— That, at a proper Period of Time, they were *compil'd* into one *Body* by ſuch as were *authoriz'd*, and *enabled* ſo to do —— That from them, they have *deſcended* to us, true and genuine, without any conſiderable *Loſs*, or *Alteration* —— That the Books now *extant*, and receiv'd by the *Chriſtian Church*, are the very ſame, which were thus written by Inſpiration, and compil'd by Authority —— And that they are not liable to the foregoing *Objections*, but deſerve a better *Character*, and better *Uſage*, than ſome in this Age are pleas'd to give them.

The Objection anſwer'd, by ſhewing that Revelations were recorded *in* Books.

(g) 'TIS the Opinion of ſome learned Men, that *Writing* was an Art *coæval* with Mankind, and the Invention of *Adam* himſelf. *Joſephus* indeed informs us, that it was in uſe before the *Flood*; and from thence ſome have conjectur'd, that the Hiſtory of the *Creation*, and the reſt of the Book of *Geneſis*, were (for the Subſtance of them) deliver'd down to *Moſes* in Verſe (which was the moſt ancient Way of writing) and that, from them, he compil'd his Book. This however can hardly be a probable Conjecture, becauſe it is ſcarce conceivable, how Men cou'd have loſt the Senſe of Religion ſo totally, as we find they did, had there been any *ſtanding* Records of it at that Time. The more probable Opinion is, that it was the long-experienc'd Inſufficiency of *Oral Tradition* (the only Way of Conveyance then in Uſe) that gave Occaſion to the general Corruption; while ſome forgot, and others perverted, the Doctrines deliver'd to them by their Anceſtors, and, in Compliance to their Luſts, brought themſelves, by Degrees, firſt *to believe a Lye*, and then to propagate it, having no *written* Rule of Truth to confront the Error.

IT

(g) Jenkins's Reaſonableneſs, and *Stillingfleet's* Orig. Sacra.

Why God appointed it to be ſo.

IT can hardly be doubted, but that God vouchſafed frequent Revelations to the *Patriarchs* before the Law, and ſufficiently inſtructed them in his Will; nor can we queſtion, but that theſe *holy Men* us'd their beſt Endeavours to propagate the Doctrine, they receiv'd, and to reform the Manners of thoſe at leaſt, who depended on them: And (what was a great Advantage to them in this Reſpect) both their *Lives* were ſo very *long*, and the *Principles* of their Religion ſo extremely *few*, that two Perſons might have convey'd them down from *Adam* to *Abraham*. For *Methuſalah* lived above three hundred Years, while *Adam* was yet alive: *Sem* was almoſt an Hundred, when *Methuſalah* died; and when *Sem* died, *Abraham* was above an Hundred, according to the *Hebrew* Computation. Here is a great Period of Time fill'd up by two or three Perſons; and yet, in this Time, the Tradition of thoſe few things, wherein Religion was then comprehended, was ſo totally corrupted, that *Idolatry* was generally practis'd, and God was obliged to make a new, and immediate Revelation to the *Patriarch Abraham*.

(*b*) THE Promulgation of the Law on Mount *Sinai*, was one of the moſt amazing Things that ever happen'd: And, as the Circumſtances of the whole Solemnity were very *ſurprizing*, the Commandments then deliver'd but *few*, the People all of one Language, ſeparate from the reſt of Mankind, and oblig'd to a conſtant Commerce among themſelves; ſo there ſeems to be, in this Caſe, all imaginable Advantages in Favour of *Tradition:* And yet, notwithſtanding theſe, God wou'd not truſt his Precepts to this uncertain Way of Conveyance, but (*i*) Himſelf, *with his own Finger*, twice wrote them upon *two Tables of Stone*. The *hiſtorical* Tranſactions of the *Jews*, the many ſtrange Deliverances Heaven vouchſafed them, and, particularly, their ſignal Victory over the *Amalekites*, God commanded *Moſes* not to relate to his Poſterity by Word of Mouth only, but *to write them for a Memorial in a Book* (*k*): Nay, the very *ceremonial* Part of the Law, tho' not intended to be of perpetual Obligation, was not referr'd to this *traditionary* Method, but, according to Divine Appointment, committed to Writing, and repoſited with the Prieſts: And therefore we have leſs Reaſon to wonder, that, in Things, which were to come to paſs in future Ages (ſuch as the Predictions of the *Prophets* were) and whereon the Fate of Nations, as well as Divine Veracity, did depend, we always find God giving Injunctions of this Kind, (*l*) *to write their* Inſpirations *before the People in a Table, and to note them in a Book, that they might be for the Time to come, for ever and ever.*

That theſe Books were written by divine Inſpiration.

THAT the Books, which were *ſucceſſively* wrote in this Manner, were wrote by the Order and Aſſiſtance of God's bleſſed Spirit, no one can doubt, who either attends to the high Sentiments which the *Jews* of old entertain'd of them, or to the Teſtimony, whereby both *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles have given a full Sanction to them. The *Law of Moſes* was to the *Jews* accounted the Law of God himſelf, and the *Pentateuch* eſteemed the Foundation of their Religion. The familiar *Converſe* he had with God, the *Wonders* and *Miracles* that he wrought, and the Divine Wiſdom, and Gift of Prophecy which reſided in him, put it beyond all Diſpute, that the Books, which he left behind him, were penn'd by the Inſpiration of the Spirit of God, whereof he was full. The other *canonical* Books, which, in Proceſs of Time, were collected into a *Body*, the *Jews* always held in the like Veneration; inſomuch that (as *Joſephus* tells us) they were accuſtom'd, from their Infancy, to call them *the Doctrines of God*, and were ready, at any Time, to lay down their Lives in Vindication of them: Nor is it any bad Argument to us *Chriſtians*, that we find our bleſſed *Lord* quoting theſe Books, under the Title of *the Scriptures*, and acquainting us with the common Diſtribution of them, in his Days, into the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Pſalms*; becauſe the Book of *Pſalms* was placed in the Front of that Collection, which was uſually ſtil'd the *Hagiographa*. 'Tis upon the Evidence of theſe Books, that he proves himſelf to be the *Meſſias*; 'tis by them,

(*b*) *Burnet* on the Articles. (*i*) Exod. xxxi. 18. (*k*) *Ch.* xvii. 14. (*l*) Iſa. xxx. 8.

them, that he confutes the *Jews*; and to them, that he appeals, both in the Proof of his own Doctrine, and in all his Diſputations with them. And therefore we need not wonder, that we find both the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles* aſſuring us, that (*m*) *all Scripture is given by the Inſpiration of God*, and the Apoſtle of the *Jews* aſſerting the ſame Thing, *viz.* that (*n*) *no Prophecy of the Scripture is of private Interpretation; for the Prophecy came not, in old Time, by the Will of Man, but holy Men of God ſpake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt.* Upon the whole therefore we muſt conclude, (*o*) either that *Moſes*, and the other Writers of the *Old Teſtament*, were inſpir'd, or that they were conſummate *Cheats*; and that, not only *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, by remitting us to them, and citing their Writers as *Divine*, did connive at the *Cheat*; but that God himſelf likewiſe, by *giving* them the Power of *Miracles* and *Prophecy*, did countenance the *Impoſture*; and, by inveſting them with the Character of his *Authority*, and all outward *Marks* of his Approbation, inevitably lead us into Error: Which is moſt impious to think, and moſt blaſphemous to ſay.

And for what Reaſon.

CONSIDERING then that the Divine Intention, in having the Scripture wrote, was to make them the *Standard* of Faith, and *Rule* of Life, in all future Ages of the Church; there was a ſtrong Reaſon why God ſhou'd take Care that the Books, which he deſign'd to be the ſole *Guide* of Mankind in Matters of Religion, and which, he foreſaw, all Poſterity wou'd appeal to, as the great *Touch-ſtone* of Truth, ſhou'd not be liable to any Errors; but that his Holy Spirit ſhou'd ſo guide the Hand of his *Penmen* (as it were) and aſſiſt them in their Compoſitions with ſuch an *infallible* Veracity, as might be of ſufficient Authority to ſilence all Differences, whenever they ſhou'd ariſe. And accordingly we may obſerve, that, in all Ages, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* have appeal'd to theſe Books, as to *Oracles*, in order to decide all Controverſies in Religion; that, in every general *Council*, the *Holy Bible* was always plac'd *on high*, as the *Directory*, and *unerring Compaſs*, whereby to *ſteer* in their Debates; and that, at the Opening of ſuch *Aſſemblies*, each *Member* was wont to declare himſelf, much in the ſame Senſe, with (*p*) the *Article* of our Church; "That the Holy Scripture containeth "all Things neceſſary to Salvation; ſo that, whatſoever is not read therein, nor may be "prov'd thereby, is not to be requir'd of any Man, that it ſhou'd be believ'd, as an "*Article* of the Faith, or be thought requiſite or neceſſary to Salvation."

How far inſpir'd.

IT is needleſs, and almoſt impoſſible for us to define preciſely, how far the *Spirit* of God was engag'd in the *Compoſition* of the Holy Scriptures. It ſeems more conſonant however to the Manner of the Divine Operations, which do not uſually put any Force upon human Nature, but leave it, in a great Meaſure, to the Exerciſe of its *Faculties*, to ſuppoſe, that the Authors of them were ſomething more than mere *Amanuenſes* to the Holy Ghoſt. The great Diverſity of Style and Diction, which may be obſerv'd in ſeveral Books, and ſometimes the expreſſing one and the ſame Thing in *different Terms* by different Authors, is almoſt a ſure Indication, that they themſelves had ſome Share in the Compoſition, and that the Holy Ghoſt was not the *ſole* Author of every Word and Expreſſion: For, if this had been the Caſe, the Style of each Book had been alike and uniform; at leaſt, there had not been that apparent Difference in it, which we now ſee, and which (taking in the *Holy Penmen* for a Share in the Compoſition) may not unfitly be aſcrib'd to *natural* Cauſes. If the Holy Ghoſt had dictated every Word, I ſay, why ſhou'd *Iſaiah*, who was bred in a Court, be more *florid* and *magnificent* in his Expreſſion than *Amos*, who had his Education among the *Herds?* 'Tis a more eaſy Suppoſition therefore of the two, that God ſhou'd ſuggeſt the *Matter* of his Revelation firſt to their Minds, and then leave them to weigh it in their Thoughts (as they did other Truths) and ſo put it into ſuch a Form of Words, as their own Minds, or the Tenour of their *Education*, naturally inclin'd to.

(*m*) 2 Tim. iii. 16. (*n*) 2 Pet. i. 21. (*o*) Vid. *Calmet's* Differ. Vol. I. (*p*) Article the VIth.

THE Writings of the *Holy Penmen* are of different Kinds: Some of them are *Hiſtorical*, ſome *Preceptive*, ſome *Argumentative*, ſome *Doctrinal*, ſome *Poetical*, and ſome *Prophetical*; in all which, the *Meaſure* of the Divine Aſſiſtance ſeem'd to *vary* in Proportion to the Nature of the *Subject*, whereof they treated. If they wrote *Hiſtorically* of Matters of Fact, which either they themſelves knew, or had receiv'd from credible Witneſſes, there was no Reaſon that the Subſtance of their Hiſtory ſhou'd be reveal'd *again*; all that ſeems requiſite is, that the Holy Ghoſt ſhou'd ſo far inſpect them, as to prevent any Error in the *Relation*. If they deliver'd any *moral* Precepts, or *argu'd* from any reveal'd Truths, he then allow'd them to employ their reaſoning Faculties, as far as their Arguments were ſuitable and *ſolid*; and, at the ſame Time, clear'd their Underſtanding, and hinder'd them from writing any Thing *impertinent*. If their Compoſitions were of the *Poetic* Kind, he left them to follow the eſtabliſh'd Rules of that *Art*, and to *ſcan* out the *Metre* by themſelves; and all that he did, in this Caſe, was to quicken their *Invention*, and refine their *Fancy*. But, if they were to indite Things of an *Higher* Nature, and ſuch as were above their Faculties; if they were either to predict ſome remarkable *Event*, or declare ſome *Divine Truth*, that was never reveal'd before; it ſeems reaſonable to believe, that the *Whole* of theſe was *immediately* inſpir'd into their Minds by the *Holy Ghoſt*; becauſe they cou'd be the Reſult neither of their *Underſtanding*, nor *Memory*, and conſequently cou'd come into their Minds no other Way, but by *immediate Inſpiration*.

FROM the whole then it is reaſonable to think, that the Meaſures of Divine Inſpiration varied according to the Nature of the Subject, or the *Exigences* of the Penmen, who recorded it: That, in the main, they purſued their own Method, and Manner of Expreſſion; but, on ſome important Occaſions, had the Words dictated to them: That, in ſome Subjects, they had their *Memory* refreſhed; in others, their *Underſtanding* enlighten'd; in others, their *Fancies* elevated; in *all*, their Wills directed to the Diſcovery and Declaration of the Truth: And, even in the *leaſt* Matter they wrote, were never ſo far left to their own Diſcretion, as not to have the Holy Spirit preſiding over them, and keeping them from expreſſing any Thing contrary to the Divine Mind, or the Dignity of the ſacred Subject.

The Number, Order, and Authority of the Books.

NOW the Books of the *Old Teſtament*, which, by the Divine Will and Inſpiration were, in this Manner, written, were by the *Jews* of old uſually divided into three ſeveral *Claſſes*, whereof the *firſt* comprehended the five Books of *Moſes*; the *ſecond*, all the *Prophets*; and the *third*, thoſe Writings, which they call'd *Chetubim*, the *Greeks Hagiographa*; or Books, that were written by holy Men, but not with ſuch *Fullneſs* of Spirit, as to be rank'd among the Prophets. In this Diviſion they reckon'd *five* Books in the *firſt* Claſs; *eight* in the *ſecond*; and *nine* in the *third*; in all *two* and *twenty*; according to the Number of the Letters of their *Alphabet*, and as fully comprehending all that was neceſſary to be *known* and *believ'd*, as the Number of their Letters did all that was requiſite to be *ſaid* or *written*; for in this Method it is that they range them.

The Books of *Moſes*. V.
- *Geneſis.*
- *Exodus.*
- *Leviticus.*
- *Numbers.*
- *Deuteronomy.*

Four Books of the *former* Prophets. IV.
- *Joſhua.*
- *Judges*, and *(q) Ruth.*
- *Samuel* 1, and (r) 2.
- *Kings* 1, and (r) 2.

Four

(q) Which was put as an Appendix to the *Judges*.

(r) Counted them but one Book.

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Four Books of the *later* Prophets. IV.
- *Iſaiah.*
- *Jeremiah*, and his (*s*) *Lamentations.*
- *Ezekiel.*
- (*t*) The Books of the 12 *leſſer Prophets.*

And the reſt of the *holy* Writers. IX.
- King *David*'s *Pſalms.*
- King *Solomon*'s *Proverbs.*
- His *Eccleſiaſtes.*
- His *Song of Songs.*
- The Book of *Job.*
- The Book of *Daniel.*
- The Book of *Ezra*, and (*u*) *Nehemiah.*
- The Book of *Eſther.*
- The Book of (*x*) *Chronicles* 1, and 2.

WHICH two Books of *Chronicles*, containing the Sum of all their former Hiſtories, and reaching, from the *Creation* of the World to the *Jews Return* from *Babylon*, are a perfect *Epitome* of the *Old Teſtament*, and therefore not improperly plac'd, as if they concluded, and clos'd up, their whole *Bible*.

THE Book of *Geneſis*, which is an *Introduction* to the reſt of the *Pentateuch*, (and contains the Hiſtory of about 2369 Years, from the Beginning of the World to the Death of the Patriarch *Joſeph*) is ſo call'd, becauſe it treats of the Creation of the World, the Beginning and *Generation* of Man, and all other Creatures (*y*). Geneſis.

THAT of *Exodus*, which relates the Tyranny of *Pharaoh*, and the Bondage of the *Iſraelites* under him (and contains an Hiſtory of near 145 Years) is ſo call'd, becauſe it comprehends the Hiſtory of the Departure of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, under the Conduct of *Moſes* (*z*). Exodus.

THAT of *Leviticus*, (which contains about one Month's Time) has it's Name, becauſe it gives an Account of the *Jewiſh* Service and Worſhip, of the Offices of the *Levites*, and the whole *Levitical* Order (*a*). Leviticus.

THAT of *Numbers*, (which contains the Hiſtory of ſomewhat more than 38 Years) and relates ſeveral remarkable Incidents in the *Iſraelites* Paſſage thro' the Wilderneſs, has it Denomination from *Moſes*'s *numbering* the Tribes of the People (*b*), according to God's Order and Appointment (*c*). Numbers.

THAT of *Deuteronomy*, which ſignifies *a ſecond Law*, (and takes up about the Space of ſix Weeks) is a ſummary (*) *Repetition* of the Laws, both *Moral*, *Civil*, and *Ceremonial*, which *Moſes* had given the *Iſraelites* in the former Books; together with ſeveral kind Admonitions, and earneſt Exhortations to better Obedience for the Time to come, from the Conſideration of the many *Divine Favours* already receiv'd, and the Promiſes that were in *Reverſion* (*d*). Deuteronomy.

THIS

(*s*) Counted but one Book. (*t*) Which were all put in one. (*u*) The *Jews* reckon'd them both together for one. (*x*) And theſe two went with them for one Book. (*y*) The *Hebrews* call it *Bereſith, in Principio, in the Beginning*, becauſe, in their Language, it begins with that Word. (*z*) The *Hebrews* call it *veele Schemoth*, becauſe it begins with theſe Words, *Now theſe are the Names*, &c. (*a*) The *Jews* term it *Vaiera*, becauſe in *Hebrew* it begins with this Word, which ſignifies *and he called.* (*b*) For now that they were paſſing through the Wilderneſs, wherein they were in Danger of meeting with many Enemies, it was highly convenient to take an Account of their Forces, and to put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence. *Lewis, Antiq. Heb.* L. 8. (*c*) The *Jews* term it *Vacdabber, and he ſpake*, becauſe in *Hebrew* it begins with thoſe Words.

(*) This ſeems to be of abſolute Uſe, becauſe the *Iſraelites*, who had heard them before, died in the Wilderneſs; and as there was now another Generation of Men ſprung up, 'twas highly requiſite to have theſe Laws promulg'd afreſh, which *Moſes* does in this Book, and here and there interſperſes both Explications and Additions. *Lewis*, Ibid. (*d*) The *Jews* call it *Elle-haddebarim, hæc ſunt verba, theſe are the Words*, becauſe the *Hebrew* Text begins in this Manner.

THIS is the Scope of the *Pentateuch*, or five Books of *Moſes:* And that He, and none but he, was the Writer of them, we have all the Aſſurance that innumerable *Paſſages* in the holy Scriptures, the joint *Authority* of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, the univerſal *Conſent* of all Ages, and (*e*) the concurring *Teſtimony* of the moſt antient Heathen Authors, can give us. Only it muſt be obſerved, that ſome Part of the laſt Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, wherein Mention is made of the Death of *Moſes*, muſt have been added by ſome other Writer, either by *Joſhua*, his immediate Succeſſor, or (as others wou'd have it) by *Ezra*, the great Reſtorer of the *Jewiſh Canon*.

Joſhua. THE Book of *Joſhua* (which contains the Hiſtory of 17 Years) is ſo called, not ſo much upon the Account of its *Author*, as of its *Subject-Matter*; ſince it contains the Hiſtory of the Wars, and other Affairs, which happen'd under the Adminiſtration of that great *Captain:* But ſince the Author of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus* gives him this Character, *(f) that he was the Succeſſor of* Moſes *in Propheſies*, i. e. the next inſpir'd Writer of Scripture after *Moſes*, we have no Reaſon to oppoſe the Judgment of the *Jewiſh* Church, which (*g*) generally aſcrib'd it to him.

Judges. THE Book of *Judges*, which relates the State of the *Jewiſh* People in the Land of *Canaan*, in the Time of the *Judges*, from *Joſhua*'s Death until *Eli*, (i. e. about 300 Years, is very antient, as appears from a Paſſage in a Pſalm of *David*, (*h*) *When thou wenteſt forth before the People, when thou marchedſt thro' the Wilderneſs, the Earth ſhook, the Heavens alſo dropped at the Preſence of God*; which Words are an exact Imitation of theſe in (*i*) *Judges*; *Lord, when thou wenteſt out of* Seir, *when thou marchedſt out of the Field of* Edom, *the Earth trembled, the Heavens dropped, the Clouds alſo dropped Water:* And, that it was wrote by *Samuel*, as well as the Book of *Ruth*, (which is an Appendix to it) the Doctors of the *Talmud* agree, tho' others attribute it to *Hezekiah*, and many to *Ezra*.

The Books of Samuel. THE two Books of *Samuel*, which are publick Hiſtories of the Tranſactions under the two *laſt* Judges, *Samuel* and *Eli*, and under the two *firſt* Kings, *Saul* and *David*, (comprizing the Compaſs of 100 Years) have likewiſe evident Marks of their *Antiquity:* and, tho' it be not abſolutely certain who their Author was, yet the Generality of the *Jews* do, with great Probability, aſſert, that the four and twenty firſt Chapters were written by *Samuel* himſelf, and the reſt by the Prophets *Nathan* and *Gad*; which Aſſertion they found on this Paſſage in the *Chronicles*, (*k*) *Now the Acts of* David *the King, firſt and laſt, behold, they are written in the Book of* Samuel *the Seer, and in the Book of* Nathan *the Prophet, and in the Book of* Gad *the Seer*.

Kings, *and* Chronicles. THE Books of *Kings* (*l*), and the *Chronicles* (for I take them in the Order wherein they *now* ſtand in our Bibles) which, taking in ſome Part of the foregoing Books, contain the Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* Monarchy, down to the Captivity of *Babylon*, (a Space of above 500 Years) were compiled out of ancient *Records*, which Records were wrote by Men of a *Prophetic* Spirit; and all that *Ezra* (or whoever their *Compiler* was) added of his own, was only ſome *genealogical* Obſervations, at the Beginning of the *Chronicles*, and ſome other Paſſages of ſmall Moment, relating to the Times after the *Captivity*.

THE

(*e*) Vid. Grot. de Verit. L. 1. Sect. 16. *Du Pin*'s Canon, Vol. 1. and *Le Clerk*'s Prologom. *de Scriptore Pentateuchi.* (*f*) Eccluſ. xlvi. 1. (*g*) The *Talmudiſts* indeed make him the Author of the Book; but ſome of the *Ancients*, and many modern Writers deny it: and, accordingly, we find *Theodoret* affirming, that this Volume was collected a long Time after *Joſhua*'s Death, and that it was no more than an Abſtract of an ancient *Commentary*, called *the Book of Juſt Men*, whereof we find Mention made in the tenth Chapter of the ſaid Book of *Joſhua*. Lewis's *Antiq. Hebr.* Lib. 8.

(*h*) Pſal. lxviii. 7. (*i*) Judges v. 4. (*k*) 1 Chron. xxix. 29. (*l*) Though it be a Matter of great Uncertainty, whether the Book of the *Kings*, or of the *Chronicles* were firſt written, yet it is evident, that this of the *Chronicles* is more full, and comprehenſive than that of the *Kings:* and from thence theſe Books are called *Paralipomena, Remains, Supplements*, and *Additions*, by the *Greek* Interpreters, becauſe they contain ſome Paſſages, or Circumſtances that were omitted in the other Hiſtorical Writers. *Lewis*, Ibid.

THE Book of *Ezra*, which is a Continuation of the *Chronicles*, and compriſes the Hiſtory of the *Jews*, from the Time that *Cyrus* made the Decree for their *Return*, until the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* (which was about 100 Years) was *all* compos'd by him, except the ſix firſt Chapters, which contain an Account of the *firſt* Return of the *Jews*, upon the Decree of *Cyrus*; whereas *Ezra* did not return, until the Time of *Artaxerxes*. 'Tis of his *ſecond* Return therefore that he writes the Account, and, adding it to the other (which he found ready compos'd to his Hand) he made it a *compleat* Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh Reſtoration*. Ezra.

NEHEMIAH, who was the Son of *Hilkiah*, of the Tribe of *Levi*, was advanced in *Babylon* to be *Cup-bearer*, or Page, to King *Artaxerxes*; and from him he obtained Leave to return to *Judea* for 12 Years, in order to rebuild the City of *Jeruſalem*. He continues the Hiſtory of *Ezra*, from the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes* to the Reign of *Darius Nothus* (about 40 Years in all) and is, (*m*) by the Writer of the Book of *Maccabees*, atteſted to be the Author of that Work. Nehemiah.

THE Hiſtory of *Eſther*, a *Jewiſh Captive Virgin*, who, for her tranſcendent Beauty, was advanc'd to the Throne of *Perſia*, and, by her Intereſt with her Royal Huſband (*n*) *Ahaſuerus*, (whom ſome will have to be the ſame with the abovemention'd *Artaxerxes*, and others with *Darius Hyſtaſpis*) procur'd to her *Countrymen* a wonderful Deliverance from *Haman*'s intended Maſſacre, by ſome is ſuppos'd to have been written by *Ezra*, and by others by *Mordecai*. But the more probable Opinion of the *Talmudiſts* is, that the great *Synagogue* (to perpetuate the Memory of that remarkable Event, and to account for the Original of the Feaſt of *Purim*) order'd this Book to be compos'd, and afterwards approv'd, and admitted it into the *Sacred Canon*. Eſther.

WHO the Author of the Book of *Job* was, is indeed uncertain: 'Tis very probable however, that he was a Perſon of great *Antiquity*, and one, who liv'd before the Promulgation of the *Jewiſh* Law; becauſe there are no Traces of *That* to be found in the whole Compaſs of the Book: And therefore the moſt general Opinion is, that it was written by *Moſes*, during his Abode in *Egypt*, or in his Flight into the Land of *Midian*, with an Intent to encourage the *Jews* under the Severities of the *Egyptian* Bondage. Tho' ſome will rather have it, that the *Materials* of this Book were drawn up firſt by *Job* himſelf, or ſome of his Friends, the *Interlocutors*; and afterwards coming into the Hands of *Moſes*, and thence into the Poſſeſſion of *Solomon*, were by him turn'd (†) into *Hebrew Verſe*, in the Manner we now find them. Job.

SOME of the ancient Fathers were of Opinion, that the whole Book of *Pſalms* was written by *David* only; but in this they muſt be miſtaken; becauſe the Titles of ſeveral Pſalms tell us, that they were compos'd by *Moſes*. The *Hebrew* Doctors do generally agree, that the 92d *Pſalm* was made by *Adam*. *Solomon*, no doubt, was the Author of the 49th *Pſalm*, which is much of the ſame Strain with his other *Nuptial* Song, which is called the *Canticles*; and 'tis no improbable Conjecture, that the 88th and 89th *Pſalms* were indited in the Time of the *Egyptian* Bondage; the *former* condoling the Peoples *Diſtreſs*, and the *latter* propheſying their *Deliverance*. However this be, 'tis certain, that *David* (who had an excellent Gift of *Poetry* and *Pſalmody*) was the Compoſer of much the greater Part of them; and therefore his Name was thought proper to give Title to the whole *Collection*, which was undoubtedly made by *Ezra*. Pſalms.

(*m*) 2 Mac. ii. 13. (*n*) Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connect. Part 1. Book 4. (†) St *Jerom*, in his Preface to the Book of *Job*, informs us, that, for the moſt Part, it is in Heroic Verſe; that from the Beginning of the Book to the third Chapter, 'tis *Proſe*, but, from the Words, *let the Day periſh wherein I was born*, Chap. iii. 3. to theſe, *wherefore I abhor myſelf, and repent in Duſt and Aſhes*, Chap. xiii. 6. all is Hexameter Verſe, conſiſting of Dactyls and Spondees, like the *Greek* Verſes of *Homer*, or the *Latin* of *Virgil*. And *Marianus Victorius*, in his Note upon this Paſſage of St *Jerome*, tells us, that he has examin'd this Book of *Job*, and finds St *Jerome*'s Obſervations to be true. *Shuckford*'s Connect. Vol. II. ch. ix.

The Proverbs. THAT the Book of *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, and *Canticles*, were written by King *Solomon*, is the general Opinion of the *Jewiſh* Doctors, who pretend to tell us, that he wrote the *Canticles* in his Youth, his *Proverbs* in his Manhood, and his *Eccleſiaſtes* at the latter End of his Life. There are however, but 25 *Chapters* in the Beginning of the *firſt*, which are reputed the original Collection of *Solomon*, the reſt were compil'd by other Hands; only *the laſt Chapter* (which bears the Name of *Lemuel)* is ſuppos'd to have been written by him under a *borrow'd* Name, and ſeems to be made up of ſome wiſe Inſtructions, which his Mother *Bathſheba* had taught him when he was a Child.

Canticles. THE *Song of Songs* (as it is call'd) tho' it may relate to *Solomon*'s Marriage with the Daughter of the King of *Egypt*, and is ſo far *Hiſtorical*; yet the Pious, in all Ages, have ever eſteemed it an *allegorical* Dialogue between *Chriſt* and his *Church:* And, tho' ſome Eccleſiaſtes. Paſſages in *Eccleſiaſtes* ſeem to expreſs an *Epicurean* Notion of Providence; yet it is to be remember'd, that the Author (in an *Academic* Way) diſputes indeed on both Sides, but, in the *Concluſion*, determines for that, which is right, *viz.* (*o*) *to fear God and keep his Commandments, which is the whole Duty of Man; for God*, ſays he, *will bring every Work to Judgment, and every ſecret Thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.*

The Prophets. THAT the Books both of the *greater* and *leſſer* Prophets (for we have no need to conſider them ſeparately) have been always thought to belong to the Perſons, whoſe Names and Inſcriptions they bear, we have the univerſal Conſent of the *Jewiſh* Church, ſeveral plain Paſſages from *Joſephus*, and a very remarkable Teſtimony in the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, to convince us; where, after many Praiſes beſtow'd upon *Ezekiel*, and other Prophets, and Worthies of *Iſrael*, there are theſe Words: (*p*) *And, of the twelve Prophets let the Memorial be bleſſed; let their Bones flouriſh again out of their Place; for they comforted* Jacob, *and deliver'd them by a certain Hope.*

The Canon *of the* Old Teſtament *compil'd by* Ezra. THUS it appears, that the Books of the *Old Teſtament* were either the Work of the Men whoſe Names they bear; or, at leaſt, the Compoſitions of Perſons aſſiſted by the *Holy Ghoſt:* And how they came to be collected into a *Body*, and, by Perſons who were duly qualify'd for the Work, reviſ'd, and publiſh'd in one *Volume*, in the Manner we now have them, is the next Point of Enquiry we are to purſue.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd indeed, that we cannot give an *exact* Account of the Settlement of the *Canon* of the *Old Teſtament*, becauſe we have no Authors extant, who *profeſſedly* treat of this Affair: But, if we may believe the concurring Teſtimony of ancient Writers, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* (who might probably have their Opinions from ſome Authorities that are now loſt) we muſt allow that *Ezra*, upon his Return from the Captivity of *Babylon*, undertook the Work; and, after he had finiſh'd it, had it approv'd by the grand *Sanhedrim*, and publiſh'd by Authority. Only we muſt obſerve, (*q*) that the two Books of *Chronicles*, and thoſe of *Nehemiah*, *Eſther*, and *Malachi*, were very probably afterwards added by *Simon the Juſt*; and, that it was not till *his* Time that the *Jewiſh Canon* of the Holy Scriptures was fully compleated.

THAT this Canon began to be compil'd ſoon after the Return from the Captivity, is pretty plain from the above-cited Paſſage in *Eccleſiaſticus*, which makes mention of the *twelve minor* Prophets, and is an Argument, that they were then collected, and digeſted into one Volume: And if we believe (*r*) that the LXX Interpreters tranſlated *all the Old Teſtament* (which is an Opinion that many learned Men do maintain) that it is evident, that the Canon muſt have been ſettled before the Time that their Verſion was made, which was done under *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and not improbably at the Beginning of his Reign. The Truth is, both the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory ends, and the Spirit of *Prophecy* ceas'd, much about this Time: *Nehemiah* was the laſt *Hiſtorian*, and *Malachi* the

(*o*) Eccleſ. xii. 13. (*p*) Eccleſ. iv. 10. (*q*) Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connect. Part I. L. 5. (*r*) Vid. *Walton*'s Prolog. 9. in Bib. Polyg.

the laſt *Prophet*, both Contemporaries with *Ezra*, and both aſſiſting to him in publiſhing this new Edition of the Scriptures; and therefore 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, after the *Race* of ſuch Writers was extinct, and *all Viſion and Prophecy ſeal'd up* among the *Jews*, that this was a proper Period for collecting the ſeveral *Copies*, and adjuſting the *Catalogue* of their Sacred Books.

What he did to make his Edition perfect.

BUT *Ezra* did more than this: (*s*) He not only *collected* all the Books, whereof the holy Scriptures did conſiſt, and diſpos'd them in their proper Order; but, by comparing the ſeveral Copies together, he corrected all the Errors which had crept into them, thro' the Negligence or Miſtakes of *Tranſcribers*. He chang'd the *old Names* of ſeveral Places that were grown *obſolete*, and, inſtead of them, inſerted ſuch *new ones*, as the People were better acquainted with. He *filled up* the *Chaſms* of Hiſtory, and *added*, in ſeveral Places, throughout the Books of this Edition, what appear'd to him to be neceſſary for the Illuſtration, Connection, and Completion of the Whole. And, laſtly, he *wrote* every Book in the *Chaldee Character*, which, ſince the Time of the Captivity, the People underſtood much better than the *old Hebrew*. But whether, upon this Review, he added the *Vowel Points*, as they are now in our *Hebrew* Bibles, is a Queſtion a little too prolix and intricate, for us to engage in at preſent. Thoſe, who have a Mind to have their Curioſity, in this Reſpect, ſatisfied, may ſee the Arguments on both Sides fairly ſtated in the learned (*t*) *Connection*, we have had ſo frequent Occaſion to quote.

WHAT we have to obſerve farther is, that, in the ſeveral Corrections, Additions, and Alterations, which *Ezra* made, he did not proceed according to his own Humour and *Caprice*, but was directed by the ſame Spirit, which, at firſt, aſſiſted the Writers of theſe ſacred Volumes. For beſides that, Himſelf was a (*u*) Prophet, or (as he is ſtiled) (*x*) *a ready Scribe in the Law of* Moſes, we can hardly ſuppoſe, but that, in an Affair of ſuch Conſequence, he wou'd not only uſe the beſt Skill he had himſelf, but conſult likewiſe with *Haggai*, *Zechary*, and *Malachi*, (the laſt of whom muſt needs have been alive in his Time, and poſſibly the other two) and do nothing without their Advice; becauſe, in Matters of much leſs Moment (*viz.* where ſome, who pretended to the Prieſthood, cou'd not prove their *Pedigree*) we find him ſo very cautious, that he wou'd determine nothing himſelf, but left the Matter undecided, *until a Prieſt ſhou'd ariſe, who* (*y*) *had Urim and Thummim*, whereby he might conſult the Divine Will upon all Occaſions.

And that the ſame Number of Books has deſcended *to us.*

THUS was the *Canon* of the *Old Teſtament* ſettled, in, or about, the Times of *Ezra*: And, that it continued in the ſame Manner or Order, until the Publication of the Goſpel, (beſides the Authority of ſeveral *Chriſtian* Writers) we have this remarkable Teſtimony from (*z*) *Joſephus*. "We have only two and twenty Books, *ſays he*, which "comprehend the Hiſtory of all Ages, and merit our Belief: Five belong to *Moſes*, "which contain what relates to the Origin of Man, and the Tradition of the ſeveral "Succeſſions and Generations, down to his Death.——From the Death of *Moſes*, to "the Reign of *Artaxerxes* (who was King of *Perſia* after *Xerxes*). The Prophets, "who ſucceeded him, have, in their Books, written what happen'd in their Time. "The other Books contain *Hymns* to the Praiſe of God, and *Precepts* for the Conduct "of human Life. What happen'd ſince the Time of *Artaxerxes*, down to our Days, "has likewiſe been recorded by the Writers thereof; but they have not met with the "like Credit, becauſe there has not been any certain Succeſſion of Prophets, during "that Time. And from hence, *ſays he*, it is manifeſt, what Reſpect and Eſtimation "has

(*s*) Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connect. Part I. Lib. V.

(*t*) Part I. Lib. V. p. 497. (*u*) The *Jews* look upon *Ezra* as another *Moſes*; they call him the ſecond Founder of the Law, and hold his Perſon in ſo great Eſteem and Veneration, that it is a common Saying among their Writers, If the Law had not been given by *Moſes*, *Ezra* was worthy to have been the Publiſher of it. *Lewis*, *Antiq. Heb. Lib. VIII.* (*x*) Ezra vii. 6.

(*y*) Chap. ii. 62, 63. (*z*) Contra Apion.

" has been paid to the Books, which compleat our *Canon*; ſince, in ſo long a Tract of " Time, no Man has ventur'd either to *add* any Thing to them, or *diminiſh*, or *alter* " any Thing in them; ſince the *Jews* from their Infancy are accuſtomed to call them " *Divine Inſtitutions*, to believe them ſtedfaſtly, and, upon Occaſion, to lay down " their Lives in Defence of them."

THAT the ſame Number of *Authentic* Books has been tranſmitted to us, we may plainly perceive, if we will but turn to the ſeveral *Catalogues*, which the Fathers, in their Writings, have left us of them, which the *Council* of *Laodicea* enumerates, and ſundry general *Councils* afterwards confirm. And though, in Proceſs of Time, ſeveral *Apocryphal* Books (as containing Matters of *Jewiſh* Hiſtory, and many *moral* Precepts) were, by Degrees, admitted into the Service of the *Church*, and publickly read for the Inſtruction of the People; yet it wou'd be no hard Matter to ſhew, that ſome of the *beſt* and moſt *learned* Writers of their Times always denied their *Canonical* Authority. *The Church indeed allow'd them to be read*, (as St *Jerome* tells us) *but ſhe did not receive them into the Canon of Scripture*; and, in like Manner, our Church declares concerning them, that ſhe *doth read them for Example of Life, and Inſtruction of Manners, but does not apply them to eſtabliſh any Doctrine.* So that, tho' ſome of theſe be confeſſedly *ſpurious*, and, accordingly, have been rejected by the Wiſdom of the Church; yet this can be made no Argument againſt *ſuch*, as have been univerſally receiv'd, and handed down by unanimous, conſtant *Tradition*.

Apocryphal *Books rejected.*

An Objection. " *BUT, tho' we have been careful to receive* no more *Books than what are ſtrictly* " Canonical, *yet how ſhall we ſatisfy ourſelves that we have received them* all? *In ſeveral* " *Parts of Scripture we find Books referr'd to, ſuch as* the Book of the Covenant, the " Book of the Wars of the Lord, the Book of Aſher, the Book of the Acts of Solo- " mon, *&c. none of which are now* extant; *and, therefore, as we ſuppoſe them* loſt, *we* " *cannot but infer, that our preſent* Canon *of Scripture is very lame and imperfect.*"

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing that none of the canonical Books are loſt.

WHAT has given Credit to this *Objection* is the common Notion, that the Books, here ſuppoſed to be loſt, were Volumes of ſome Size, and all indited by the Spirit of God; whereas we may obſerve, 1ſt, That the Word *Sepher*, which we render *Book*, ſignifies properly a bare *Rehearſal* of any Thing, or any Kind of Writing, be it ever ſo ſmall; and that the Cuſtom of the *Jews* was to call every little *Memorandum* by that Name: For what we tranſlate *a Bill of Divorcement*, is (*a*) in the *Original*, a *Book* of *Divorcement*, and the ſhort Account of our Saviour's *Genealogy* is (*b*) *the Book of the Generation of* Jeſus Chriſt. 2dly, That ſeveral of theſe Tracts, which are not now extant, were written, not by Perſons pretending to any ſupernatural Aſſiſtance, but by ſuch (*c*) as were ſtiled *Recorders*, or *Writers* of *Chronicles*, (as it is in the Margin) an Office of great Honour and Truſt, but of a different Kind to that of *Prophets*. 3dly, That ſuppoſing they were indited by ſuch, as were properly Prophets, yet they were not written by Divine Inſpiration; " for Prophets (as (*d*) St *Auſtin* obſerves) did not " at all Times write under the Guidance and Direction of the *Holy Ghoſt*. In the *Fun-* " *damentals* of Religion, indeed, they were divinely aſſiſted; but, in other Matters, " they only wrote as faithful *Hiſtorians.*" And, 4thly, That moſt of theſe Pieces (*e*) are ſtill remaining in the Scriptures, tho' they go under other *Appellations*; and that ſuch, as are not to be found there, were never deſigned for religious Inſtruction, nor are they eſſential to Man's Salvation. And now to apply theſe Obſervations to the Books we imagine to be loſt.

THE *Book of the Covenant*, which is mention'd in *Exod.* xxiv. 7. and thought to be miſſing, is not any diſtinct Book from *the Body of the* Jewiſh *Laws*. For, whoever impartially

(*a*) Deut. xxiv. 1. (*b*) Mat. i. 1. (*c*) 2 Sam. viii. 16. 2 Kings xviii. 18. 2 Chron. xxix. 8. (*d*) De Civit. Dei, Lib. XVIII. Cap. XXXVIII.

(*e*) Vid. *Edwards*'s Perfection of the Holy Scripture; and *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs of the Chriſtian Religion, Vol. II.

impartially examines that Paſſage in *Exodus*, will find, that the Book referr'd to is nothing elſe but a *Collection* of ſuch Injunctions and Exhortations, as are expreſsly laid down in the *four* preceding Chapters.

THE *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, cited in *Numb.* xxi. 14. and ſuppos'd to be wanting, is (in the Opinion *(f)* of a very able Judge) that very *Record*, which, upon the Defeat of the *Amalekites*, God commanded *Moſes* to make, as a *Memorial* of it, and *to rehearſe it in the Ears of* Joſhua. So that it ſeems to be no more than a ſhort Account of that Victory, together with ſome proper Directions for *Joſhua*'s private Uſe and Conduct, in the Management of the ſubſequent War, but not at all dictated by *Divine* Inſpiration, and conſequently no *(g) Canonical* Scripture.

THE *Book of Jaſher*, mention'd in *Joſh.* x. 13. is ſuppos'd by ſome to be the ſame with the Book of *Judges*, becauſe we find Mention therein of the *Sun's ſtanding ſtill*: But the Conjecture of the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian (*h*) ſeems to be better founded, *viz.* that it was compos'd of certain *Records*, (kept in a ſafe Place at that Time, and afterwards remov'd into the Temple) which gave an Account of what happen'd to the *Jews* from Year to Year, and particularly of the *Sun's ſtanding ſtill*; and (as it is in 2 *Sam.* i. 18.) Directions for the *Uſe of the Bow*, i. e. for ſetting up of *Archery*, and maintaining military Exerciſes. So that this was not the Work of an inſpir'd Perſon, but of ſome common *Hiſtoriographer*, who wrote the *Annals* of his own Time, and might therefore deſerve the Name of *Jaſher*, the *Upright*; becauſe, what he wrote was generally deem'd a true and *authentic* Account of all the Events and Occurrences which then happen'd.

ONCE more, the ſeveral *Books of Solomon*, mention'd in 1 *Kings* iv. 32, 33. were no Part of *Canonical* Scripture. His *three thouſand Proverbs* were, perhaps, only *ſpoken*, not written down. His *Songs*, which were *a thouſand and five*, and whereof we have but one, were very likely his *juvenile* Compoſitions; and his *univerſal* Hiſtory of *Vegetables*, and that of *Animals of all Kinds*, as properly belonged to *Philoſophy*. It was not neceſſary for every one to be acquainted with them: And tho' the Loſs of them (conſidering the matchleſs Meaſure of Wiſdom, wherewith God had endowed their Author) is certainly very great, yet it is a Loſs which none, but the buſy Searchers into Nature have Cauſe to bewail: Nor have they ſo much Cauſe either, if the Conjectures of ſome learned Men ſhou'd prove true, *viz.* that theſe Books of *Plants* and *Animals* were extant in the Days of *Alexander the Great*; or that, being perus'd, and underſtood by *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*, by the Help of an Interpreter, they were tranſlated into their Writings, in the Manner we now find them, and, in Proceſs of Time, gain'd them great Honour and Renown. Upon the Whole therefore we may conclude, that, if any Books ſeem to be wanting in our preſent *Catalogue*, they are either ſuch as lie ſecret, and unobſerved under other *Denominations*; or ſuch as had never the Title of being *Canonical*; as contain'd no Points eſſential to Man's Salvation; and ſuch, conſequently, as we may live ſafely ignorant of here, and ſhall never be reſponſible for hereafter.

An Objection.

" *BUT ſuppoſe we have the* whole Number *of our Books, yet we are ſtill at a Loſs* " *for the true* Senſe *of them; becauſe, ſince the Time of their firſt recording, they have* " *been ſo chopp'd and chang'd by the Management of thoſe who had the Cuſtody of them;* " *ſo foiſted with Errors, and loaded with* various Readings, *that they render the Text* " purely *precarious, and make every wiſe Man doubtful and ſuſpicious, whether any* " *Thing*

(f) Dr *Lightfoot*'s Chronology of the Times of the Old Teſtament. *(g)* Others are of Opinion, that the Book here under Conſideration is no other than the Book of *Judges*, which may properly enough be called *the Book of the Wars of the Lord*; becauſe it recounts the warlike Enterprizes which thoſe brave Men, who were ſtirred by God in an extraordinary Manner, were ſo famous for, (or to expreſs the Remarkableneſs of the Thing) *The Wars of the Lord* may ſignify as much as, the *great*, *wonderful*, and *renowned* Wars fought by the valiant *Hebrews*. *Lewis Antiq. Heb. Lib. VIII.* *(h)* Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. V. Cap. II.

" *Thing of* Certainty *can be gather'd from a Book, where the* Senſe *and* Phraſeology *is* " *ſo very uncertain.*"

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing the Occaſion, *and* Benefit *of* various Readings.

WE readily grant indeed, that there is a great Variety of different Readings occurring in the Books of the *Old Teſtament*; but, as in a Multitude of *Copies*, this is a Thing unavoidable, ſo is it one of the moſt effectual Means, at this Diſtance of Time from all *Originals*, to help us to the true *Senſe* and *Meaning* of the Text. For, put the Caſe, that we had but one Copy of the *Bible* by us, yet, methinks, it wou'd be a deſirable Thing to have another; for (*i*) another, to join with the firſt, wou'd give us more *Authority*, as well as *Security*. Now chuſe that *Second* where you will, there ſhall be numberleſs Variations from the *Firſt*, and yet half, or more of the Faults ſtill remain in them both. A *Third* therefore, and a *Fourth*, and ſo on, are deſirable, that, by a joint and mutual Help, all the Faults may be mended: And yet, the more Copies you call to your Aſſiſtance, the more do the *various Readings* multiply upon you; becauſe every Copy has its particular *Slips*, tho' in a principal Paſſage or two, it may do ſingular Service. Were the *Originals* indeed ſtill in Being, they wou'd ſuperſede the Uſe of all other Copies; but, ſince that is impoſſible from the Nature of Things, ſince Time and Calamities muſt conſume all, the *ſubſidiary* Help muſt be from the various *Tranſcripts*, convey'd down to us, when compar'd and examin'd together: And no one can be ignorant, how much a *Collation* of this Kind tends, both to illuſtrate the Senſe of any *particular* Paſſage, and to ſtrengthen the Authority of the *Whole*.

CONSIDERING then, that, before the Uſe of *Printing*, more *Manuſcripts* were made of the *Holy Bible*, than of any *Heathen Author* whatever; and that theſe Manuſcripts have been examin'd with more Care, and collated with more Exactneſs, and the various Readings ſet down, even to the moſt minute Difference; we are not to wonder, if, with all this ſcrupulous Search and Enquiry, the *Variations* are ſo many. The Editors of profane Authors do not uſe to trouble their Readers with an uſeleſs Liſt of every little Slip, committed by a lazy, or ignorant *Scribe*. What is thought *commendable* in an Edition of the Scriptures, and has the Name of *Fairneſs* and *Fidelity*, wou'd be deem'd *trifling* and *impertinent* in them: But, if the like *Scrupuloufneſs* were obſerv'd, in regiſtring the ſmalleſt Changes in *Profane*, as is allow'd, nay requir'd, in *Sacred Authors*, the Number of their Variations wou'd riſe, at leaſt, to a full *Equality*.

WE ought to account it therefore a ſingular Inſtance of God's good Providence, conſidering the great *Antiquity* of many Books of the Scriptures, beyond that of any other Books in the World; the Multitude of *Copies* that have been taken in all Ages and Nations; the Difficulty to avoid Miſtakes, in tranſcribing Books in a Language, which has ſo many of its *Letters*, and of its *Words* too, ſo like one another; the Defect of the *Hebrew Vowels*, and the late Invention (as moſt are now agreed) of the *Points*; the Change of the *Samaritan*, or ancient *Hebrew* for the preſent *Hebrew*, or *Chaldee* Character; the Captivity of the whole Nation of the *Jews* for ſeventy Years; and the *Mixtures* and *Changes*, which, during that Time, were brought into their Language; conſidering, I ſay, that all the Accidents, which have ever happen'd to create Errors and Miſtakes in any Book, have concurr'd to occaſion them in the *Old Teſtament*; we ought to eſteem it a particular Inſtance of God's Providence, that the different Readings are fewer, and make much leſs Alteration in the Senſe, than thoſe of any Book of the ſame *Bigneſs*, and of any Note, or *Antiquity*, if all the *Copies* ſhou'd be as carefully examin'd, and every little Variation as punctually ſet down, as thoſe of the Holy Scriptures have been. And much more are we to bleſs the Divine Providence, that, whatever Differences are to be found in the ſeveral Copies of the *Bible*, they do not, in the leaſt, prejudice the *Fundamental* Points of Religion, nor weaken the *Authority* of theſe Sacred Records. For this is the Judgment of one, (*k*) who had ſtudied the Subject much, and

(*i*) Philelcu. Lipſ. *Anſwer to a Diſcourſe of Free Thinking.* (*k*) Lud. Cappel. Crit. Sac. Lib. 6. Cap. 2.

and was ſufficiently vers'd in Scripture *Criticiſm*; *viz.* "That the Things, relating "either to *Faith* or *Practice*, are plainly contain'd in all Copies whatever. Difference "there is indeed in leſſer Things, as in Matters of *Chronology*, which depend upon the "Alteration, or Omiſſion, or Addition of a Letter; or in the Names of Men, or of "Cities, or Countries; but the principal Doctrines of Religion are ſo diſpers'd through-"out the Scriptures, that they can receive no Damage, or Alteration, unleſs the Whole "ſhou'd be chang'd, or very groſsly corrupted."

And that the Text *was never* alter'd, *or* corrupted.

FOR, beſides this *Providential* Care (which we may well ſuppoſe to go along with Writings of ſo divine a Character) we find God making all proper and prudent Proviſion for their *Preſervation*, by inſerting a particular, and ſtrict Prohibition in the Law itſelf, (*l*) *That no one ſhou'd preſume to add unto, or diminiſh ought from it*; by enjoining the People to make it their conſtant Study, (*m*) *to bind it*, as it were, *for a Sign upon their Hands, and as Frontlets between their Eyes, and to write it upon the Gates, and Poſts of their Houſes*; and by requiring them to read it diligently, both in private to their Families, and, after a more ſolemn Manner, in their public Congregations. All which cou'd not but make them competent Judges of the Law of *Moſes*, and enable them to deſcry any Change, or material Corruption, which ſhou'd, at any Time, attempt to inſinuate itſelf.

TO ſecure the other inſpir'd Writings, a continu'd Succeſſion of Prophets was of great Service: And it ſeems next to impoſſible for any dangerous Alteration to have been made, without Detection and Cenſure, ſo long as that *Order* of Men, whoſe Office and Zeal led them to correct any *Error* in *Faith*, as well as *Corruption* in *Practice*, was in Being. Nor can we ſuppoſe it probable, that any Perſon wou'd attempt ſuch Alterations, where the *Copies* were in ſo many Hands, and ſo openly read and conſulted, that there was ſcarce any private Perſon, who might not have known (if any ſuch Thing had happen'd) when, and wherein, they had been *corrupted*.

NAY, ſo far were the *Jews* from ſuffering Corruptions to creep into the Holy Scriptures, that, (*n*) if but *one Word* happen'd to be alter'd in any Copy, it was to be laid aſide, as utterly uſeleſs; unleſs it was ſometimes given to a very poor Man, to read to his Family, upon Condition, that he brought it not with him to the *Synagogue*, nor made any other Uſe of it. The religious *Factions* among the *Jews* were many Times very violent; but we no where find any *Party* accuſing the other of *corrupting*, or falſifying Scripture; nor does our *Saviour* himſelf, who ſo frequently reproves the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* for their *Traditions*, and falſe *Gloſſes*, ever once charge them with *adulterating* the Text itſelf; which he certainly wou'd not have fail'd to do, had they been culpable in that Reſpect. On the contrary, both he, and the Apoſtles appeal to it, as true and *authentic*, and borrow their Proofs from it, in Confirmation of the *Chriſtian* Faith and Doctrine. To conclude this Argument then,

THAT from the Time of *Ezra*, to the Coming of our Saviour Chriſt, the *Jews* did not corrupt the Text of the *Sacred* Writings, is plain from his not charging them with any ſuch Practice, which doubtleſs he wou'd have done (as well as reprove their *falſe Comments* upon them) had they been equally guilty of both: And that, ſince the Beginning of *Chriſtianity*, neither they, nor any other Sect whatever, cou'd poſſibly make any *Falſifications*, and either *add*, or *diminiſh* any Thing material, without an immediate Detection, is manifeſt from the Multitude of true and *authentic* Copies, which were every where diſperſed, as far as Chriſtianity prevail'd, and from that *jealous* and *vigilant* Eye, which each Party had upon the other: So that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that all the little Errors, which may be remark'd in them, proceeded, not from any ill Deſign, but merely from the *Ignorance*, or *Inattention* of their *Tranſcribers*. And indeed, (*o*) conſidering the many Ages, thro' which the Books have paſt, we have much more Reaſon

(*l*) Deut. iv. 2. (*m*) *Chap.* vi. 8, 9. (*n*) Vid. *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II. (*o*) Biſhop *Burnet* on the Articles.

Reaſon to wonder, that they are brought down to us ſo *entire*, and ſo manifeſtly *genuine*, in all their main and fundamental Points, than that we ſhou'd ſee ſome Inſtances of human Frailty in thoſe, who copied, and preſerv'd them.

An Objection.

" *BUT be the Books ever ſo* genuine, *and their* Tradition *ever ſo* certain, *yet we* " *cannot ſuppoſe them wrote by Perſons* divinely inſpir'd, *ſo long as we ſee in them certain* " *Characters inconſiſtent with ſuch a Suppoſition. Surely the pureſt Language, the* " *moſt perfect Style, the greateſt Clearneſs, the moſt exact Method, the ſoundeſt Reaſon-* " *ing, the moſt apparent Conſiſtency, and, in a Word, all the Excellencies of good Wri-* " *ting, might be expected in a Piece, compos'd, or dictated by the Spirit of God; but* " *Books, wherein we find the* Reverſe *of all this, 'tis idle, if not impious, to aſcribe to* " *the Deity.*"

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing that Tranſlations *are defective.*

I. ONE great *Miſtake*, which the Generality of Readers run into, is, to judge of the Compoſition of the Scripture, not from it's *Original*, but from it's *Tranſlations*. For, (*p*) beſides that in ancient Writings (ſuch as the *Bible* is) there are Alluſions to many Rites and Cuſtoms that are now laid aſide, and, for this Reaſon, muſt needs ſeem flat or impertinent, which, when they were in Uſe, had a great deal of Spirit and Propriety in them; and beſides, that the *Hebrew*, in particular, is a Language of a peculiar Caſt, both in the *Contexture* of it's Words, and the *Cadence* of it's Periods, and contains certain Expreſſions, whoſe *Emphaſis* can no more be tranſlated into another Language, than the *Water* of a Diamond can be painted, without detracting from the Original: Beſides all this, I ſay, the *Tranſlators* themſelves, ſometimes by running into Miſtakes, and, at all Times, by *adhering* too religiouſly to the Letter of the Text, have contributed not a little to make the Style of the Sacred Writings appear leſs advantageous. For, whereas other Tranſlators have taken a Liberty to accommodate the *Beauties* of the Language, whereinto they tranſlate, to the *Idiotiſms* of that, wherein their Author wrote; *theſe* have thought themſelves reſtrained from uſing ſuch Freedom in a Divine Compoſition, and have therefore left ſeveral *Hebraic*, and other foreign Phraſes in their Verſion, which ſeem a little *uncouth*, and give the Reader (who can look no farther) a very odd Notion of the *Original*: Tho' it is certainly manifeſt, that the moſt elegant Piece of *Oratory* that ever was fram'd, if we render it *literally*, and not give it the true *Genius* of the Language whereunto we are admitting it, will loſe all it's Beauty, and appear with the ſame Diſadvantage.

That Eloquence is not peculiar *to any Country.*

II. ANOTHER *Miſtake* that we run into, is, when we confine Eloquence to any *Nation*, and account *That* the only Proof of it, which is accommodated to the *preſent Taſte*. We indeed, in theſe *European* Countries, whoſe Languages, in a great Meaſure, are deriv'd from *Greek* and *Latin*, make them the *Patterns* for our Imitation, and account them the *Standard* of Perfection; but there is no Reaſon why the *Eaſtern Nations*, whoſe Languages have no *Affinity* with *them*, ſhou'd do the ſame; much leſs is it reaſonable to expect it in Writers, who liv'd long before theſe *Greek* or *Latin* Authors (we ſo much admire) were born. 'Tis ſufficient for them, that they wrote according to the *faſhionable*, and *eſteemed* Eloquence of their own Times: But, that the *Holy Ghoſt* ſhou'd inſpire them with certain Schemes of Speech, adapted to the *modern* Taſte, and ſuch as were utterly unknown in the Countries where they liv'd, is a Thing, that can never enter into any ſober Man's Conſideration. The Truth is, ſince *Moſes* was *bred up* in all the refin'd Learning and Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*; ſince *Solomon* was excellent in all Kind of Knowledge, and, in a Manner, *idoliz'd* by the *Eaſtern* World; and ſince *Daniel*'s promiſing Youth was improv'd by the Learning of the *Chaldean* Sages, we have all the Reaſon imaginable to believe, that they wrote according to Perfection of Style, which was then in Uſe; that, tho' their Eloquence differs from ours, yet it is excellent in its Kind; and that, if we have other Notions of it, 'tis only becauſe we

(*p*) Vid. *Boyle* of the Style of the Scripture, and *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

we are unacquainted with thoſe bold *Allegories*, and figurative Ways of Diſcourſe; thoſe dark *Sentences*, ſurpriſing *Brevities*, and inconnected *Tranſitions*, wherein the Nature of their true *Sublime* did conſiſt.

III. ANOTHER *Miſtake* we run into is, when we ſuppoſe that the *Critical* Rules of Eloquence are any Ways neceſſary in *Divine* Compoſitions. The Deſign of God, in recording his Laws, was to inform our Underſtandings, to cure our Paſſions, and rectify our Wills; and, if this End be but attain'd, 'tis no great Matter, in what Form of Diction the *Preſcription* be given. We never expect that a *Phyſician*'s *Receipt* ſhou'd be wrote in a *Ciceronian* Style: and, if a Lawyer has made us a firm *Conveyance* of an Eſtate, we never enquire what Elegancies there are in the Writing.——When therefore, ——God intends to do for us far greater Things than theſe; when he is delivering the Terms of our Salvation, and preſcribing the Rules of our Duty; why ſhou'd we expect, that he ſhou'd inſiſt on the Niceties of Style and Expreſſion, and not rather account it a *Diminution* of his Authority, to be elaborate in *Trifles*, when he has the momentous Iſſues of another Life to command our Attention, and affect our Paſſions? In ſome of the greateſt Works of Nature, God has not confin'd himſelf to any ſuch Order and Exactneſs. (*q*) The *Stars*, we ſee, are not caſt into *regular* Figures: *Lakes* and *Rivers* are not bounded by *ſtreight* Lines; nor are *Hills* and *Mountains* exact *Cones* or *Pyramids*. When a mighty Prince declares his Will by Laws and Edicts to his Subjects, is he (do we think) careful at all about a pure Style, or elegant Compoſition? Is not the Phraſe thought proper enough, if it conveys as much as was intended? And wou'd not the fine Strains of ſome modern Critics be thought *Pedantic* and affected on ſuch Occaſions? Why then ſhou'd we expect in the *Oracles* of God an Exactneſs, that wou'd be (*r*) unbecoming, and beneath the Dignity of an Earthly *Monarch*, and which bears no Proportion, or Reſemblance to the magnificent Works of the Creation? A ſtrict Obſervation of the Rules of *Grammar* and *Rhetoric*, in elegant *Expreſſions*, harmonious *Periods*, and *Technical Definitions* and *Partitions*, may gratify indeed ſome Readers, but then it muſt be granted, that theſe Things have the Air of *Human* Contrivance in them; whereas in the ſimple, unaffected, artleſs, unequal, bold, figurative Style of the Holy Scriptures, there is a *Character* ſingularly great and *Majeſtic*, and what looks more like Divine Inſpiration, than any other Form of Compoſition.

Nor neceſſary in a Divine *Compoſition.*

THESE Obſervations being premis'd, if we ſhou'd now conſider the Nature of *Eloquence* in general, as it is defin'd by (*s*) *Ariſtotle*, to be a *Faculty of Perſuaſion*, which *Cicero* makes to conſiſt in three Things, *inſtructing*, *delighting*, and *moving* our Readers or Hearers Mind, we ſhall find, that the Holy Scriptures have a fair Claim to theſe ſeveral Properties.

The Style of Scripture inſtructive, *and* affecting.

FOR, where can we meet with ſuch a *plain* Repreſentation of Things, *in Point of Hiſtory*, and ſuch *cogent* Arguments, *in Point of Precept*, as this One Volume furniſhes us with? Where is there an *Hiſtory* written more ſimply and naturally, and, at the ſame Time, more nobly and loftily, than that of the Creation of the World? Where are the great Leſſons of *Morality* taught with ſuch Force and Perſpicuity (except in the *Sermons* of Chriſt, and the Writings of the *Apoſtles*) as in the Book of *Deuteronomy*? Where is the whole Compaſs of Devotion, in the ſeveral Forms of *Confeſſion*, *Petition*, *Supplication*, *Thankſgiving*, *Vows*, and *Praiſes*, ſo punctually taught us, as in the Book of *Pſalms*? Where are the Rules of *Wiſdom* and *Prudence* ſo convincingly laid down, as in the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, and the choice Sentences of his *Eccleſiaſtes*? Where is Vice and Impiety of all Kinds more juſtly diſplay'd, and more fully confuted, than in the Threats, and Admonitions of the *Prophets*? And what do the little Warmths, which

(*q*) *Vid.* The Minute Philoſopher, *Dialogue* IV.

(*r*) Cujuſcunque orationem videris ſollicitam & politam, ſcito animum quoque non minus eſſe puſillis occupatum: Magnus remiſſiùs loquitur, & ſecuriùs. Quæcunque dicit plus habent *fiduciæ*, quam *curæ*. Sen. Epiſt. 115.

(*s*) Rhet. L. 1. c. 2.

may be rais'd in the Fancy by an artificial Compoſure, and Vehemence of Style ſignify, in Compariſon of thoſe ſtrong Impulſes, and Movements, which the Holy Scriptures make upon good Mens Souls, when they repreſent the frightful *Juſtice* of an angry God to ſtubborn *Offenders*, and the Bowels of his *Compaſſion*, and unſpeakable *Kindneſs* to all true *Penitents*, and faithful Servants?

THE Holy Scripture indeed, has none of thoſe *flaſhy* Ornaments of Speech, wherewith human Compoſitions ſo plentifully abound; but then it has a ſufficient Stock of *real*, and peculiar Beauties to recommend it. To give one Inſtance for all, out of the Hiſtory of *Joſeph*, and his Family: The whole Relation indeed, is extremely *natural*; but the Manner of his diſcovering himſelf to his Brethren is inimitable. (*t*) *And* Joſeph *cou'd no longer refrain himſelf — but, lifting up his Voice with Tears, ſaid — I am* Joſeph — *Doth my Father yet live? — And his Brethren cou'd not anſwer him; for they were troubled at his Preſence. And* Joſeph *ſaid to his Brethren, Come near me, I pray you: and they came near, and he ſaid, I am* Joſeph — *your Brother — whom ye ſold into* Egypt. Nothing certainly can be a more lively Deſcription of *Joſeph*'s tender Reſpect for his Father, and Love for his Brethren. And, in like Manner, when his Brethren returned, and told their Father in what Splendor and Glory his Son *Joſeph* liv'd, 'tis ſaid, that (*u*) Jacob's *Heart fainted, for he believed them not*; but *when he ſaw the Waggons, which* Joſeph *had ſent for him, the Spirit of* Jacob, *their Father, reviv'd: and* Iſrael *ſaid, It is enough* — Joſeph *my Son is yet alive — I will go — and ſee him, before I die.* Here is ſuch a *Contraſt* of different Paſſions, of utter *Deſpondency*, dawning *Hope*, confirm'd *Faith*, triumphant *Joy*, and paternal *Affection*, as no *Orator* in the World cou'd expreſs more *movingly*, in a more eaſy Manner, or ſhorter Compaſs of Words.

Figurative *and* lofty *ſometimes.*

NAY more, had I Leiſure to gratify the *Curious*, I might eaſily ſhew, that thoſe very *Figures*, and *Schemes* of Speech, which are ſo much admir'd in *Profane* Authors, as their great *Beauties* and *Ornaments*, are no where more conſpicuous than in the *Sacred*.

ONE *Figure*, for Inſtance, eſteem'd very florid among the Maſters of Art, is, when all the Members of a *Period* begin with the ſame Word. The Figure is called *Anaphora*; and yet (if I miſtake not) the 15th *Pſalm* affords us a very beautiful Paſſage of this Kind. *Lord, who ſhall abide in thy Tabernacle? Who ſhall dwell in thy holy Hill?* He, *that walketh uprightly*; he, *that backbiteth not with his Tongue*; he, *that maketh much of them that fear the Lord*; he, *that ſweareth to his Hurt, and changeth not*; he, *that putteth not out his Money to Uſury, nor taketh Reward againſt the Innocent*; he, *that does theſe Things ſhall never be moved.*

THE ancient *Orators* took a great deal of Pride in ranging finely their *Antitheta*. *Cicero* is full of this, and uſes it many Times to a Degree of Affectation; and yet I cannot find any Place, wherein he has ſurpaſſed that Paſſage of the Prophet. (*x*) *He that* killeth an Ox, *is as if he* ſlew a Man; *he that* ſacrificeth a Lamb, *as if he* cut off a Dog's Neck; *he that offereth* an Oblation, *as if he offer'd* Swines Blood. But above all other Figures, that, whereon Poets and Orators love chiefly to dwell, is the *Hypotypoſis*, or lively Deſcription; and yet we ſhall hardly find, in the beſt *Claſſic* Authors, any Thing comparable, in this Regard, to the *Egyptians* Deſtruction in the *Red-Sea*, related (*y*) in the Song of *Moſes* and *Miriam*; to the Deſcription of the *Leviathan* (*z*) in *Job*; to the *Deſcent* of God, and *a Storm at Sea* (*a*) in the *Pſalmiſt*; to the Intrigues of an *adulterous* Woman (*b*) in the *Proverbs*; to the Pride of the *Jewiſh* Ladies (*c*) in *Iſaiah*; and to the Plague of *Locuſts* (*d*) in *Joel*; which is repreſented like the ravaging of a Country, and ſtorming a City by an Army: *A Fire devoureth before them, and*

(*t*) Gen. xlv. 1, &c. (*u*) Ver. 26, &c. (*x*) Iſa. lxvi. 3. (*y*) Exod. xv. (*z*) Ch. xli.
(*a*) Pſal. xviii. 17. (*b*) Ch. vii. (*c*) Ch. iv. (*d*) Ch. i.

and behind them a deſolate Wilderneſs, and nothing ſhall eſcape them——*Before their Face People ſhall be pain'd; all Faces ſhall gather Blackneſs. They ſhall run like mighty Men; they ſhall climb the Wall like Men of War; they ſhall march every one in his Way, and they ſhall not break their Ranks*——*They ſhall run to and fro in the City; they ſhall run upon the Wall; they ſhall climb up upon the Houſes; they ſhall enter into the Windows as a Thief.*——The Deſcription is more remarkable, becauſe the *Analogy* is carried quite throughout without ſtraining, and the whole Proceſſes of a conquering *Army*, in the Manner of their *March*, their deſtroying the Proviſion, and *burning* the Country; in their ſcaling the Walls, breaking into Houſes, and *running* about the vanquiſh'd City, are fully delineated, and ſet before our Eyes.

At all Times proper.

FROM theſe few Examples (for it wou'd be endleſs to proceed in Inſtances of this kind) it appears, that the *Holy Bible* is far from being defective in Point of Eloquence; and (what is a peculiar Commendation of it) it's Style is full of a grateful Variety; ſometimes *Majeſtic*, as becomes *that high and holy One, who inhabiteth Eternity*; ſometimes ſo *low*, as to anſwer the other Part of his Character, *who dwelleth with Him, that is of an humble Spirit*; and, at all Times, ſo *proper*, and adapted ſo well to the ſeveral Subjects it treats of, that, (*e*) whoever conſiders it attentively, will perceive, in the *narrative Parts* of it, a Strain ſo *ſimple* and *unaffected*; in the *Prophetic* and *Devotional*, ſomething ſo *animated* and *ſublime*; and in the *Doctrinal* and *Preceptive*, ſuch an Air of *Dignity* and *Authority*, as ſeems to ſpeak it's Original *Divine*.

Method, a modern Invention.

WE allow indeed, that *Method* is an excellent Art, highly conducive to the Clearneſs and Perſpicuity of Diſcourſe; but then we affirm, that it is an Art of *modern* Invention, in Compariſon to the Times when the Sacred *Penmen* wrote; and *incompatible* with the *Manner* of Writing which was then in Vogue. We indeed in *Europe*, who, in this Matter, have taken our Examples from *Greece*, can hardly read any Thing *with* Pleaſure, that is not digeſted into Order, and ſorted under proper Heads; but the *Eaſtern* Nations, who were us'd to a free Way of Diſcourſe, and never cramp'd their Notions by *methodical* Limitations, wou'd have deſpis'd a Compoſition of this Kind, as much as we do a School-boy's *Theme*, with all the Formalities of it's *Exordium's*, *Ratio's*, and *Confirmatio's*. And, if this was no *Precedent* for other Nations, much leſs can we think, that God Almighty's Methods ought to be confined to human Laws, which, being deſign'd for the Narrowneſs of *our* Conceptions, might be improper and injurious to *his*, whoſe *Thoughts* are as far *above our's, as the Heavens are higher than the Earth.*

And not ſo proper *in Divine Compoſitions.*

THE Truth is, (*f*) *Inſpiration* is, in ſome Meaſure, the Language of another World, and carries in it the *Reaſoning* of Spirits, which, without Controverſy, is vaſtly different from our's. We indeed, to make Things lie plain before our Underſtandings, are forc'd to *ſort* them out into diſtinct *Partitions*, and conſider them by little and little, that ſo at laſt, by gradual Advances, we may come to a tolerable Conception of them; but this is no Argument for us to think that *pure Spirits* do reaſon after this Manner. Their Underſtandings are quick and *intuitive*: they ſee the whole Compaſs of *rational Inferences* at once; and have no Need of thoſe little *methodical* Diſtinctions, which oftentimes help the Imperfection of our *Intellects*. Now, though we do not aſſert, that the Language of the Holy Scriptures is an exact Copy of the Reaſoning of the *Spiritual* World; yet, ſince *they came by the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt*, it is but reaſonable to expect, that they ſhould preſerve ſome ſmall *Reliſh* of it; as Books, *tranſlated* into another Tongue, always retain ſome Marks of their *Originals*. And hence it comes to paſs, that, tho' the *Holy Ghoſt* does vouchſafe to ſpeak in the Language of Men, yet, in his Divine Compoſitions, there are ſome Traces to be found of that bold, and unlimited *Ratiocination*, which is peculiar to the Heavenly Inhabitants, whoſe noble and *flaming* Thoughts are never clogg'd with the *cold* and *jejune* Laws of human Method.

To

(*e*) The Minute Philoſopher, Dial. IV. (*f*) *Nicholls's* Conference with a Theiſt, Vol. I.

To which Purpoſe we may obſerve, that, even among the *Heathens*, whenever their Authors repreſent a Perſon inſpir'd, a *Sibyl*, a *Caſſandra*, or a *Tireſias*, they never introduce him making a ſet, *formal* Speech; but always ſaying ſomething noble and ſublime, which diſdains all ordinary, *artificial* Fetters. And if the greateſt Maſters of *polite* Writing thought it proper to neglect all Rules and Reſtraints, in Compoſitions of *pretended* Inſpiration, why ſhou'd *That* be accounted *culpable* in the *Holy Scriptures*, which is held ſo *exquiſite* in *Sophocles*, or any other lofty *Tragedian*?

Though, in many Caſes, the Scriptures obſerve it.

BUT after all, the Holy Scriptures (as far as can be expected) are not deſtitute of *Method*. They are not indeed wrote upon the Plan of ſome *Greek* and *Latin* Compoſitions; but they are deliver'd in ſuch a Manner, as is *eaſy* to be underſtood, *not unpleaſant* to read, and, to thoſe who are accuſtom'd to *Oriental* Compoſitions, exceedingly *beautiful*. For, where can we find a more *methodical Hiſtory*, than that of *Moſes*, beginning at the *firſt Creation* of all Things, and the *Formation* of human Kind; proceeding in the Account of their *Increaſe*, *Depravation*, and almoſt total Deſtruction by an univerſal *Deluge*; after their ſecond Increaſe, relating their *Relapſe* into Idolatry, and thereupon God's *electing* a *peculiar* People to ſerve him according to his own Appointment; and ſo recording the firſt *Original*, and various *Adventures* of their Progenitors; the *Afflictions* and *Wanderings* of that choſen Nation, and the *Polity* which they ſhou'd obſerve, when once they were ſettled in the *Promis'd Land*? Nothing can be more clear and regular than this: And as for the other *Hiſtorians*, who wrote the Tranſactions of the *Jewiſh* Nation, from the *Conqueſt* of *Canaan* to the *Babyloniſh Captivity*, they are ſo exact in obſerving the *Order* and Series of Time, and in ſetting down the *Length* of each Prince's Reign, that they afford a better Foundation for *Hiſtorical* Truth, as well as *Chronological* Certainty, than is to be found in the beſt *Heathen* Writers of this Kind.

IT cannot be expected indeed, that *Pſalms* and *Hymns*, wrote upon ſundry Occaſions, or ſuch *Proverbs*, and wiſe *Axioms*, as took their Riſe from different Obſervations, and were noted down the Inſtant they were conceiv'd, ſhould have any Connection, or mutual Dependence. *Prophecies* too were to be looſe, and unconfin'd to Rule, as being the Language of a Spirit, which will admit of no Reſtraint; but, as for the *Doctrinal* and *Argumentative* Parts of the Scripture, they are digeſted in ſuch a Manner, as to make them plain and intelligible: And, tho' the *Partitions*, and *Tranſitions* of them are not ſo *formally* diſtinct as in ſome other Books, yet are they *perceivable* enough to an attentive Reader, and will receive great *Illuſtration* from the *Analytical* Works of ſome *Expoſitors*.

And why ſometimes not.

IT muſt not be diſſembled however, that the *Hebrew* Tongue (wherein a great Part of the *Bible* was written) has many *Words*, conſiſting of the *ſame Syllables*, and yet of very *different* Signification; and that it is defective in ſeveral *Moods* and *Tenſes*, which our *modern* Languages have: So that, if the *Tranſlator* has miſtaken the Signification of the *Word*, he ſpoils the Connection; or, if he has not given the *Verb* the right *Mood* and *Tenſe* (which, in a great Meaſure, he is oblig'd to gueſs at) there will be a plain *Incoherence* in the Senſe. Nor muſt it be forgot, that the preſent *Diviſion* of the Scripture into *Chapters* and *Verſes* (tho' of excellent Uſe to the Memory) has ſometimes *ſeparated* Things, which ſhou'd have been *united*, and ſometimes *united* Matters, that ſhou'd have been *ſeparated*; and this diſturbs the Senſe, and makes it look wild and incoherent, to ſuch as are not qualified to obſerve it's *Propriety* and *Connection* in the *Original*.

The Cauſes *of ſome* Obſcurity *in the Scriptures.*

THESE are ſome of the Cauſes of the ſeeming *Irregularity*, and the like may be ſaid of the great *Obſcurity*, which ſome have complain'd of, in the Holy Scriptures; *viz.* that, where it is not occaſion'd by the *Subject-Matter*, which ſometimes contains *Myſteries* above all human Comprehenſion, and ſometimes alludes to *Cuſtoms* and *Tranſactions*, which Length of Time has conceal'd from our Knowledge, it uſually happens,

when

when the *Signification* of Words is *ambiguous* and uncertain in the *Original*; when there occur ſome particular *Idioms* of the *Hebrew Tongue*, not ſo familiar to us; when the *Conſtruction* is *intricate*, and the Words make different Senſes, according as they are differently join'd together; when the *Style* itſelf is obſcure, by reaſon of *Metaphors* and *Allegories*, which are uſual in the *poetical* Books; when the *Writer* paſſes from one Subject to another ſomewhat *abruptly*, which frequently happens in the *prophetical*; or when he makes *Tranſpoſitions* in the Order of *Narration*, as is ſometimes perceivable in the *hiſtorical*. But theſe Caſes excepted, (which, with a little Study and Application of our own, as well as Attention to thoſe, who undertake the *Expoſition* of theſe Difficulties, may eaſily be remedied) that the Holy Scriptures are, in all *Points* neceſſary to Salvation, and, to all *Perſons* of competent Underſtanding, ſufficiently *plain* and *intelligible*, the very Deſign of God's having them wrote, is a ſufficient *Demonſtration*. For, as the Deſign of all Writing is to convey our Thoughts intelligibly to others, ſo wou'd it be a great Reflection upon the Divine Wiſdom, if a *Book*, written by God's Direction, and for the Inſtruction of Mankind, ſhou'd fall ſhort of that End, which even human Compoſitions ſeldom fail of.

Particularly in the Prophets.

WE cannot deny indeed, but that there is a great *Obſcurity* generally ſpread over the Writings of the *Prophets*; but then we affirm, that ſuch Obſcurity is *neceſſary* for wiſe Purpoſes, and *providential* Reaſons. For, as the Creator of the World governs it with Wiſdom, and (where the free Will of Man is concern'd) with great Condeſcenſion; had the *Holy Spirit* reveal'd to the *Prophets* future Events ſo *diſtinctly*, as that they might have expreſs'd the moſt minute Circumſtance of *Time*, *Place*, *Perſons*, &c. in proper Terms; had the *Predictions*, I ſay, been ſo plain and apparent, that every Body, at firſt Sight, might ſee the whole *Contrivance*, and look thro' all the *Scenes* of Action, they cou'd never have been *accompliſh'd*, without offering Violence (by ſome miraculous Interpoſition) to Mens voluntary Determinations. Had God, for Inſtance, foretold our Saviour's Crucifixion, with all its particular Circumſtances, the Manner *how*, the Time *when*, the Place *where*, and the Perſons *by whom*, it was to be effected; it is hardly ſuppoſable, that the *chief Prieſts*, and ſo many principal Men among the *Jews* wou'd have had an Hand in it, without being perfectly carried on to it by an *over-ruling* Power, againſt their own Inclinations; which (beſides its *Contrariety* to the Principles of human Nature) muſt needs make God *the Author of Sin*. But, ſince the *Prophecies* concerning the *Meſſias*, and his Sufferings, were deliver'd with ſuch a Mixture of *Obſcurity*, as never fully to be underſtood, till after their Accompliſhment, they gave Room for the *Jews Malice* to concur with *God's Providence*, in bringing this Matter to paſs; and ſo (as St *Paul* tells us) (*g*) *becauſe they knew him not, nor yet the Voices of the Prophets, they fulfilled them, in condemning him.* So neceſſary it was, that all Prophecies of future Events ſhou'd be couch'd under dark and *enigmatical* Phraſes, leſt, by being too plainly foretold, they might poſſibly chance to *deſtroy* themſelves, and defeat their own Intention.

And the Expediency *of ſome* Myſteries.

WE acknowledge ſtill farther, that, beſides the Predictions of the *Prophets*, there are ſeveral Points, contained in *Scripture*, quite remote from the common Apprehenſion of Mankind, and, in many Reſpects, *hard to be underſtood*. But then we muſt obſerve withal, that, as theſe *obſcure Paſſages* are very few in Compariſon of the *plain Texts*, and no more hinder us from underſtanding the *Plain*, than the *Spots* in the Sun debar us from the *Light* of it; ſo are they far from reflecting Diſhonour upon the *Diſpenſation* itſelf. If we conſider ſeriouſly with ourſelves, we cannot but ſay, that it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe (*h*), that a *Revelation* from God ſhou'd contain ſomething *different* in Kind, and more *excellent* in Degree, than what lay open to the common Senſe of Men, or cou'd be diſcover'd even by the moſt ſagacious *Philoſopher*. The *Councils* of *Princes*,

(*g*) Acts xiii. 27. (*h*) *Vid.* Minute Philoſopher, *Dialogue* 6.

we know, lie often beyond the *Ken* of their *Subjects*, who can only perceive ſo much as is *reveal'd* by thoſe, who ſit at the *Helm*, and are often unqualified to judge of the *Uſefulneſs*, and *Tendency* even of *that*, till, in due Time, the *Scheme* unfolds, and is accounted for by ſucceeding Events. This makes the Councils of Princes *rever'd*, and preſerves the Dignity of the *Cabinet*. And, in like Manner, why may not we ſuppoſe, that, (*i*) as *Eaſineſs* of Acceſs is many Times known to lay a Man open to Contempt; ſo, to protect his *Revelation* from rude Encroachments, by impreſſing an Awe and reverential Fear upon our Minds, God has thought proper to ſurround it (as it were) with a *ſacred* and *majeſtic Obſcurity*, and, in ſome Parts of it, to exhibit ſuch exalted Truths, as tranſcend the *Reach* of human Wiſdom; thereby to humble the *Pride* and *Haughtineſs* of our *Reaſon*; and thereby to engage us in a cloſer, and more diligent *Search* into ſuch Subjects, as will, every Moment, furniſh us with *new Matter* to entertain the *buſieſt* Contemplation, to the *utmoſt Period* of human Life.

Reaſons for ſeeming Contradictions in Scripture.

THESE are ſome Reaſons for the *Obſcurity*, and the like may be ſaid for the *ſeeming Contradictions* (eſpecially in Matters of *Chronology*) which are ſaid to occur in the ſacred Writings. For, if we conſider the different *Cuſtoms* and Ways of Speaking, which were in uſe in former Days, but now are *obſolete*; and yet we might happily *reconcile* ſome *repugnant* Expreſſions, if we were but acquainted with thoſe *Uſages*, to which, in all Probability, they allude: If we conſider the *narrow* Compaſs of the *Hebrew* Tongue, wherein one Word has ſometimes a great many Significations; and yet we might make ſeveral *contradictory Paſſages* agree, if we knew but how to give the ſame Word one Signification in the *firſt* Paſſage, and another in the *ſecond*: And, more eſpecially, if we conſider that *Chronology* is a Part of Learning, of all others, the moſt difficult to be adjuſted; that the leaſt Alteration of a *Word* or *Letter* may make an exceeding great Difference; that the *Jewiſh Years* do not exactly quadrate with thoſe of other Nations, either as to their *Length*, or their *Beginning*; and that the *ſupernumerary Months* of Kings *Reigns* do often puzzle the *general Computation*; we cannot much wonder, that, in the midſt of ſo many Difficulties, there ſhou'd be found ſome ſeeming Repugnancies, in the Senſe of ſome *Texts*, as well as in the Accounts of Time. But, when we conſider farther, that, by ſhewing the *different Acceptation* of the Words and Expreſſions, in theſe ſeemingly *interfering* Places; by ſettling the *Chronological Accounts*, and comparing them with other Parts of Scripture, which have an *Analogy* with them; and by uſing, in ſhort, thoſe ſeveral Rules of *Interpretation* and *Criticiſm*, which are wont to be employ'd in the Explication of all other Authors, all theſe *Incongruitives* are ſufficiently clear'd up by learned Men; we ſhall be induc'd to think, that they are ſo far from *invalidating* the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, that they do, in a great Meaſure, confirm it. For if the Scriptures had been written by a *Cabal* of Men, deſigning to *impoſe* upon the World, undoubtedly theſe Men wou'd have us'd all *Circumſpection* and *Caution*, that no Sign of Contradiction ſhou'd have appear'd in their Writings, becauſe nothing is ſo exact as a *ſtudied Cheat*; whereas, it is no ſmall Argument of the *Veracity* of theſe Writers, that they agree with one another in all *material* Points, and only neglect an *Exactneſs* in ſome little *Punctilios*, wherein nothing but a *Confederacy* cou'd have made them *uniform*.

Tho' no real ones, when enquir'd into.

BUT, after all, we talk of *Contradictions*, and other *Abſurdities*; of *Digreſſions*, *Repetitions*, *falſe Reaſonings*, *impertinent*, and ſometimes *ridiculous Relations* in Scripture, which, upon better Examination, will be found reconcileable to *good Senſe*, and, in ſome Reſpect, prove its very *Perfection* and *Ornament*. We may think it a little ſtrange, for Inſtance, that *Cain*, upon the Murther of his Brother, ſhou'd be introduc'd, as ſaying (*k*) *every one, that findeth me, ſhall ſlay me*; and, preſently after, as (*l*) *going into the Land of* Nod, and *there building him a City*; whereas, according to the common

(*i*) *South*'s Sermons. (*k*) Gen. iv. 14. (*l*) Ver. 17.

common Notion, there were but (beſides himſelf) three Perſons, his Father, Mother, and his Wife, upon the Face of the whole Earth: But now, if the Word *Kol*, which we render *every one*, may as well be tranſlated *every Thing*, *every Creature* (*m*), every wild Beaſt of the Field, (the Man's Conſcience foreboading, that God might poſſibly let looſe the *Brute-Creation* upon him) and if, upon a moderate *Computation*, the other *Deſcendants* of *Adam* (for *Moſes* takes Notice only of the two Lines of *Cain* and *Seth*) might be *numerous* enough to ſtock whole Countries with Inhabitants, (as ſome have calculated even to a Demonſtration) where will the Abſurdity be then?

Digreſſions in *Scripture*.

IT may look perhaps like a careleſs *Ramble* of Thought, to ſee a Prophet (for it is only in the *prophetical* Works, that this happens) after he has begun a plain and methodical Diſcourſe, upon an *incidental* Word or Expreſſion, break out, all at once, into a long *Digreſſion*, which ſeems not ſo ſuitable to his main Purpoſe; but if we attend to the Matter of that *Digreſſion*, we ſhall generally find it a Prediction of the *glad Tidings of the Goſpel*, the moſt important Subject, that *inſpir'd* Authors can employ their Thoughts upon, and what the *Holy Ghoſt* took every Occaſion to ſuggeſt to their Minds. Nor can we be ignorant, that in the beſt *Heathen Authors*, who pretended to Inſpiration (as moſt of their *Poets* did) theſe very Digreſſions (which were ſtyled *Epiſodes*) were thought their greateſt *Beauties*; and that, in ſome of their loftieſt Compoſitions (ſuch as thoſe of *Pindar*, and of *Horace*, (*n*) where he imitates *Pindar*) theſe wild *Excurſions* were held *eſſential* to the *Poem*, the only Indications of the *Divine Enthuſiaſm*, and ſome of the daring *Flights* of a bold aſpiring *Muſe*, which deſpis'd all Rules, and diſdain'd to be controul'd.

Repetitions *in Scripture whence occaſion'd.*

THE *Repetitions* in *Scripture* we perhaps may take Offence at, and think them more frequent in the *Bible*, than in any other Book. But when it is conſidered, that the ſeveral *Tracts* of the Bible were written by different Perſons, and at different Times, it can be no more Fault or Blemiſh in it, that *its different* Writers ſhou'd *ſometimes* happen to ſay the *ſame* Things, than that the ſame Hiſtory ſhou'd be written by *Appian* and *Curtius*, or the ſame Arguments made uſe of by *Ariſtotle* and *Cicero*.

THIS is a Caſe, without a Combination, unavoidable: But, (*) when we conſider withal, that the Things, which are ſaid to be ſo often repeated, are generally ſuch, as relate to *moral* Duties, which can never be ſufficiently enforced, and that, in inculcating theſe, the *ſacred* Writers have us'd all the *Variety*, that can be expected; in ſome Places exhorting Men to Goodneſs, from the *Reward*, in others, from the *Beauty* of Virtue; in ſome exhibiting the *Danger*, in ſome the *Turpitude*, and in others the *Folly* of Sin; here commending *Sobriety* from its *temporal*, and there from its *eternal* Recompence; here repreſenting *Pride* as *contemptible* to Men, and there as *hateful* to God; and every where *diverſifying* their Arguments, to make them work upon the *Love*, the *Hope*, or the *Fear* of their Readers, from the Conſideration of the *Goodneſs*, the *Promiſes*, or the *Juſtice* of God: When we obſerve the *Prophets* denouncing Judgments, ſometimes againſt the *People*, ſometimes againſt the *Prieſts*; and at other Times againſt the *Kings*; ſome reprehending them for their *Pride*, ſome for their *Idolatry*, and others for their *Profanation of the Sabbath*; one bringing them the joyful News of a *Reſtoration* from their Captivity, and another of their *Redemption* by the *Meſſias*; one weeping over the *Old Jeruſalem*, and another raviſh'd with the Thoughts of the *New*: When we conſider, I ſay, this wonderful *Variety* of freſh Matter in the ſacred Writers, both *moral* and *prophetical*, we cannot but adore the Goodneſs of God, in giving us *Line upon Line, and Precept upon Precept*; in condeſcending ſo graciouſly to our Infirmities, that, in almoſt every Page of his Holy Word, he has ſupply'd us with freſh Motives,

(*m*) He was afraid (ſays *Joſephus*) leſt, while he wander'd up and down in the Earth (which was Part of his Puniſhment) he ſhou'd fall among ſome Beaſts, and be ſlain by them. *Antiq.* Lib. 1. Cap. 3. (*n*) Vid. *Carm.* L. 3. Ode 3. where the Digreſſion begins, Line 18.

(*) *Boyle* of the Style of the Scriptures.

Motives, and Exhortations to thoſe great and momentous Duties, we are ſo apt to tranſgreſs; and muſt needs be very groſsly prejudic'd, if we can ſuppoſe, that the Writings either of *Seneca* (who uſually feeds his Reader with nothing but *whip Cream*, or a very little Senſe, froth'd out into a Multitude of Words) or even of the *Divine Plato* himſelf (who, ſtript of his *unintelligible Rant*, makes but a poor Figure in Point of *ſolid Senſe*) any Way comparable to the *Holy Bible*, wherein God ſeems to have provided for our *Entertainment*, as well as our *Edification*; and to have overſpread it with a pleaſing *Diverſity* of *Subjects* and *Arguments*, in the ſame Manner, that he has adorn'd the *Creation* with a curious Variety of *Plants* and *Animals*.

And its Method of Reaſoning *vindicated.*

IT muſt not be diſſembled indeed, that, what with *miſrendering* the *connective Particles*, which have many *different* Significations, and now and then (*o*) *miſplacing* a *Parentheſis* in the *Hebrew* Tongue, the *Thread* of the Diſcourſe comes often to be interrupted; and thoſe, who overlook the *figurative*, and ſometimes *abrupt* Way of *arguing* uſual among the *Eaſtern* Nations (where the Reader is often left to make the *Deduction* for himſelf) will meet with ſome Perplexities: But, where either this is not the Caſe, or where theſe Difficulties are ſurmounted, a Man of a competent Underſtanding may ſee the *Force* and *Tendency* of any Scripture-Argument, as clearly as if it were drawn up in *Mood* and *Figure*. The Art of *Logic* is a novel Invention, compar'd with the *Date* of the Authors we are now ſpeaking of: And therefore they are not blameable for not being perfect in all the Niceties of the *Greek Schools*; eſpecially conſidering, that, if even they had been Maſters of this Art, ſince they were to addreſs themſelves to *popular* Auditories, Prudence wou'd have directed them to make uſe of *popular* Arguments (as we find they did) which, in ſuch a Caſe, the greateſt Heathen Orators have always employ'd, and thence found, that they carry'd their Point with better Succeſs, than in the moſt irrefragable *Syllogiſms*.

(*p*) THE *Heathen Moraliſts*, we find, urge Virtue from the rational Topics of *Conveniency* and *Inconveniency*, by diſplaying the *Amiableneſs* and *Advantages* of Good, and the *Deformity* and *Miſchiefs* of Evil: And are not the Arguments, which *Moſes* uſes to engage the *Jews* to a Compliance with the *Laws*, which God enjoin'd them, drawn from the Obligation they owed him for his *creating* them; from his *delivering* them from Bondage, and making them his *choſen* People; from the *Proſperity*, which their Obedience wou'd procure, and the certain *Calamities*, which their Diſobedience wou'd bring upon them? Are not the Arguments, which the *Prophets* uſe, when they denounce ſuch terrible *Judgments* againſt them, and tax them with ſuch vile *Ingratitude*, ſuch ſtupid *Idolatry*, and ſuch other awakening Motives to Repentance; are not theſe Arguments, I ſay, as powerful to perſuade a Nation to abandon their Sins, and adhere to the Service of God, as the moſt pompous *Harangues* concerning the *Wretchedneſs* of Vice, and the *Beatitudes* of *philoſophic Virtue?* (*q*) Eſpecially conſidering, that, what theſe *ſcriptural* Writers have left us, comes back'd with the *Authority* of *Almighty God*, which is *inſtead* of a thouſand *Arguments* and *Reaſonings*.

And its Relations neither impertinent.

I mention but one *Objection* more, and that is, the *Impertinence* of ſome Relations, occurring in the *hiſtorical*, and the *Ridiculouſneſs* of ſome Actions, mention'd in the *prophetical* Books of Scripture: But, before we paſs that *Cenſure*, we ſhou'd do well to conſider, whether the Sacred Writers might not poſſibly have ſome farther Proſpect in recording theſe Matters, than we, at this Diſtance of Time, are aware of. The Book of *Ruth*, the Hiſtory of *Iſaac* and *Rebecca*, of *Joſeph* and his Brethren, *&c.* (which ſome are pleaſed to call little *ſimple Family-Stories*) deſerve a better Name, even though they were no more, than ſhort *Memoirs* of the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory, giving us an Account of the Lives of ſome conſiderable *Perſonages* of that Nation: But, when we conſider the

(*o*) Parentheſes were not originally in the *Hebrew* Tongue. (*p*) *Young*'s Sermons. (*q*) *Edwards* of the Excellency of the Scripture.

the whole *Scheme* of God's providential Diſpenſation in ſending the *Meſſias* into the World, and the Method, which he was pleas'd to take, in preparing the Way for it, by ſeparating one Man's Family (from whoſe Loins the deſign'd Saviour of the World was to deſcend) from his *idolatrous* Relations and Countrymen, and making his Offspring the *Standard* of true religious Worſhip for many Ages; it is but reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſome particular Account ſhou'd be given of the *Origin* of this *extraordinary* Family, by which all the World has received ſuch a wonderful Benefit, and *all the Kingdoms of the Earth have been bleſſed*, in the *Birth* of Jeſus Chriſt. And when we conſider farther, that many Things relating to *Abraham* and *Sarah*, the Sacrifice of *Iſaac*, and the Captivity and Exaltation of *Joſeph*, &c. are ſo particularly related, becauſe God deſign'd that theſe Occurrences ſhou'd be *Types* and *Shadows* of ſome Things remarkable under the Gospel, *viz.* of the *Incarnation*, *Paſſion*, *Reſurrection*, and *Aſcenſion* of our Lord and Saviour, we cannot but perceive, that, if the *Hiſtorian* had omitted the Relation of theſe ancient Facts, *Chriſtianity* had wanted ſome conſiderable Evidences of its Truth, and the wiſe *Scheme* of God's *Providence*, in the *Salvation* of the World, had not been ſo amply *diſplay'd*.

THERE is more Difficulty indeed, in accounting for ſome *Paſſages* in the Behaviour of the *Prophets*, in whom any *Indiſcretion* may be held more inexcuſable, becauſe they are all along ſuppos'd to be guided by the *Holy Ghoſt*, and, in thoſe very Actions, which are thought liable to Cenſure, had the immediate Order and Injunctions of God: and yet, when we read of *Iſaiah*'s (*r*) *walking naked, and barefoot three Years*; of *Jeremiah*'s taking a long Journey, only (*s*) *to carry a Linnen-Girdle, and hide it in the Hole of the Rock of the River* Euphrates; of *Ezekiel*'s (*t*) *taking his Houſhold-Stuff, and digging a Hole through the Wall of the City, to carry it out*; and of *Hoſea*'s (*u*) *going, and taking unto him a Wife of Whoredoms, and Children of Whoredoms*, &c. When we read theſe extravagant Actions, I ſay, if we were to underſtand them in a *literal* Senſe, we ſhou'd be apt to account the *Doers* of them *diſtracted*, rather than *inſpir'd*; and under ſome Temptation to think, that, by putting them upon ſuch unaccountable Offices, God was minded to make his Servants *ridiculous*. The Scripture however, has taken Care to inform us, that (*x*) *the Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets*, i. e. (*y*) they are not hurried on by a mad *Enthuſiaſm*, but are always left in a Compoſure of Mind fit to comport themſelves, and to ſpeak to the People, as the *Miniſters* of a rational and all-wiſe God. *Nor* ridiculous.

NOW there are three Ways, whereby learned Men have undertaken to account for theſe ſeemingly ſtrange and whimſical Actions of the Prophets. (*z*) Some ſuppoſe, that what, in theſe and ſeveral other Places, is told, was *really* and *literally* perform'd; others, that it was tranſacted in *Viſion*; and others again, that it is all no more than a *Parable*, dictated by God to the Prophet, and by the Prophet recited to the People. However, to make theſe and ſuch like Actions of the ſeveral Prophets all of a Piece and uniform, we are to obſerve, that whereas ſome of them are only *parabolical*, and others *impoſſible* to be tranſacted *in Reality* (for tho' *Jeremiah*, for Inſtance, might take two long *Journeys* to *Euphrates* about the Affair of a *Girdle*, without demurring to the Authority of him who ſent him; yet we can hardly think, that he really ſent *Bonds and Yokes* to the ſeveral Princes that are mentioned, *Ch.* xxvii. *ver.* 2, 3. much leſs, that he took the Wine-Cup *from the Hand of God*, and made *the Kings of all Nations*, as is related, *Ch.* xxv. *ver.* 15, &c. *drink thereof*) whereas, I ſay, the Nature of the Thing won'd not permit theſe, and the like Actions to be perform'd *in Reality*, we have abundant Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that they were perform'd in an *imaginary* Senſe only; *i. e.* that

(*r*) Iſa. xx. 3. (*s*) Jer. xiii. 4. (*t*) Ezek. xii. 7. (*u*) Hoſ. i. 2. (*x*) Vid. *Lowth* on Inſpiration
(*y*) 1 Cor. xiv. 32. (*z*) *Waterland*'s Scripture Vindication, Part. 3.

theſe Actions of the Prophets were, by a Divine Impulſe, repreſented to them (*a*) in a Dream or Trance, which left in their Minds a lively Idea, and occaſion'd their publiſhing to the People, not only the *Repreſentations* themſelves, but what they were likewiſe deſign'd to *typify*, with more *Force* and *Energy*. And, accordingly, we may obſerve, that, even in the *Chriſtian* Church, when the Spirit of *Prophecy* came to revive, theſe Kind of *emblematical* Repreſentations were likewiſe introduc'd; as is evident, not only from *Agabus*'s *taking St* Paul's *Girdle (b), and binding his own Hands and Feet*, to ſignify what ſhou'd befal the Owner thereof, as ſoon as he came to *Jeruſalem*, but, more particularly, from St *Peter*'s Viſion (*c*) *of the Sheet let down from Heaven, wherein were all Manner of four-footed Beaſts of the Earth, and wild Beaſts, and creeping Things, and Fowls of the Air:* Which Viſion we find him, in his Vindication (*d*) ſoon after, recounting to the *Jews* with all Boldneſs, and explaining likewiſe the *ſymbolical* Intent of it, *viz.* his Commiſſion, and Delegation to preach to theſe *Gentiles* in order to their Converſion.

But, taken all together, *very* beautiful *and* excellent.

THUS we have taken a *Survey* of the Scriptures of the *Old Teſtament*; found out their *Authors*, and the *Nature* and *Degree* of their *Inſpiration*; enquir'd into the *Number* and *Order* of their Books, and by whoſe Care and Superintendency they were all digeſted into one *Code*; trac'd down their *Deſcent*, even to our own Times, without any *Loſs* or conſiderable Alteration; and (what we chiefly intended) endeavour'd to ſatisfy the moſt popular *Objections*, that are uſually made againſt them. And indeed the Objections againſt them wou'd be far from being ſo many, if we had a little more Skill and Knowledge in them; but the Misfortune is, we live at a great Diſtance from the *Apoſtolic* Age, and much more from the lateſt Times of the inſpir'd Writers of the *Old Teſtament*, and ſo muſt needs be under ſome Difficulties, from our Unacquaintance with the *Style*, and Way of Writing, as well as the *Manners* and *Cuſtoms* of thoſe Ages. There will, of neceſſity, therefore be ſome *Spots* and dark Places in them, as there are in the *Sun*, not for want of *Light* and Elegance *originally* in them (any more than for want of Light in the Sun) but by Reaſon of ſome *Deficiency* in ourſelves, who are at a Diſtance, and under ſuch Circumſtances, as intercept our Sight, and hinder us from making true and exact Obſervations. But if we cou'd ſtand (as we are to judge of *Pictures*) in the ſame Light, in which they were *drawn*, and had liv'd in the ſame Ages, in which theſe Books were written, we ſhou'd be able to make a much truer Judgment, and penetrate much farther into the Meaning of them, than we now can do. And, even in our preſent Situation, if we wou'd make any tolerable Judgment of them, we muſt not conſider them *ſeparately*, but as they all together make up a compleat *Syſtem* of Religion: And therefore (to conclude this Argument in the Words of a pious Vindicator *of the Style of the Holy Scriptures*). (*e*) "I conceive, *ſays he*, that, as in a lovely Face, tho' "the Eye, the Noſe, the Lips, and the other Parts, ſingly look'd on, may beget De- "light, and deſerve Praiſe; yet the *whole Face* muſt neceſſarily loſe much, by not be- "ing all ſeen together: So, tho' the ſeveral Portions of Scripture do, *irrelatively*, and "in themſelves, ſufficiently evidence their heavenly Extraction, yet he, who ſhall at- "tentively ſurvey that whole Book of *Canonical* Writings, which we now call the "*Bible*, and ſhall judiciouſly, in their *Syſtem*, compare and confer them together, may "diſcern, upon the whole Matter, ſo admirable a *Contexture* and *Diſpoſition*, as may "manifeſt that Book to be the Work of the ſame Wiſdom, which ſo accurately com- "pos'd the *Book of Nature*, and ſo divinely contriv'd this vaſt *Fabric* of the World." And therefore to proceed to other Conſiderations.

ONE

(*a*) That theſe Actions of the *Prophets* were not *real*, but merely *imaginary*, and ſuch as were repreſented upon the *Stage of their Fancies*, when in a *Dream* or a *Trance*, muſt be plain to every one, who conſiders the Circumſtances of them. *Smith*'s ſelect Diſcourſes. (*b*) Acts xxi. 11. (*c*) Acts x. 11. (*d*) Ch. xi. 5. (*e*) Mr *Boyle*, p. 74.

ONE Commendation of that Part of the BIBLE, which is called the *Old Teſtament*, is, that it is the *beſt*, as well as moſt *ancient* Hiſtory in the World. The *Egyptians* of old, we read, contended with the *Babylonians* and *Chaldeans*, for the Glory of *Antiquity*; and, as the *Babylonians* divide the State of Mankind into three Governments, *viz.* the firſt under *Gods*, which (according to them) contains *ten Generations*, the ſecond under *Demi-Gods* or *Hero*'s, and the third under *Kings* or Men, and during the Courſe of theſe three States, they reckon up above 30,000 Years; ſo *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* Hiſtorian, to diſplay the Antiquity of his Nation, and throw the Balance on their Side, divides, in like Manner, his *Chronological* Account into the ſame Forms of Government, of *Gods*, *Demi-Gods*, and *Kings*; and, from the pretended Pillars of *Hermes*, (whence he compil'd his Hiſtory) makes the Whole amount to upwards of 36,525 Years. There is good Reaſon however, why we ſhou'd deſpiſe ſuch *monſtrous* Accounts, as have only bare Words for their Foundation, and are plainly contrary to all Obſervations on the *Progreſs* of Mankind, the *Improvement* of Huſbandry, and the *Advancement* of Arts and Sciences.

The Bible *the* beſt *and* moſt ancient *Hiſtory in the World. The Pretenſions of the* Egyptians *and* Chaldeans.

WE acknowledge indeed, that the moſt ancient Way of preſerving any Monuments of Learning, in thoſe elder Times, and eſpecially among the *Egyptians*, was by Inſcriptions on *Pillars*; but, beſides the Difficulties of conceiving how Pillars of any Kind ſhou'd be able to withſtand the Violence of the *Deluge*, without being defac'd; beſides, that no other Hiſtorian, who has wrote of the Affairs of *Egypt*, has once made mention of theſe Pillars, and that *Diodorus* (who liv'd ſince the Time of *Manetho*) never once quotes him as an Author of any Credit; there is, in Truth, very little in his *Dynaſties*, beſides Names and Numbers, except it be now and then a Story of the *Nile*'s overflowing with Honey, of the *Moon*'s growing bigger, of a *ſpeaking Lamb*, and *ſeven* Kings, who ſucceſſively reign'd as many Days, one King only a Day; and ſuch other ſtrange and *Romantic* Accounts, as are enough to invalidate the Authority of *any* Writer.

THE *Chineſe* at preſent are very ambitious to be thought *an* ancient People, and wou'd make us believe, that they can reckon up Succeſſions of Kings and their Reigns, for ſeveral thouſand Years, before the Beginning of the World, aſſign'd by *Moſes*; but beſides that *(f)* the Character, which Writers (who have liv'd among them) do generally give that Nation, *viz.* That they are Men of a trifling and credulous *Curioſity*, addicted to ſearch after the *Philoſopher's-Stone*, and a Medicine to make them *immortal*; and, whatever Advantage their Situation and *political* Maxims have given them, are far from being ſo learned, or ſo accurate in Point of any Science, as the *Europeans:* It is plain from all Accounts, that their Antiquities reach no higher than the Times of *Fohi*; for *Fohi* was their firſt King, and his Age co-incides with that of *Noah*. So that upon the whole, we have good Reaſon to queſtion the *Authentickneſs* of thoſe *Annals*, which relate ſuch fabulous Things, as the Sun's not *ſetting* for ten Days, and the Clouds *raining Gold* for three Days together. But of what Antiquity ſoever their *firſt* Writers might be, 'tis certain, that, ſince the Time of *Hoam-ti*, their XIth Emperor, who, about, 200 Years before *Chriſt*, order'd (upon Pain of Death) all the Monuments of *Antiquity*, whether *Hiſtorical* or *Philoſophical*, to be deſtroy'd; there is little or no Credit to be given to the Books, which they produce: And though they make mighty Boaſts of the *Date* and Perfection of ſuch Volumes, as they pretend eſcaped the common *Wreck*; yet, if we may credit the *Teſtimony* of Perſons, who made it their particular Buſineſs (when among them) to enquire, they have not any one Copy, in an *intelligible* Character, above 2000 Years old.

Of the Chineſe.

THE *Grecians* of old were ſo very great Pretenders to Antiquity, that they ſcorn'd to have any *Father* or *Founder* of their Nation aſſign'd them; and therefore they affected to be called *Aborigines*, & *Genuini Terræ*, the eldeſt Sons of the Earth, if not coëval

And Grecians *refuted.*

(f) Vid. *Le Compte*'s Memoirs, and *Bianchini*'s Hiſt. Univer.

coëval with it: And yet, if we look into the *Date* of their *Hiſtorians*, we ſhall find, that none of them exceeded the Times of *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes* (*g*), about 550 Years before Chriſt; that ſeveral of their ancient Writers have left nothing behind them, but barely their Names; and that even from thoſe, whoſe Works have deſcended to us, we have no Account of any *hiſtorical* Facts, older than the *Perſian War*. *Herodotus* (who wrote a little more than 400 Years before Chriſt) is called by *Cicero* the *Father of Hiſtory*, as being the eldeſt *Greek* Hiſtorian that we have extant; and yet, when he pretends to relate the *Origin* of any Nation, or *Tranſactions* of any conſiderable Diſtance, he is forc'd to interſperſe many *fabulous Reports*, which himſelf ſeems not to believe; and for this Reaſon, ſome imagine it a Point of *Modeſty* and *Ingenuity* in him, that he calls the Books of his Hiſtory by the Names of the *Muſes*, on purpoſe to let his Readers know, that they were not to look for mere *Hiſtory* in them, but a Mixture of ſuch *Relations*, as (tho' not ſtrictly true) wou'd nevertheleſs pleaſe and entertain them. However this be, 'tis certain, that *Thucydides*, in the very Entrance of his Hiſtory, not only confeſſes, but largely aſſerts the *Impoſſibility* of giving any competent Account of the Times, which preceded the *Peloponneſian War*; and therefore we find *Plutarch*, who ventur'd no farther back, than the Times of (*h*) *Theſeus* (a little before the Miniſtry of *Samuel*) juſtly obſerving, that, " as Hiſtorians, in their *Geographical* Deſcriptions of " Countries, croud, into the fartheſt Parts of their *Maps*, thoſe Places, which they know " nothing of, with ſome ſuch Remarks as theſe, on the Margin; *all beyond is nothing* " *but dry Deſerts, impaſſable Mountains, frozen Seas, and the like:* So I may well ſay " of the Facts of Hiſtory, that are farther off than the Times of *Theſeus*; *all beyond is* " *nothing but monſtrous, and tragical Fictions.* There the Poets and there the Inven- " tors of Fables dwell: Nor is there any Thing to be expected worthy of Credit, or " what carries the leaſt Appearance of Certainty."

BUT now, whoever reads the *Bible* with Care and Impartiality, in the *hiſtorical* Part of it, will find nothing *fabulous* or *romantic*; no *Computations* of an immoderate Size; no *Excurſions* into Ages infinite and innumerable; no *Succeſſions* of *Monarchs*, *Heroes*, and Demi-Gods, for thouſands of thouſand Generations. On the contrary, he will perceive, (*i*) that *Moſes*, who was above a thouſand Years older than any *Hiſtorian* we know of, (and, upon that Account, deſerves the greater Credit) has fix'd the *Beginning* of Time at a proper *Period*, about 2433 Years before his own Birth; has given us a *fair* and *authentic* Hiſtory of the *Origin* and *Formation* of the World, of the *Creation* and *Introduction* of the Parents of all Mankind, of the *peopling* the Earth with Inhabitants, and of the firſt Inſtitution of *civil* Government; that he has given us the *earlieſt* Account, not only of all uſeful Callings and Employments, ſuch as *Gardening*, *Huſbandry*, *Paſturage* of Cattle, *&c.* but of all the politer Arts and Sciences, ſuch as *Poetry*, and *Muſic*, *Hiſtory*, *Geography*, *Phyſic*, *Anatomy*, and *Philoſophy* of all Kinds. In a Word, he will perceive, that the ſacred Bible is not only a *Record* of all the moſt ancient Learning, but a *Magazine* of all Learning whatever; and, conſequently that he, who deſires to appear in the Capacity of a *Scholar*, either as a *Critick*, a *Chronologer*, an *Hiſtorian*, an *Orator*, a *Diſputant*, a *Lawyer*, a *Stateſman*, a *Pleader*, or a *Preacher*, muſt not be unacquainted with this inexhauſtible Fund.

The Bible *wrote in the* firſt *and* original *Language.*

ANOTHER Commendation of this moſt excellent Book, is, that the *Language*, in which a great Part of it is written, was the *firſt* and *original* Language in the World; but then the Queſtion is, which is the Original? The Writers, who have handled this Subject, have produc'd the ſeveral Claims of the *Hebrew*, the *Chaldean*, the *Syrian*, and *Arabian*: But, as the Arguments for *Syrian* and *Arabian* are but few and trifling, the chief Competition ſeems to lie between the *Hebrew* and *Chaldean*.

Now

(*g*) Vid. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sac. Chap. IV. (*h*) Vid. The Life of *Theſeus*. (*i*) *Edwards* on the Perfection of the Scriptures.

NOW it is natural to ſuppoſe, that a *primitive* Language ſhou'd be *plain* and eaſy; ſhou'd conſiſt of *ſimple* and uncompounded Sounds; of as few Parts of *Speech*, and as few *Terminations* in thoſe Parts, as poſſible. (*k*) *Moods* and *Tenſes*, *Numbers* and *Perſons* in Verbs, and the different *Caſes* in *Nouns*, we may well imagine were the Improvements of Art, and Study, and not any firſt *Eſſay*, or original Production; and in this Reſpect, we cannot but conceive that the *Hebrew* Tongue (I mean as it ſtands in our *Bible*, and not as the *Rabbins* have enlarg'd it) bids fair for the Precedency. Its *radical* Words (which are (*l*) not many) conſiſt generally of three *Letters*, or two *Syllables* at the moſt. Its *Nouns* are not declin'd by different *Caſes*, nor are its *Numbers* diſtinguiſh'd by different *Terminations* (as the *Latin* or *Greek* are) but by (*m*) the Addition of a ſhort *Syllable* in the *dual* and *plural*, which at the ſame Time denominates the *Gender*. The *Gender* is likewiſe included in the *Verb*, which prevents the Neceſſity of having many *Pronouns*; and, by varying its *Conjugations* (which are ſeldom *irregular*) it has the leſs Uſe for *auxiliary* Verbs. Add to this, that the *Hebrews* uſe ſeldom any *Vowels* in writing; have no *compound* Nouns or Verbs; few *Prepoſitions*, few *Adjectives*; no *Comparatives*, or *Superlatives*; no great Number of *Conjugations*; but two *Moods*, two *Tenſes*; no Gerunds, no Supines; and of *Particles* of all Kinds far from many; and then we can hardly conceive a Language more *ſimple* and *eaſy*, more *ſhort* and *expreſſive*, than *theirs*. *The* Hebrew *the firſt.*

UPON this Account ſome of late have imagin'd, that the *Chineſe* might poſſibly be the firſt original Language of Mankind: For, beſides that *Noah* very probably ſettled in theſe Parts, its Words are, even now, very few, not above twelve Hundred; its *Nouns* are but three Hundred and twenty-ſix, and all its Words confeſſedly *Monoſyllables*; ſo that, whatever the Original of this Tongue was, it ſeems very likely to have been the firſt that was planted in the Country. For, tho' it is natural to think, that Mankind might begin to form *ſingle Sounds* at firſt, and afterwards come to enlarge their Speech by doubling and redoubling them; yet it is not to be imagin'd, that, if Men had firſt known the *Copiouſneſs of Expreſſion* ariſing from Words of more Syllables than one, they wou'd ever have reduc'd their Language to its primitive *Monoſyllables*. But, ſince we have not a ſufficient Knowledge of this Language to make a competent Judgment of it, we muſt wave its Pretenſions for the preſent. *The Pretences of the* Chineſe *and* Chaldee.

THE *Chaldee*, it muſt be own'd, has a great many Marks of this *original* Simplicity in it: But then, what gives the *Hebrew* a farther Claim to *Priority*, are certain *proper Names* of Perſons mention'd before the *Flood*, ſuch as (*n*) *Adam*, *Eve*, *Cain*, *Abel*, *Seth*, &c. of ancient *Countries*, ſuch as (*o*) *Lydia*, *Aſſyria*, &c. of ancient *Heathen Gods*, ſuch as (*p*) *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Belus*, *Vulcan*, &c. of ſeveral Kinds of *Animals*, and *muſical Inſtruments*; and, in ſhort, of *Mountains Rivers*, *Cities*, and *Places*, which derive their *Etymology*, or right Signification, from this Tongue, and this Tongue only; as *Bochart*, with an immenſe deal of *oriental* Learning, has abundantly prov'd.

THERE are other learned Men however, who, being willing to compromize the Matter between the two Languages (the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*) are apt to fancy, (*q*) that, if any one wou'd be at the Pains to examine them ſtrictly, and to take from each what may reaſonably be ſuppos'd to be *Improvements*, made ſince their *Original*, he will find the *Chaldee* and *Hebrew* Tongues to have been at firſt the ſame. However that be, 'tis certain, that thoſe, who maintain the *Perpetuity* of the ſame Tongue from *Adam* to *Moſes*, do aſſert, that, before the Confuſion of *Babel*, there was but one *univerſal* *The* Hebrew *and* Chaldee *perhaps originally the* ſame.

(*k*) *Shuckford*'s Connection of Sacred and Profane Hiſtory, Vol. I. Lib. 2. (*l*) About five Hundred. (*m*) *Im* is added to the Plural in Nouns. *Maſculine*; and *oth*, in ſuch as are *Feminine*. (*n*) Thus the Word *Adam* comes from the *Hebrew Adamah*, which ſignifies *Earth*; *Eve*, or *Cheva* from *Chiah*, *Life*; *Cain* from *Canah*, to *poſſeſs*; *Abel* ſignifies *Vanity*; and *Seth* from *Scath*, to *ſubſtitute*. (*o*) Thus *Lydia* from *Lud*; *Aſſyria* from *Aſſur*. (*p*) Thus *Saturn* from *Satar*, to hide ones ſelf; *Jupiter* from *Jehova*; *Belus* from *Baal*; and *Vulcan* from *Tubal-Cain*. (*q*) Vid. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. Lib. 2.

Language among all the Nations upon Earth; that this very Language (even after the Confuſion) was continued, in its Purity, in the Family of *Seth* and *Heber*, from whom it had its Name, and from whom *Abraham*, the *Father of the Faithful*, deſcended; That *Abraham*, notwithſtanding his Intercourſe with other Nations, ſtill preſerv'd this primitive Tongue; and his Deſcendants, notwithſtanding their ſojourning in the Land of *Egypt*, were under no Temptation to corrupt it, becauſe they liv'd *ſeparately*, and by themſelves in the Land of *Goſhen*, until the Miniſtry of *Moſes*. And, if this be a true Deſcent of the Tongue, then we are ſure, that the *Pentateuch*, and other Books of the *Old Teſtament*, were all wrote (except ſome Portions after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity) in the ſame ſacred primæval Language, which God himſelf ſpake, which he taught our firſt Parents, and wherein all the *Patriarchs*, and Worthies of old among his *choſen* People were known to converſe.

IN a Word, (*r*) the Conciſeneſs, Simplicity, Energy, and Fe[illegible] of the *Hebrew* Tongue; the *Relation* it has to the moſt ancient *oriental* Languages, which ſeem to derive their Origin from it; the *Etymology* of the Names, whereby the firſt of Mankind were called, and the Names of Animals, which are all ſignificant in the *Hebrew Tongue*, and deſcribe the Nature and Property of theſe very Animals; *Characters* not to be found in any other Language, and yet all meeting together in *this*, do raiſe a Prejudice very much in favour of its *Primacy*; and this certainly is no ſmall Commendation of the *Bible*, that it comprizes the *Compaſs* of a Language, which is the moſt *ancient*, and (as ſome think) the moſt *excellent* in the World, and no where elſe to be found. If any *Critics* or *Grammarians* cou'd ſay the like concerning the *Greek* or *Latin* Tongue, *viz.* that there is a certain Book, wherein either of theſe, in its firſt Purity, is wholly contain'd, they wou'd be very laviſh in their *Encomiums* of it, and the Prelation of it to all other Volumes whatever wou'd not want a proper *Diſplay*.

The great Reſpect *ſhewn to the Bible.*

AND indeed, whatever the merry *Scoffers* of this Age, or the graver *Lovers of Sin* and Singularity may think, 'tis certain, that, in former Days, Men of all Orders and Degrees, of the higheſt *Station* in Life, as well as *Capacity* in Knowledge, of *polite* Parts, as well as *ſolid* Judgments, and converſant in all *human*, as well as *divine* Literature, have, all along, held the Scriptures in ſingular Veneration; have employ'd their *Wit* and Eloquence in ſetting forth their Praiſe; and not only thought their *Pens*, but *Poetry* itſelf, ennobled by the Dignity of ſuch a Subject.

By Perſons of the higheſt Rank.

DAVID, in his Time, was a conſiderable Prince, a mighty Warrier, and Subduer of the Nations that were round him; and yet his living in a *military* Way made him no Deſpiſer of the Scriptures: For obſerve what a beautiful *Panegyrick* he has given us barely of that Part, which we call the *Pentateuch*, (*s*) *The Law of the Lord is an undefiled Law, converting the Soul; the Teſtimony of the Lord is ſure, and giveth Wiſdom unto the Simple; the Statutes of the Lord are right, and rejoice the Heart; the Commandment of the Lord is pure, and giveth Light unto the Eyes; the Judgments of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether: More to be deſir'd are they than Gold, yea, than much fine Gold; ſweeter alſo than the Honey and the Honey-Comb. Moreover, by them is thy Servant taught, and in keeping of them there is great Reward.*

PTOLEMY Philadelphus was one of the greateſt Monarchs in his Age: He had large *Armies*, fine *Fleets*, vaſt *Magazines* of warlike Stores, and (what was peculiar in his Character) he was a Perſon of extenſive Learning himſelf, a generous Encourager of all liberal Sciences, and ſo great a Collector of Books, that in one Library at *Alexandria* he had four hundred thouſand Volumes; and yet, as if he cou'd not be at Eaſe, nor think his Collection compleat, without the *Bible* (*t*), he ſent for an *authentic* Copy from *Jeruſalem*, and for a Number of learned Men to make a Tranſlation of it in the *Greek* Tongue, for which he plentifully rewarded them: Which puts me in mind of Mr *Selden*, one

(*r*) *Calmet's* Dictionary. (*s*) Pſal. xix. 7, *&c.* (*t*) Vid. *Prideaux's* Connection, Part II. L. 2. p. 110.

one of the greateſt *Scholars* and *Antiquaries* of his Age, and who, in like Manner, made vaſt Amaſſments of Books and *Manuſcripts* from all Parts of the World (a *Library* perhaps not to be equall'd, on all Accounts, in the Univerſe) as he was holding a ſerious Conference with Archbiſhop *Uſher*, a little before he died, he profeſſed to him, that, (*u*) *notwithſtanding he had poſſeſſed himſelf of ſuch a vaſt Treaſure of Books and Manuſcripts on all ancient Subjects, yet he cou'd reſt his Soul on none but the Scriptures.* *And the greateſt* Learning, *and* Wit.

St *PAUL* was doubtleſs a good *Scholar*, as well as a good *Chriſtian*, and his Knowledge in polite Literature is diſtinguiſhable by the ſeveral *Citations*, which he makes of the ancient heathen *Poets*; and yet he is not aſham'd to give us this Character of the Bible: (*x*) *All Scripture is given by the Inſpiration of God, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Inſtruction in Righteouſneſs, that the Man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furniſhed unto all good Works.* Which calls to my Remembrance what (*y*) another great Man of our Nation, in a Letter to one of his Sons, declares. "I "have been acquainted ſomewhat, *ſays he*, with Men and Books: I have had long ex- "perience in Learning and in the World: There is no Book like the *Bible* for excel- "lent Learning, Wiſdom, and Uſe; and it is want of Underſtanding in them, who "think or ſpeak otherwiſe."

LONGINUS, the World muſt own; was a competent Judge of all Kind of Eloquence. His *little Book* on the Subject, tho' impair'd by the Injury of Time, has given us Specimen enough of his exquiſite Taſte that Way; and yet, tho' he was an Heathen, he *gives Honour where Honour is due*, and ſeems to praiſe and admire the true Sublime of *Moſes*, more than that of any other Author he quotes.

TERTULLIAN (if we will think no worſe of him for being one of the *Fathers* of the Church) was an excellent *Orator*, a great *Philologiſt*, and an acute *Reaſoner*; and yet we find him (*z*) *adoring the Plenitude of the Scripture.* The noble *Picus Mirandula* was the beſt *Linguiſt* and Scholar of his Age; and yet, after he had run through innumerable Volumes, *he reſted in the Bible* (as he tells us) *as the only Book, wherein he had found out the true Eloquence and Wiſdom:* And therefore it was no wild *Rant*, but a Sentence proceeding from mature Judgment, that of *Robert*, King of *Sicily*, to *Fran. Petrarcha: I tell thee, my* Petrarcha, *thoſe holy Letters are dearer to me than my Kingdom, and, were I under Neceſſity of quitting one, it ſhould be my Diadem.*

WE need leſs wonder then, that we find our *profound Logician*, Mr *Locke*, declaring that (*a*) "the little Satisfaction and Conſiſtency he found in moſt of the *Syſtems* of Di- "vinity, made him betake himſelf to the ſole Reading of the Scripture, which he "thought worthy of a diligent and unbiaſs'd Search." That we find our *religious Philoſopher*, Mr *Boyle*, (as well as the learned *Grotius*) aſſerting the Propriety and Elegance of the ſacred Style; and our *incomparable Newton* (*b*) giving the Preference to *Scripture Chronology*, above that of the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Chaldeans*, or any other Nation whatever. That we find, I ſay, ſome Perſons of the moſt ſparkling Wit and Fancy diſcanting, either on the ſacred Hiſtory of the Bible, or on ſome Divine Matters contain'd in it; a *Milton*, taking the whole *Plan*, and a great Part of the very *Diction* of his lofty *Poem* thence; a *Cowley*, embelliſhing the Story of King *David*; a *Buchanan*, rendring his *Pſalms* in *Latin* Verſe; and in *Engliſh*, a *Prior* paraphraſing on the *Eccleſiaſtes* of his Son. Which manifeſtly ſhews, that ſome of the greateſt *Perſonages* in the World, the moſt noble and refin'd *Wits*, the moſt knowing and judicious *Heads*, have bore the greateſt Eſteem for the Holy Scriptures, and not thought their Learning or Ingenuity miſemploy'd in their Service. And this will give us Occaſion to enquire a little into ſome of the principal *Verſions* and *Expoſitions* that have been made of them.

Now

(*u*) In his Life. (*x*) 2 Tim. iii. 16. (*y*) Judge *Hale*. (*z*) Lib. adver. Hermogenem. (*a*) *Jenkin's* Preface to his Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity. (*b*) Vid. *His Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended* paſſim.

The Septuagint Version.

Now the (*c*) *first* and principal *Verſion* we have of the Holy Scriptures, is that which we call the *Septuagint*, from the 70, or 72 Interpreters, which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* (as we ſaid before) employ'd in the Work. For, about the Year of the World 3727, he being very intent on making a great Library at *Alexandria*, committed the Care of that Matter to *Demetrius Phalerius*, a Nobleman of *Athens*, and who, at that Time, was his *Librarian*. *Demetrius*, purſuant to the King's Order, made diligent Search every where; and, being inform'd, that among the *Jews*, there was a Book of great Note, call'd *The Law of Moſes*, he acquainted the King with it; hereupon the King ſent to *Eleazar* the High-Prieſt, requeſting him to ſend an *authentic* Copy thereof, and (becauſe he was ignorant of the *Hebrew* Tongue) to ſend withal ſome Men of ſufficient Capacity to tranſlate it into *Greek*. The Meſſengers, who went upon this Errand, and carried with them many rich Preſents for the Temple, when they came to *Jeruſalem*, were received with great Honour and Reſpect both by the High-Prieſt, and all the People; and having received a Copy of *The Law of Moſes*, and ſix *Elders* out of each Tribe (i. e. *Seventy-two* in all) to tranſlate it, return'd to *Alexandria*. Upon their Arrival, the Elders, by the King's Appointment, betook themſelves to the Work, and firſt tranſlated the *Pentateuch*, and (not long after) the reſt of the *Old Teſtament* into *Greek*. This is the Subſtance of *Ariſteas*'s Hiſtory; but herein he has intermix'd ſo many ſtrange and incredible things, that (*d*) many learned Men have been inclined to think the whole of it a mere Fiction, contriv'd by the *Helleniſtical Jews* of *Alexandria*, on purpoſe to give the more Sanction and Authority to this Tranſlation, whoſe true *Original* they relate to be thus.——Upon the Building of *Alexandria*, and Encouragement given to other Nations (as well as *Greeks* and *Macedonians*) to come and inhabit it, great Multitudes of *Jews* reſorted thither. In Proceſs of Time, they made a conſiderable Part of the City; and by Degrees ſo accuſtom'd themſelves to ſpeak the *Greek* Language, that they forgot their own; and were thereupon oblig'd to have the Scriptures tranſlated into *Greek*, both for their private Uſe and public Service. It was the Cuſtom, at that Time, to read the Pentateuch only in the Synagogues; and therefore, this was the firſt Part of the Scriptures, which they tranſlated. In the Days of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the Prophets were introduced, and then they were under a Neceſſity of tranſlating them likewiſe; (*e*) and in a ſhort Time after, ſome private Men might turn the reſt of the Books (which they call the *Hagiographa*) into the *Greek* Language, and thus the whole Verſion, which, from the Fable of *Ariſteas*, goes under

(*c*) The other *Greek* Tranſlations by *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodocian* are now loſt, except only ſome Fragments of them, which ſtill remain.

(*d*) *Vid.* Du Pin's *Hiſtory of the Canon*, &c. F. Simon's *Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*. Dr *Hoddy* De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus. Dr Prideaux's *Connection of the Old and New Teſtament*, &c. and the Reaſons they give for their ſuppoſing the whole to be a Fiction, are ſuch as theſe. 1. That *Ariſteas*, who pretends to be an *Heathen* Greek, ſpeaks all along as a *Jew*, and (what is more) makes all the Parties concern'd ſpeak in the ſame Manner. 2. That by the Seventy-two Elders, ſent for from *Alexandria* to *Jeruſalem*, it looks like a *Jewiſh* Invention, fram'd with Reſpect to their *Sanhedrim*, which conſiſted of that Number. 3. That the Diſuſe of the *Hebrew* Tongue, and the little Acquaintance the *Jews* had with the *Greek* make it incredible, that there ſhould be found ſix Men in each Tribe capable of this Performance. 4. That the Queſtions, which *Ptolemy* put to the Interpreters, and the Anſwers, which they return'd him, carry with them an Air of Fiction. 5. That the Letters of Gold, in which the Law was written, the Iſland *Pharos*, and the Cells, appointed for the Interpreters, their marvellous Agreement in every Point, and their wonderful Diſpatch in finiſhing the whole in Seventy-two Days, are much of the ſame Caſt. And 6. That the prodigious Sum, which *Ptolemy* is ſaid to advance, in order to procure this Verſion, in Money, in Plate, in precious Stones, and Preſents, &c. to the Amount of about two Millions Sterling, together with many more Abſurdities, and Contradictions occurring in the Hiſtory, is enough to prove it an idle Story and Romance, without any other Foundation, except, that, in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, ſuch a Verſion of the Law of *Moſes* into the *Greek* Language was made by the *Jews* of *Alexandria*. Prideaux's Connection, Part II. L. 1.

(*e*) That this Tranſlation was made at different Times, and by different Perſons, the various Styles, in which the ſeveral Books are found written, the many Ways in which the ſame *Hebrew* Words, and the ſame *Hebrew* Things are tranſlated, in different Places, and the greater Accuracy to be obſerved in the Tranſlation of ſome Books, than of others, are a full Demonſtration. *Prideaux*, ib.

under the Name of the Septuagint, came to be compleated. However this be, 'tis certain, that this Tranſlation, as ſoon as it was finiſh'd, was held in Eſteem and Veneration, almoſt equal to the Original, and was not only uſed by the *Jews* in their Diſperſion through the *Grecian* Cities, but approv'd by the Grand *Sanhedrim* at *Jeruſalem*, and always quoted and referred to by our *Saviour* and his *Apoſtles*, whenever they made an Appeal to the Holy Scriptures.

The Reaſons of its differing from the Hebrew Text.

'TIS true indeed, (and what every common Reader may obſerve) that there is frequently a manifeſt Difference between this *Verſion* and the *Hebrew* Text: But the Difference may well enough be accounted for, if we will but allow, that the *Vowels*, or Points in the *Hebrew* Tongue, might poſſibly then not be in Uſe; that the ſame Words in *Hebrew* are known to have different Significations, which may give the Tranſlation a Senſe different to the Original; that the *Tranſlators* themſelves ſometimes take a greater *Latitude*, and render a Paſſage not *literally*, but *paraphraſtically*; that, at other Times, they inſert a Word or two by Way of Explanation, which are not directly in the Text, and perhaps now and then omit a Word in the *Original*, which they thought was ſufficiently ſupplied by the *Emphaſis* of their *Greek* Expreſſion. Theſe Conſiderations, together with the known Ignorance and Negligence of *Tranſcribers*, will account for the *Difference*, if not for the *Errors* and *Miſtakes*, which occur in the Tranſlation. For, that the Tranſlators themſelves did wilfully miſinterpret the *Hebrew* Text, is a Notion, that cannot, with any Juſtice, be admitted, conſidering that they had no Manner of Temptation ſo to do. I ſhou'd rather think, that, if there ſhou'd be any dangerous Corruptions in the *Greek* Copies, *(f)* they were made *after* the Coming of our Saviour, and when the *Jews* had utterly rejected him as an *Impoſtor*; that the *Jewiſh* Doctors, having got together a ſufficient Number of theſe Copies, might make in them (what they cou'd not ſo well do in the *Hebrew* Text) ſuch *Alterations*, as they thought proper, in order to juſtify their *Infidelity*; and that, in all Probability, they did then curtail ſome *Prophecies* (*g*) (as we find they are curtail'd in the *Greek* Verſion) relating to the Divinity of the *Meſſias*; and having chang'd the *Chronology* of the LXX, by adding 1400 Years to the Account, cunningly diſpers'd them among the long Lives of the *antediluvian* Patriarchs, in order to make it believ'd, that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, whom they crucified, was not the true *Meſſias*, but that the Time of his Appearance was paſt and gone (as ſome of them ſtill aſſert) a long Tract of Years before the Chriſtian *Æra*.

And how we ought to receive it.

THE Reſult then of all this is——that we ought to have that Reſpect and Eſteem for the LXX's Verſion, which it deſerves; not wholly *reject* it, becauſe moſt of its Errors and Faults proceed from the mere *miſtaking* of Vowels; from the *Ambiguity* of Words; from the *Liberty*, which the Tranſlators took of *Paraphraſing*; and from the *Neglect* of Tranſcribers: But, on the other Hand, not wholly *embrace* it, but rather read it with Candor and Caution; with *Caution*, becauſe it has fallen into *ill Hands*, and has met with ſome *deſigning* Men, who have done their utmoſt to corrupt it: And with *Candor*, becauſe it is the *oldeſt Greek* Tranſlation of the Bible; has been made uſe of by the ſacred Penmen of the *New Teſtament*; is conduceable to our better underſtanding the Senſe of the *Hebrew*; and, as to its Diſagreement therewith, may, in a great Meaſure, admit of a *Reconciliation*.

The Chaldee Paraphraſes, *and why made.*

OF all the Tranſlations, which are in the *Oriental* Languages, (*h*) the *Chaldee* is of the greateſt Eſteem and Reputation among the Learned. It is call'd, by Way of Eminence,

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(f) Mr *Whiſton*, in his *Literal Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecy*, and *Collection of authentic Records belonging to the Old and New Teſtament*, has abundantly ſhewn, that ſeveral Texts have been alter'd, and Prophecies diſlocated, by the *Jews*, in the *Old Teſtament*. (*g*) Thus Dr *Lightfoot* obſerves, that, in *Iſa.* ix. 6. inſtead of theſe five Names of Chriſt, *Wonderful, Counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace*, there is only inſerted, *the Angel of the great Counſel*, in Proëm. ſuper Quæſt. in Gen. (*h*) Beſides this, there are other *Oriental* Verſions, *viz.* the *Syriac*, which is look'd upon as genuine and faithful; the *Arabic*, which is neither of any great Antiquity or Authority; and ſeveral others.

nence, the *Targum:* For, as the Word *Targum*, in *Chaldee*, ſignifies in general an Interpretation, or Verſion of one Language into another; ſo by the *Jews* it is appropriated to thoſe *Paraphraſes*, which go under the Name of *Onkelos*, *Jonathan*, *Joſeph*, &c. The Uſe of theſe *Targums* was to inſtruct the vulgar *Jews*, after their Return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity: For, (*i*) tho' many of the better Sort retain'd the Knowledge of the *Hebrew* Tongue during that Captivity, and taught it their Children; and the Holy Scriptures, which were deliver'd after that Time (excepting only ſome Parts of *Daniel*, and *Ezra*, and one Verſe in *Jeremiah*) were all written therein; yet the common People, by having ſo long convers'd with the *Babylonians*, learned their Language, and forgot their own: And therefore, that they might have the *Bible* in a Language which they underſtood, there were ſeveral *Targums*, at ſeveral Times, made by different Perſons, and on different Parts of Scripture.

That of Onkelos.

THE *Targum* of *Onkelos*, becauſe it comes up neareſt to the *Standard* of the *Chaldee* (which is only perfect in the Books of *Daniel* and *Ezra*) is thought by ſome the moſt ancient; but others give the Preference, in Point of Antiquity, to that of *Jonathan*, whom they place about thirty Years before *Chriſt*, under the Reign of *Herod the Great*. Its Author is reputed to have liv'd much about our *Saviour*'s Time; and, as he undertook to tranſlate the *Pentateuch* only, ſo has he render'd it Word for Word, and, for the moſt Part, very *accurately* and *exactly*.

Jomthan.

THAT of *Jonathan*, Son of *Uzziel*, which takes in the Books of *Joſhua*, *Judges*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the minor *Prophets*, has the like Purity of Style, but then it is quite different in the Manner of its Compoſure: For, inſtead of being a ſtrict Verſion, it is, in many Places, very *lax* and paraphraſtical, and, eſpecially in the *Prophets*, full of ſuch *Comments*, *Gloſſes*, and *Allegories*, as do not at all commend the Work.

And Joſeph.

THAT, which goes under the Name of *Joſeph*, ſurnam'd the *Blind*, comprehends the other Parts of Scripture, call'd the *Hagiographa*; ſuch as the Book of *Pſalms*, of *Job*, *Eſther*, *Proverbs*, &c. but this, and the reſt of the *Targums*, are ſo barbarous in their Style, ſo full of Miſtakes, and ſo loaded with *Fables*, that (*k*) they ſeem to be the Compoſitions of ſome later *Talmudiſts*, rather than of any ancient *Paraphraſt*. To mention but one more, that of *Jeruſalem* is only upon the *Pentateuch*, and (*l*) yet it is far from being perfect: For in it whole Verſes are frequently wanting; ſome are tranſpos'd, and others mutilated, which has made many of Opinion, that it is no more than a Fragment of ſome ancient Paraphraſe, which is now loſt.

And of what Uſe *they are.*

THE Truth is, the only Writings of this Kind, which the *Jews* have Reaſon to value themſelves upon, are thoſe of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, and with theſe they are ſo infatuated, that they hold them to be of the ſame Authority with the ſacred Text; and, for the Support of this Opinion, pretend to derive them from the ſame Fountain. For they ſay, "That, when God deliver'd the written Law to *Moſes* upon Mount *Sinai*, "he deliver'd with it, at the ſame Time, the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe of *Onkelos*; and that, "when, by his Holy Spirit, he dictated to the Prophets the Scriptures of the *prophetical* Books, he deliver'd ſeverally to them the *Targum* of *Jonathan* upon each Book, "at the ſame Time; and that both theſe *Targums* were deliver'd down by Tradition "through ſuch faithful Hands, as God, by his Providence, had appointed; the firſt "from *Moſes*, and the other from the *Prophets* themſelves; till at laſt, thro' this Chain "of *traditional* Deſcent, they came down to the Hands of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, who "did nothing more to them, than only put them into Writing."

How *Romantic* ſoever this Account may be, yet we are not to run into a contrary Extream, and think that theſe *Paraphraſes* are of no Significance to us; ſince it is obvious,

(*i*) Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connection, and *Edwards* on the Excellence of Scripture.

(*k*) Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connect. Part II. Lib. 8. p. 771.

(*l*) Vid. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Targum*.

obvious, that they cannot fail of explaining many Words and Phraſes in the *Hebrew* Original, which will conduce to our better Underſtanding of thoſe Scriptures, on which they are wrote; and to hand down to us many of the Cuſtoms and Uſages of the *Jews* in Vogue in our Saviour's Days, and thereby help us to illuſtrate many obſcure Paſſages, which occur in the *New Teſtament*, as well as the *Old*.

Of the ancient Latin and vulgar Tranſlations.

THE *Latin* Tranſlations of the *Bible*, (*m*) even in St *Auſtin*'s Time, were almoſt innumerable; but theſe were all made from the *Septuagint*, and not from the *Hebrew*, until St *Jerom* (who was well vers'd in that Language) obſerving the Errors of the many *Latin* Tranſlations, and their frequent Diſagreement with the *Original*, undertook a *new* one; and, with great Care and Exactneſs, tranſlated from the *Hebrew* all the *Old Teſtament*, except the *Pſalms*, which being ſung in the Church in the old *Latin*, or *Italian* Verſion, cou'd not be chang'd without giving the People ſome Offence. St *Jerom*'s Tranſlation however, was not ſo univerſally receiv'd, but that ſome Biſhops (who were not ſo well acquainted with the *Hebrew*) abſolutely rejected it; whilſt others, who were better Judges, and ſaw its Conformity to the *Original*, readily embraced it. During the Time of this Diviſion, both Tranſlations were read in public, *i. e.* ſome Books in St *Jerom*'s Verſion, and ſome in the *Italian*, till at length another, which was compos'd of both, and is call'd by the *Romaniſts*, *Vetus & Vulgata*, was thought more correct than either, and accordingly gain'd the Aſcendant.

And the Sentiments of the Romaniſts thereupon.

THE *Romaniſts* wou'd make us believe, that this Tranſlation, which they ſo highly extol, is the very ſame with St *Jerom*'s, and that, whatever Variations may be perceiv'd in it, they were occaſion'd by the Force of Time, and the Negligence of Tranſcribers. However this be, it cannot be denied, but that it has ſeveral conſiderable Faults; that it leaves the *Original* very often, and ſometimes runs contrary to it; that it frequently follows the *Septuagint*, or the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe; that it abounds with barbarous Words; with many Places, where its Senſe is corrupted, and in ſome, quite loſt: And yet (*n*) the Council of *Trent* thought fit to ordain and declare, "That the ſame ancient "and vulgar Verſion, which has been approv'd of, and us'd in the Church for many "Ages paſt, ſhall be conſider'd as the *authentic* Verſion in all publick Lectures, Diſ-"putes, Sermons, and Expoſitions, which no Body ſhall preſume to reject, under "what Pretence ſoever." A Decree, which (*o*) the Authors of that Communion are forc'd to apologize for, by ſaying, that the Council did not intend thereby to reſtrain Interpreters from conſulting the *Hebrew*, and, upon all Occaſions, from rectifying that very Tranſlation by the *original* Text; did not intend to compare that Tranſlation with the *Originals*, either *Hebrew* or *Greek*, but only with the other Tranſlations that were then extant; did not intend to pronounce it *abſolutely perfect*, and free from all Errors, but only *preferable* to any other, and proper enough to be declared *authentic*, if it was but *morally* conſonant to its *Original*.

Of modern Latin Tranſlations.

BUT whatever the Merit, or Authority of this Tranſlation formerly was, not long after the Year 1500, there aroſe ſeveral learned Men, well ſkill'd in Languages, who, ſeeing the Corruptions that were in *this*, as well as other *Latin* Verſions, and comparing them with the *Originals*, endeavour'd to correct them from theſe *Fountains*. In the *Roman Communion*, thoſe of the beſt Note, were *Ximenius*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who gave us the firſt *Polyglot* Bible; *Sanct. Pagninus*, a *Dominican* Monk, who, in his Tranſlation, is a rigid Obſerver of the *original* Text, but ſomewhat *obſcure*; *Malvenda*, another *Dominican*, who is *Grammatical* enough, but both obſcure and *barbarous*; Cardinal *Cajetan*, who is literal, without Obſcurity; the renowned *Eraſmus*, whoſe Verſion of the *New Teſtament*, in all Reſpects, is juſtly commended; And, of the *reformed Religion*,

(*m*) Qui enim Scripturas ex Hebræâ Linguâ in Græcam verterunt, numerari poſſunt; Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. *Aug. de Doct. Chriſti*, Lib. 2. Cap. 11.

(*n*) Seſſ. 4. (*o*) *Du Pin* on the Canon, and Father *Simon*'s Critical Hiſtory.

ligion, the moſt remarkable, are *Sebaſtian Munſter*, a *German*, who renders the *Hebrew* Text very cloſely and exactly; *Leo Juda*, a *Zuinglian*, who indulges a Kind of *Paraphraſe*, to make the Senſe more obvious; *Caſtallio*, who wrote in a *neat* and *elegant*, but, as ſome think, too *florid* and *affected* a Style; *Theodore Beza*, who has tranſlated the *New Teſtament* with good Succeſs; and *Junius* and *Tremellius*, who, with a true and natural *Simplicity*, did both of them jointly tranſlate the *Old Teſtament* out of the *Hebrew*, and *Tremellius* alone, the *New Teſtament*, out of the *Syriac*.

And their Uſe. THESE are moſt of the later Verſions of the Bible, which, more or leſs, have amended the Faults of the *vulgar Latin*, and brought us nearer to the *Original*. Upon the Whole therefore we may conclude, that theſe ſeveral learned Tranſlators are all of them, in their Kinds, very uſeful; ſome by keeping cloſe to the Original, and others by uſing a Latitude. In the main, they have preſented us (tho' in a different Style and Manner) with the true and genuine Meaning of the Text; "But wherefoever the *Latin* Tran-"ſlators diſagree, (ſays a great Man *(p)* of the *Roman Communion*, and himſelf an able "*Tranſlator*) or a *Reading* is thought to be corrupted, we muſt repair to the *Original*, "in which the Scriptures were wrote: So that the Truth and Sincerity of the Tranſla-"tors of the *Old Teſtament* muſt be examin'd by the *Hebrew* Copies, and of the *New*, "by the *Greek* ones."

The Engliſh *Tranſlations.* As ſoon as the *Reformation* began to appear in *England*, ſeveral Editions of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* were publiſh'd in our *Tongue*. In the Year 1527, *Tindal* tranſlated the *Pentateuch*, and the *New Teſtament*, and afterwards, both he and *Coverdale* join'd in the Work, and finiſh'd the Tranſlation of the whole Bible; which being reviſ'd by *Matthews*, about ten Years after, was reprinted. But it had not long been reprinted, before *Henry* VIII, forbad the Sale of *that*, and every other *Engliſh* Tranſlation; and, at the ſame Time, ordered *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and *Heath*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, to make a new one, which was publiſh'd in the Year 1541: When, being diſpleas'd with *that* likewiſe, he forbad all *Engliſh Tranſlations* whatever; ſo that, during his Reign, no one was permitted to read the Scriptures in the *vulgar* Tongue, without a proper *Licence*. In the Reign of *Edward* VI, the Editions of *Tindal* and *Tunſtal* were reviv'd: But, as the Life of that Prince was but ſhort, upon Queen *Mary*'s Succeſſion to the Throne, a violent Perſecution aroſe, and all *Engliſh* Tranſlations (as being done by *Proteſtants*, and thought injurious to the *Roman Cauſe*) were utterly ſuppreſs'd. During this Reign, ſome *Calviniſts*, who had fled for Shelter to *Geneva*, made a new *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Bible, according to the *Geneva-Form*, which was publiſh'd in that City, as ſoon as finiſhed, but not in *London*, until the Year 1598. Many Paſſages in this Verſion were made to favour the *Preſbyterian* Cauſe; and therefore thoſe of the *Epiſcopal* Party, in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, endeavour'd to get it ſuppreſs'd: But not being able to accompliſh their Deſign, Archbiſhop *Parker*, in Conjunction with ſeveral other Biſhops, made another Tranſlation in Oppoſition to it. This is uſually called the Biſhop's Bible, or Tranſlation. It was made according to the *Hebrew* of the *Old*, and the *Greek* of the *New* Teſtament; but, becauſe in many Places it receded from the *Hebrew* Original, to come nearer to the *Septuagint*, it was not ſo well approv'd by King *James* I, and therefore he order'd a *new* one to be made, which might be more conformable to the *Hebrew Text*.

The Tranſlation in preſent Uſe. THIS is the Tranſlation which we read in our Churches at this Day; only the old Verſion of the *Pſalms* (as 'tis call'd) which was made by Biſhop *Tunſtal*, is ſtill retain'd in our publick Liturgy: And tho' it cannot be denied, that this Tranſlation, eſpecially taking along with it the *marginal Notes* (which are oftentimes of great Service to explain difficult Paſſages) is one of the moſt perfect in its Kind; yet I hope it will be no Detraction to its Merit, nor any Diminution of the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, to

(p) Cardinal *Ximenius* in his Preface to Pope *Leo*.

to wiſh, that ſuch, as are inveſted with a proper *Authority*, wou'd appoint a *regular Reviſal* of it, that, where it is faulty, it may be amended; where difficult, render'd more plain; where obſcure, clear'd up; and, in all Points, made as obvious, as poſſible, to the Apprehenſion of the *meaneſt Reader*.

Rules for interpreting Scripture.

THE *Learned* indeed may better diſpenſe with a leſs perfect Verſion. They know that there are *Faults* in ſome *Copies*, which muſt be *rectify'd*; ſometimes a *Tranſpoſition* of Terms, which muſt be *re-plac'd* in their proper *Order*; and many Times various *Readings*, ſome of which, for ſeveral Reaſons, are to be *preferr'd* before others. They know, that there is a *literal* Senſe and a *figurative*, which muſt not be confounded; ſome *Propoſitions*, which ſeem *negative*, and yet are to be taken *interrogatively* or *affirmatively*; and ſome *Parentheſes*, which darken the Senſe, unleſs they are more *diſtinctly mark'd*, than they commonly are in moſt Tranſlations. They know, that the different *Pointing* of the ſame *Hebrew* Words gives them quite different Senſes; that the *Signification* of the *Hebrew Verb* changes according to its *Conjugation*; that there are certain *Alluſions* to ſuch *Cuſtoms* and *Uſages*, as explain many Difficulties; and ſeveral *Ways of Speaking* among the *Jews*, and other *Eaſtern* Nations, which muſt be adjuſted to our *Ideas*. They know, that there are *general Expreſſions*, which muſt be reſtrain'd to the *particular* Subject in Hand, and that the different *Circumſtances* of the Subject, the *Connection* with what goes before and after, and Deſign of the Author, muſt often determine the *Meaning*.

The Defects *of our* preſent *Tranſlation.*

THESE, and many more *Rules* of Interpretation, are not unknown to the Learned: But the common People, who are no leſs concern'd to know the Will of God, are entirely ignorant in this Reſpect; and therefore, if a Verſion be defective in ſeveral of theſe Particulars (as thoſe, who have examin'd *ours* with Obſervation, are forc'd to acknowledge that it is) if, when the *Original* is *figurative*, our *Tranſlators*, in ſeveral Places, have expreſs'd it in a Way not accommodated to our preſent Notions of Things, when they might have done it with the ſame *Propriety*: If, when there is an *Ambiguity* in any Word or Phraſe, they have frequently taken it in a *wrong* Senſe, and, for Want of attending to the *Tranſpoſition* or *Context*, have run into ſome *Errors*, and many Times unintelligible *Diction*: If they have committed palpable Miſtakes in the Names of *Cities* and *Countries*, of *Weights* and *Meaſures*, of *Fruits* and *Trees*, and ſeveral of the *Animals*, which the Scripture mentions: And, laſtly, if, by miſapprehending the Nature of a *Propoſition*, whether it be *Negative* or *Affirmative*, or the Tenſe of a Verb, whether *paſt* or *future*, they have fallen upon a Senſe, in a Manner, quite *oppoſite* to the *Original*; and, by not attending to ſome *Oriental* Cuſtoms, or Forms of Speech, have repreſented Matters in a Dreſs quite foreign to the *Engliſh Dialect*: If in theſe, and ſuch like Inſtances, I ſay, our Tranſlators have made ſuch Miſtakes, the People, who know not how to rectify them, muſt be miſled; and therefore, to prevent the Danger of this, we will inſtance a little in one or two of the moſt obvious of them.

FEW or none, I hope, are ſo groſsly ignorant, as to think that God has a Body, like unto ours, though the Scripture attributes *Eyes*, *Hands*, *Mouth*, *Bowels*, &c. to him; but yet, ſince People are ready to receive wrong Notions by theſe, and ſuch like *figurative* Expreſſions, and ſince our Language has Words in Abundance, whereby to expreſs them in a proper Senſe, it ſeems more reaſonable, that, when the *Original* ſpeaks of God's *Hand*, it ſhou'd be tranſlated God's *Power*; his *Eyes*, his *Care* and *Providence*; his *Mouth*, his *Order* and *Commandments*; his *Bowels*, his moſt *tender Compaſſions*, &c.

THE Scriptures, we may obſerve, frequently call *Cities*, *Kingdoms*, and their Inhabitants, by the ſame Names with their *Kings* or *Founders*: But certainly a Verſion (if it is deſign'd to be underſtood) ſhou'd diſtinguiſh them exactly. Thus, the Name of *Aſher*, when it ſignifies the Son of *Shem*, ſhou'd be kept in the Tranſlation; but when it ſignifies his *Country*, it ſhou'd be render'd *Aſſyria*; and when the *Inhabitants* of the

Country, it ſhou'd be tranſlated *Aſſyrians:* But this Rule of Diſtinction our *Interpreters*, to the great Confuſion of the Reader, have not obſerv'd.

PRODIGALS divert themſelves much with that *quaint* Advice of *Solomon*, (as they call it) (*q*) *Caſt thy Bread upon the Waters, and thou ſhalt find it after many Days:* But wou'd they only obſerve, that the *Hebrew* Word *Lechem* not only ſignifies *Bread*, but likewiſe *Wheat*, whereof it is made; and that the Word *Majim* not only denotes *Waters*, but alſo *Ground that is moiſt*, or lies near the Waters; they might eaſily perceive, that the Senſe of the Text is,——*Throw thy Grain into moiſt Ground, and, in Proceſs of Time, thou ſhalt find it again.*

THE Profane do likewiſe abuſe another wholeſome Precept of *Solomon*, (*r*) *Be not righteous over much, neither make thyſelf over wiſe*, as if a Man can be too righteous, or too wiſe: Whereas, wou'd they but conſider, that *Solomon* is here ſpeaking of that *Juſtice*, which a Man is to exerciſe towards others (as the Context plainly ſhews) they cou'd not but perceive the *Propriety* of this Interpretation;——*Do not exerciſe Juſtice too rigorouſly, neither ſet up for a Man of too great Wiſdom.*

SOME Parents are ſo very ſevere and cruel to their Children, as to obſerve no Bounds in their correcting them; and they may poſſibly ground their Severity upon this Text, (*s*) *Chaſten thy Son, while there is Hope, and let not thy Soul ſpare for his crying*: But had they any tolerable Skill in the *Hebrew* Tongue, they wou'd ſoon ſee that the latter Part of the Verſe ſhou'd be thus render'd;——*But ſuffer not thyſelf to be tranſported ſo, as to cauſe him to die.*

'TIS a ſtrange Kind of Bleſſing that, which God gives to the Tribe of *Aſher*, as our Tranſlators have order'd it; (*t*) *Thy Shoes ſhall be Iron and Braſs, and as thy Days, ſo ſhall thy Strength be:* But had they conſider'd, that the *Hebrew* Word *Mineal* never ſignifies a *Shoe* in Scripture, but only a *Bolt* or *Bar*; and that the Word, which they render *Strength*, equally denotes *Peace* or *Reſt*; they wou'd have made better Senſe of the Bleſſing thus,——*Thy Bolts ſhall be of Iron and Braſs, and thou ſhalt have Peace in thy Days.*

'TIS a Text of much Obſcurity, and hardly conſiſtent with Decency, to ſay, (*u*) Moab *is my Waſh-Pot, over* Edom *will I caſt out my Shoe*, Philiſtia *be thou glad of me:* But now, (*x*) conſidering that the Word, which is render'd *Waſh-Pot*, is employ'd to expreſs the loweſt Degree of Servitude; and what is render'd a *Shoe*, ſignifies often a *Chain*, and ſo implies a State of *Slavery* and *Bondage*; there is a Spirit and Dignity in the Words thus render'd,——*I will reduce the* Moabites *to the vileſt Servitude, I will alſo triumph over the* Edomites, *and make them my Slaves, and the* Philiſtines *ſhall add to my Triumph.*

TO name but one more, it wou'd ſeem, at this Day, not very decent, to ſee a Man go *naked*, and eſpecially if he pretended to a Divine Miſſion, moſt ſober People wou'd conclude him *lunatic:* And therefore when *Iſaiah* is ſaid to have (*y*) *walked three Years naked and barefoot, for a Sign and a Wonder upon* Egypt, *and upon* Ethiopia, we muſt either ſuppoſe that this was (*z*) only *acted* in *Viſion* (as ſeveral other Things recorded of the Prophets were) or that all the while he went only without his upper Garment, (enough to denominate him *naked*) but wore his other Cloaths as uſual; "For far be "it from God (ſays (*a*) *Maimonides*) to make his Prophets *ridiculous*, or to preſcribe "them ſuch Actions, as muſt of Courſe denote them Fools and Madmen."

How to make a New *or* better *Tranſlation.*

THESE are ſome of the Places, wherein our *Tranſlators* have been manifeſtly faulty; and, I mention it again, that I have produced theſe, not with any *ſiniſter* Deſign, but purely to clear the *ſacred Oracles* from a Cenſure, which the Negligence of their *Interpreters*

(*q*) Eccleſ. xi. 1. (*r*) Chap. vii. 16. (*s*) Prov. xix. 18. (*t*) Deut. xxxiii. 25. (*u*) Pſal. lx. 8. (*x*) Eſſay for a new Tranſlation. (*y*) Iſa. xx. 3. (*z*) Vid. *Smith*'s Select Diſcourſes. (*a*) More Nev. Part II. Chap. xlvi.

terpreters may have poſſibly brought upon them; and to ſhew the World, that the Call for a *new*, at leaſt a more perfect Tranſlation, is neither *groundleſs* nor *unreaſonable*: But then, the Queſtion is, how muſt this *Project* be put in Execution? or, who is the Perſon ſufficient for ſuch a Work? My Reply to thoſe, who make this Enquiry, muſt be in the Senſe of ſuch, (*b*) as have made it the Subject of their moſt mature Deliberation, and have thereupon thought, that a new *Engliſh* Verſion might be compos'd out of our *laſt Edition*, if improv'd with ſuch *Alterations* and *Amendments*, as might make the Style and Senſe, in many Places, more accurate, and accommodate the *Whole* to the Taſte of the moſt curious Reader: But then they aſſert, that the Perſon, who is to attempt *this*, or another Tranſlation *perfectly new*, muſt have a competent Knowledge of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Tongues, and be daily converſant in reading the Scriptures, in order to make their Phraſe and Style, and Manner of arguing, familiar to him: Muſt be ſufficiently acquainted with the *Jewiſh*, and other *oriental* Rites and Cuſtoms, their *Manners* and *Schemes* of Diction, to which, Paſſages almoſt in every *Page*, do allude: Muſt be ſufficiently ſkill'd in *Hiſtory*, *Chronology*, *Geography*, &c. in the Proportion of *Weights* and *Meaſures*; in the Names of *Plants* and *Animals*; and indeed of all *Arts* and *Sciences*, either expreſs'd or referr'd to in the Scriptures: Muſt be well vers'd in *critical* Learning, in the beſt *Commentators*, both ancient and modern; and eſpecially in ſuch Writers, as have given us Rules and Directions *preparatory* to their right Interpretation: That, being thus qualified, he muſt take abundant Care to have the *Text* of the *Bible* (from whence he tranſlates) duly *eſtabliſh'd*, by an exact Collation of it with divers ancient *Copies*, and ancient *Tranſlations* made from the *original* Language: That he muſt be a perfect Maſter of the *Purity* and *Elegance*, the Strength and whole Compaſs of the Language, whereinto he tranſlates; (becauſe, in the Courſe of the Work, he will have frequent Occaſion to try it all:) That, in the Main, he muſt keep cloſe to the *original* Text; but, when the Terms of the two Languages are found incompatible, muſt conſider the *Senſe*, rather than the *Words* of the *Original*, if he would either do *that*, or his own Tranſlation Juſtice: That he muſt decline making uſe of *Hebrew*, or other *exotic* Words, which, in a Tranſlation, deſign'd for common Uſe, muſt needs be improper, as well as barbarous and unintelligible: Muſt *modernize* a little (to make them more familiar) thoſe Words, and Forms of Speech, which allude to ancient *Nations* and *Cuſtoms*; and (as ſome wou'd have it) reduce the old *Geography*, as well as *Weights* and *Meaſures*, and *Computations* of all Kinds, to the *Names* and *Standards* that are now in Uſe: That, when any *Equivocal* Word or Phraſe occurs, he muſt examine every Senſe, wherein it may be taken, and make Choice of that, which is moſt conſonant to the Author's *Deſign*, and agrees beſt with the *preceding* and *following* Diſcourſe: That, when any dark Paſſage preſents itſelf, he muſt conſult thoſe of the like Import that are plainer; or (if none ſuch there be) adviſe with the beſt *Commentators*, and ſo determine; laying down this for a certain Rule, that whenever a Scripture ſeems to expreſs any Thing contrary to *right Reaſon*, it muſt admit of another Meaning: And therefore, laſtly, he muſt attend diligently to the different Senſes of Scripture, *figurative* and *literal*; watch narrowly when *Tranſpoſitions* of Words or Phraſes occur; when *Parentheſes* are wanting or redundant; and in what Manner each *Chapter* and *Verſe* is divided; becauſe, upon a wrong Diſpoſition of theſe, much Obſcurity is known oftentimes to ariſe.

THE Diviſion of the *Pentateuch* into *Sections* was of ſo early a Date, that the ancient *Jews* accounted it one of thoſe *Conſtitutions*, which *Moſes* received from God on Mount *Sinai*. The whole was divided into 54 Sections, according to the Number of their

The Diviſion of the Scriptures into Sections, Chapters and Verſes.

(*b*) *Vid.* Father *Simon*'s Critical Hiſtory, *L.* 3. *Du Pin*'s Hiſtory of the *Canon*, L. 1. C. 10. Diſſert. de S. Script. Interpret. per *D. Whitby*. An Eſſay for a new Tranſlation of the Bible; and *Edwards*'s Excellency of the Holy Scripture.

their *Sabbaths* in a Year, and on each Sabbath-Day a different Section was read, until the whole Number was concluded. After the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, (*c*) the common People had almoſt forgot their Mother-Tongue, and were therefore forc'd to have the Scriptures, when read to them on the Sabbath-Day, interpreted in *Chaldee*; and, that the *Reader* and *Interpreter* might keep their proper Periods, every Pauſe was mark'd with two great *Points*, which the *Jews* called *Soph Paſuk*, i. e. *the End of the Verſe*. In this Manner the *Jews* divided their Scriptures into Sections and Verſes; but the Diviſion of them into *Chapters*, and *numerical* Verſes (as we have them now) is of a much later Date.

HUGO de Sancto Caro (commonly called *Hugo Cardinalis*) about the Year 1240, being minded to write a *Commentary* upon the *Old Teſtament*, found it neceſſary for his Deſign to invent a *Concordance*; and, to make the *Concordance* more uſeful, he divided the Books into ſhorter *Sections*, than were in the *Hebrew* Bible, and theſe Sections into *Subdiviſions*, the better to make his *References*. Theſe Sections are the *Chapters*, into which the Bible has ever ſince been divided; but the *Subdiviſions* were not mark'd by *Figures*, (as are the Verſes with us) but by the *Capital Letters*, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, plac'd on the *Margin*, in equal Diſtances from each other. In this State the Scriptures continu'd, till, about the Year 1438; *Rabbi Nathan*, being, in like Manner, to make a *Concordance* in *Hebrew*, imitated *Hugo* in the Diviſion of the *ſcriptural Books* into Chapters; but, inſtead of his *capital Letters*, he took the old Way of *Periods* or *Verſes*, and diſtinguiſh'd them by *Numbers*; a Method, which *Vatablus* firſt follow'd in his Edition of the *Latin Bible*, and *Robert Stephens* in *his* of the *Greek New Teſtament*; which has ever ſince been of common Uſe in every *Edition* of the Holy Scriptures, whether in the *learned*, or *vulgar* Languages.

The Deſign of the following Work.

THUS we have taken a ſufficient View, both of the *internal* and *external* Parts of the Holy Scriptures, of thoſe of the *Old Teſtament* more eſpecially; and the proper Reſult of all our Enquiry is, the putting in Practice that wholeſome Advice, which our bleſſed Saviour gives the *Jews*; (*d*) *Search the Scriptures, for in them you think* (and think with very great Juſtice) that *you have eternal Life*: And, to facilitate that Search, the Deſign of the following Sheets is,—by the Help of *analytick* Writers, to give the Reader a plain and eaſy *Narrative* of the *Hiſtorical* Parts of the Bible; by the Aſſiſtance of the beſt *Critics* and *Commentators*, to explain difficult Paſſages, and reconcile ſeeming Contradictions; by the Strength of *Reaſon* and *Argument*, to ſilence the *Cavils* and *Objections*, which have given Umbrage to *Profaneneſs* and *Infidelity*; and by theſe ſeveral Means (if poſſible) to retrieve the Credit of the ſacred Writings; to reclaim the Heart of the *Unbeliever*, and ſtop the Mouth of the *noiſy Scoffer*; to inſtruct the *Ignorant*, confirm the *Weak* and *Wavering*, ſatisfy the *Curious* and *Inquiſitive*, and, in ſhort, convince every ſober and impartial Enquirer of the Truth and Juſtice of the *Pſalmiſt*'s Prayer and Sentiment, (*e*) *Teach us, O Lord, the Way of thy Statutes, and we ſhall keep it unto the End. Give us Underſtanding, and we ſhall keep thy Law, yea, we ſhall keep it with our whole Heart; for great is the Peace, which they have, who love thy Law, and are not offended at it.* Amen.

(*c*) Vid. *Prideaux*'s Connect. Part I. L. 5. (*d*) John v. 39. (*e*) Pſal. cxix. 33, 34, 165.

THE

THE

PREFACE.

AFTER *ſo long an* Apparatus, *there will be leſs Occaſion to ſay much in the* Preface; *and yet I thought it not improper to give the Reader a little Notice, from what Motives it was, that I have undertaken this Work, and in what Method I intend, with the Bleſſing of God, to purſue it.*

The Holy Bible *itſelf, I readily grant, is, in a great Meaſure,* Hiſtorical, *and an Hiſtory of an Hiſtory may ſeem a Soleciſm to thoſe, who do not ſufficiently attend to the Nature of theſe ſacred Writings, whoſe Scope, and Method, and Form of Diction are vaſtly different from any modern Compoſition: Wherein the* Idiom *of the Tongue, in which it was penn'd, and the* oriental *Cuſtoms, to which it alludes, occaſion much Obſcurity; the* Difference *of Time, wherein it was wrote, and* Variety *of Authors concern'd therein, a* Diverſity *of Style, and frequent* Repetitions; *the Intermixture of other Matters, with what is properly Hiſtorical, a ſeeming Perplexity; the Malice of* Foes, *and Negligence of* Scribes, *frequent* Diſlocations; *and the Defect of publick Records (in the Times of Perſecution) a long* Interruption *of about four hundred Years; to ſay nothing that this Hiſtory relates to one Nation only, and concerns itſelf no farther with the reſt of Mankind, than as they had ſome Dealings and Intercourſe with them. Whoever, I ſay, will give himſelf the Liberty to conſider a little the* Form, *and Compoſition of the* Holy Bible, *and the weighty Concerns which it contains, muſt needs be of Opinion, that* this, *of all other Books, requires to be* explained *where it is obſcure;* methodiz'd *where it ſeems confus'd;* abridg'd *where it ſeems prolix;* ſupply'd *where it is defective; and* analyz'd, *where its* Hiſtorical *Matters lie blended and involved with other quite different Subjects. This I call writing* an Hiſtory of the Bible: *And hereupon I thought with myſelf, that if I cou'd but give the Reader a plain and ſuccinct* Narrative *of what is purely* Hiſtorical *in this ſacred Book, without the Interſperſion of any other Matter; if I cou'd but ſettle the* Chronology, *and reſtore the* Order *of Things, by reducing every Paſſage and Fact to its proper Place, and* Period *of Time; if I cou'd but (by Way of* Notes, *and without breaking in upon the Series of the narrative Part)* explain *difficult Texts,* rectify *Miſtranſlations, and* reconcile *ſeeming Contradictions, as they occurred in my Way; if I cou'd but* ſupply *the Defect of the* Jewiſh *Story, by continuing the Account of their Affairs, under the Rule and Conduct of the* Maccabees; *if I cou'd but* introduce profane *Hiſtory, as I went along, and, at proper Diſtances of Time,* ſum up *to my Reader what was tranſacting in other Parts of the then known World, while he was peruſing the Records of the* Hebrew *Worthies; and, at the ſame Time, if I cou'd but* anſwer *ſuch* Queſtions *and* Objections, *as Infidelity, in all Ages, has been too ready to ſuggeſt againſt the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures; and, withal,* diſcuſs *ſuch Paſſages, and* illuſtrate *ſuch* Facts *and* Events, *as make the moſt conſiderable Figure in Holy Writ: If I cou'd but do this, I ſay, I thought I had undertaken a Work, which might poſſibly be of publick Uſe and Benefit; ſeaſonable at all Times, but more eſpecially in the Age wherein we live, and (if I may be permitted to apply to myſelf the Apoſtle's Words) ſuch, as might make me (a)* unto God a ſweet Savour in Chriſt, in them that are ſaved, and in them that periſh; to the one the Savour of Death unto Death, and to the other the Savour of Life unto Life.

I am very well aware, that ſeveral have gone before me in Works of the like Denomination; but I may boldly venture to ſay, that none of them have taken in half that Compaſs of View, which I here propoſe to myſelf. Blome *has given us a very pompous Book; but beſides that it is no more than a bare Tranſlation of* Sieur de Royamont's Hiſtory

(a) 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16.

of the Old and New Teſtament, *it omits many material Facts, obſerves no exact Series in its Narration, but is frequently interrupted by Inſertions of the Sentiments of the Fathers, which prove not always ſo very pertinent; and, in ſhort, is remarkable for little or nothing elſe, but the Number of its Sculptures, which are badly deſign'd, and worſe executed.* Elwood, *in ſome Reſpects, has acquitted himſelf much better: he has made a pretty juſt Collection of the Scripture-Account of Things; but then, when any Difficulty occurs, he uſually gives us the ſacred Text itſelf, without any explanatory Note or Comment upon it, and ſo not only leaves his Reader's* Underſtanding *as ignorant as he found it, but his Mind in ſome Danger of being tainted by the unlawful Parallels he makes between the Acts of former and later Times, and by a certain Levity, which he diſcovers (b) upon ſeveral Occaſions, not ſo becoming the* Sacredneſs *of his Subject.* Howel *has certainly excelled all that went before him, both in his Deſign and Execution of it. He has given us a continu'd Relation of Scripture-Tranſaction; has fill'd up the* Chaſm *between* Malachi *and* Chriſt; *has annex'd ſome Notes, which help to explain the Difficulties that are chiefly occaſioned by the Miſtakes of our Tranſlators: But, in my Opinion, he has been a little too ſparing in his Notes, and (as ſome will have it) too pompous in his* Diction. *He has omitted many Things, that might juſtly deſerve his Notice, and taken notice of others, that ſeem not ſo conſiderable. Some very remarkable Events he has thought fit to paſs by without any Comment; nor has he attempted to vindicate ſuch Paſſages, as the Lovers of Infidelity are apt to lay hold on, in order to entrench themſelves the ſafer.*

Whatever other Men's Sentiments might be, theſe Things I thought in ſome Meaſure eſſential, *and at this Time (more eſpecially) extremely* neceſſary *in an* Hiſtory of the Bible; *and, to encourage my Purſuit of this Method, I have ſeveral Helps and Aſſiſtances, which thoſe, who went before me, were not perhaps ſo well accommodated with.*

The Foundation of a Lecture *by the* Honourable Mr Boyle *has given Occaſion for the Principles of* natural *and* revealed *Religion to be fairly ſtated, and the Objections and Cavils of Infidelity of all Kinds to be fully anſwer'd. The Inſtitution of* another *by the Lady* Moyer *has furniſhed us with ſeveral Tracts, wherein the great Articles of our Chriſtian Faith are ſtrenuouſly vindicated, and, as far as the Nature of* Myſteries *will allow, accurately explain'd.*

The uncommon Licence, which, of late Years, has been taken, to decry all Prophecies *and* Miracles, *and to expoſe ſeveral Portions of Scripture, as abſurd and ridiculous, has rais'd up ſome learned Men (God grant that the Number of them may every Day increaſe!) to* contend earneſtly for the Faith, *and, by the Help of critical Knowledge in ancient Cuſtoms, and ſacred Languages, to reſcue from their Hands ſuch Texts and Paſſages, as the Wicked and* Unſtable *were endeavouring to* wreſt, *to the Perverſion of other Men's Faith, as well as* their own Deſtruction. *The* Commentaries *and* Annotations *we have upon the Scriptures, both from our own Countrymen, and from Foreigners, have of late Years been very ſolid and elaborate; the* Diſſertations, *or particular Treatiſes on the moſt remarkable Facts and Events, extremely learned and judicious; the* Harmoniſts, *or Writers, who endeavour to reconcile ſeeming Contradictions, very accurate and inquiſitive; ſuch, as have wrote in an* Analytical *Way, clear and perſpicuous enough; and (to paſs by ſeveral others) ſacred* Geography *has been fully handled by the great* Bochart; *ſacred* Chronology *ſufficiently aſcertain'd by our renowned* Uſher; *and the* Chaſm *in the ſacred Story abundantly ſupply'd by our learned* Prideaux; *ſo that there are no Materials wanting, to furniſh out* A New and Compleat Hiſtory of the Bible, *even according to the Compaſs and Extent of my* Scheme. *That therefore the Reader may be appriz'd of the Method, I propoſe to myſelf, and what he may reaſonably expect from me, I muſt deſire him to obſerve, that, according to the ſeveral* Periods *of Time, from the Creation of the World, to the full Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, my Deſign is, to divide the whole Work into Eight Books. Whereof*

The

(b) *Vid.* his Account of the Plague of Lice of *Pharaoh* and his People; the Story of *Sampſon*'s Foxes, and that of *Eſther*.

The I. *Will extend from the Creation, to the Deluge.*
The II. *From the Deluge, to the Call of* Abraham.
The III. *From the Call of* Abraham, *to the Departure of the* Iſraelites *out of* Egypt.
The IV. *From the Departure of the* Iſraelites, *to their Entrance into the Land of* Canaan.
The V. *From their Entrance into* Canaan, *to the Building of* Solomon's *Temple.*
The VI. *From the Building of the Temple, to the* Babyloniſh *Captivity.*
The VII. *From the Captivity, to the Birth of Chriſt. And*
The VIII. *From the Birth of Chriſt, to the Completion of the Canon of the New Teſtament.*

Each of theſe Books *I purpoſe to divide into ſeveral* Chapters, *and each Chapter into three* Parts. *The Number of Chapters will vary, according as the Matter in each* Period *ariſes, but the* Parts *in each Chapter will be conſtantly the ſame,* viz.

1ſt, *A* Narrative *Part, which, in plain and eaſy Diction, will contain the Subſtance of the Scripture-Hiſtory for ſuch a determinate Time.*

2dly, *An* Argumentative *Part, which will contain an Anſwer to ſuch Objections, as may poſſibly be made againſt any Paſſage in the Hiſtory compriz'd in that Time. And*

3dly, *A* Philological *Part, which will contain the Sentiments of the Learned, both* ancient *and* modern, *concerning ſuch remarkable Events or Tranſactions, as ſhall happen in that Time; or perhaps a* ſummary *Account of what is moſt conſiderable in* profane *Hiſtory, towards the Concluſion of each* Period.

That the Reader may perceive how I gradually *advance in the* Sacred Hiſtory, *and, by turning to his* Bible, *may compare the* Narrative *with the* Text, *and find a proper* Solution *to any Difficulty that ſhall occur in the Courſe of his Reading, I ſhall, at the Top of the Page, in each Section, ſet down the Book, and Chapter, or Chapters, I have then under Conſideration, and the* Date *of the Year, both from the Creation, and before and after the Coming of Chriſt, wherein each remarkable Event happen'd. And, that all Things may be made as eaſy as poſſible to the Reader, I ſhall take Care not to trouble him with any* exotic *Words in the Text; but, where there is occaſion to inſert any* Hebrew *Expreſſions, for his Sake, I ſhall chuſe to do it in* Engliſh *Characters, and to reduce every Thing, that I conceive may be above his Capacity, to the* Notes *and Quotations, at the Bottom of the Page.*

The Notes (beſides the common References) will be only of four Kinds.

1ſt, Additional; *when a Paſſage is borrow'd from any other Author, whether Foreign or Domeſtick, to confirm, or illuſtrate the Matter, we are then upon; mark'd thus* [*].

2dly, Explanatory; *when, by producing the right Signification of the* Original, *or enquiring into ſome ancient* Cuſtom, *and the like, we make the Paſſage under Conſideration more intelligible; mark'd thus* [†].

3dly, Reconciliatory; *when, by the Help of a parallel Place, or ſome* logical *Diſtinction, we ſhew the Conſiſtency of two, or more Paſſages in Scripture, which, at firſt View, ſeem to be contradictory; mark'd* [‖].

4thly, *What we may call* Emendatory; *when, by conſidering the various Senſes of the original Word, and ſelecting what is moſt proper, or, by having a due Attention to the Deſign of our Author, and the Context, the Miſtakes in our Tranſlations are ſet right; mark'd* [‡].

So that, when the Reader ſees any of theſe Characteriſticks, *he may be aſſur'd what Manner of Note he is to expect. And, that nothing may be wanting to the farther Illuſtration of this Work, ſuch* Cuts *and* Sculptures, *as conduce to that End, ſhall be all along inſerted in their proper Places; but the* Chronological, *and other Tables muſt be reſerv'd to the Concluſion of the Work.*

An Account of the Years, Months, *and* Kalender *of the* Jews; *together with a* Reduction *of the* Money, Weights, *and* Meaſures, *to the preſent* Standard, *and Manner of Computation, to which the Reader, in the Courſe of the Hiſtory, will have frequent Occaſion to refer.*

The Jewish Years.

THE *Hebrews* did originally (even as the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*) begin their Year from the *autumnal* Equinox; but, upon their coming up out of the Land of *Egypt*, (which happen'd in the Month of *Niſan*) they, in Commemoration of that Deliverance, made their Year commence at the Beginning of that Month, which uſually happen'd about the Time of the *vernal* Equinox. (*c*) This Form they ever after made uſe of in the Calculation of the Times of their *Faſts*, *Feſtivals*, and all other *Eccleſiaſtical* Concerns; but, in all *civil* Matters, as Contracts, Obligations, and all other Affairs, that were of a *ſecular* Nature, they ſtill made uſe of the old Form, and began their Year, as formerly, from the firſt of *Tiſri*, which happen'd about the Time of the *autumnal* Equinox: So that the *Jews* had two Ways of beginning their Year; their ſacred Year (as they call'd it) with the Month *Miſan*, and the *civil* Year, with the Month *Tiſri*.

THE Form of the Year, which they anciently made uſe of, was wholly *inartificial*: For it was not ſettled by any *Aſtronomical* Rules, or Calculations, but was made of *Lunar* Months, ſet out by the *Phaſis* or Appearance of the Moon. When they ſaw the new Moon, then they began their Months, which ſometimes conſiſted of 29, and ſometimes of 30 Days, according as the new Moon did, ſooner or later, appear. The Reaſon of this was, becauſe the *ſynodical* Courſe of the Moon (*i. e.* from new Moon to new Moon) being 29 Days and a half, the half Day, (which a Month of 29 Days fell ſhort of) was made up, by adding it to the next Month, which made it conſiſt of 30 Days: So that their Months were made up of 29 Days, or 30 Days, ſucceſſively, and alternately; with this certain Rule, that the firſt or initial Month (whether of their *ſacred* or *civil* Year) always conſiſted of 30 Days, and the firſt Day of each Month was called the *New Moon*. Of twelve of theſe Months did their common Year conſiſt: But, as twelve *Lunar* Months fell eleven Days ſhort of a *ſolar* Year; ſo every one of theſe common Years began eleven Days ſooner, which, in thirty Years Time, wou'd carry back the Beginning of the Year through all the four Seaſons, to the ſame Point again, and get a whole Year from the *ſolar* Reckoning. To remedy therefore the Confuſion that might from hence ariſe, their Cuſtom was, ſometimes in the *third* Year, and ſometimes in the *ſecond*, to caſt in another Month (which they call'd *Veader*, or the ſecond *Adar*) and make their Year then conſiſt of thirteen Months; ſo that, by the Help of this *Intercalation*, they reduc'd their *Lunar* Year, in ſome Meaſure, to that of the Sun, and never ſuffer'd the one, for any more than a Month at any Time, to vary from the other.

THIS *Intercalation* of a Month however, every ſecond or third Year, makes it impracticable to fix the Beginnings of the *Jewiſh* Months to any certain Day in the *Julian* Kalender; but, as they therein always fell within the Compaſs of 30 Days, ſooner or later, I have given the Reader the beſt View I cou'd, of their Co-incidence, and Correſpondendy, in the following *Scheme*, wherein the firſt *Column* gives the ſeveral Names, and Order of the *Jewiſh* Months, and the ſecond of the *Julian*; within the Compaſs of which, the ſaid *Jewiſh* Months have always, ſooner or later, their Beginning and Ending.

(*c*) *Prideaux*'s Connection, in the Preface.

Jewish Months.

1 *Niſan*	takes in Part of	March and April	7 *Tiſri*	takes in Part of	September and October
2 *Jyar*		April and May	8 *Marcheſvan*		October and November
3 *Sivan*		May and June	9 *Ciſleu*		November and December
4 *Tamuz*		June and July	10 *Tebeth*		December and January
5 *Ab*		July and Auguſt	11 *Shebat*		January and February
6 *Elul*		Auguſt and September	12 *Adar*		February and March.

The thirteenth Month (*Veader*) is then only *intercalated*, or caſt in, when the Beginning of *Niſan* wou'd otherwiſe be carry'd back into the End of *February*.

The *Jews* of old had very exact *Kalenders*, wherein were ſet down their ſeveral *Faſts* and *Feſtivals*, and all thoſe Days, wherein they celebrated the Memory of any great Event, that had happen'd to their Nation; but theſe are no longer extant. All they have, that ſavours of any Antiquity, is their *Megillah Thaanith*, or *Volume of Affliction*, which contains the Days of Faſting and Feaſting, that were heretofore in Uſe among them, but are now laid aſide, and therefore no longer to be found in their *common* Kalenders. Out of this Volume however, as well as ſome of their other Kalenders, I thought it not improper to ſet down ſome of their *hiſtorical Events*, in order to let the Reader ſee, on what particular Day of each Month, their Memorial (whether by Faſting or Feaſting) was obſerv'd.

The Jewish Kalender.

Months.	Days.
1. Nisan or Abib.	I. New Moon. Beginning of the *ſacred*, or eccleſiaſtical Year; a Faſt for the Death of the Children of *Aaron*, Lev. x. 1, 2.
	X. A Faſt for the Death of *Miriam*, the Siſter of *Moſes*, Numb. xx. 1.
	XIV. The Paſchal Lamb ſlain on the Evening of this Day.
	XV. The great and ſolemn Feaſt of the *Paſſover*.
	XVI. The Oblation of the firſt Fruits of the *Harveſt*.
	XXI. The Concluſion of the *Paſſover*, or End of *unleavened Bread*.
	XXIV. A Faſt for the Death of *Joſhua*.
2. Jyar or Jiar.	VII. The Dedication of the Temple, when the *Aſmoneans* conſecrated it again, after the Perſecutions of the *Greeks*.
	X. A Faſt for the Death of the High-Prieſt *Eli*, and for the taking of the Ark by the *Philiſtines*.
	XXIII. A Feaſt for the Taking of the City *Gaza* by *Simon Maccabeus*, 1 *Mac.* xiii. 43, 44.
	XXVIII. Faſt for the Death of the Prophet *Samuel*, 1 Sam. xxv. 1.
3. Sivan.	VI. *Pentecoſt*, or the fiftieth Day after the *Paſſover*, called likewiſe the *Feaſt of Weeks*, becauſe it happen'd ſeven Weeks after the *Paſſover*.
	XV. A Feaſt for the Victory of the *Maccabees* over the People of *Beth-ſan*, 1 *Mac.* v. 52.
	XVII. A Feaſt for the taking of *Cæſaria* by the *Aſmoneans*.
	XXVII. A Faſt in Remembrance of *Jeroboam*'s forbidding his Subjects to carry their firſt Fruits to *Jeruſalem*, 1 Kings xii. 27.
	XXV. A Feaſt in Memory of the ſolemn Judgment given by *Alexander the Great*, in Favour of the *Jews*, againſt the *Iſhmaelites* and *Egyptians*.

Months.	Days.
4. TAMUZ or THAMMUZ.	IX. A Faſt for the taking of *Jeruſalem* on that Day, but whether by *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, or the *Romans*, it is not ſaid. XVII. A Faſt in Memory of the *Tables of the Law* that were broken by *Moſes*, Exod. xxxii. 15.
5. AB.	IX. A Faſt in Memory of God's declaring to *Moſes* (as on this Day) that none of the murmuring *Iſraelites* ſhould enter into the Land of *Canaan*, Numb. xiv. 29, 31. X. A Faſt, becauſe, on this ſame Day, the City and Temple were taken, and burnt, firſt by the *Chaldeans*, and afterwards by the *Romans*. XVIII. A Faſt, becauſt that, in the Time of *Ahab*, the Evening-Lamp went out.
6. ELUL.	VII. A Feaſt in Memory of the Dedication of the Walls of *Jeruſalem* by *Nehemiah*, Ezra vi. 16. XVII. A Faſt for the Death of the *Spies*, who brought an ill Report of *the Land of Promiſe*, Numb. xiv. 36, 37.
7. TISRI.	I. *The Feaſt of Trumpets*, Lev. xxiii. 34. Numb. xxix. 1, 2. III. A Faſt for the Death of *Gedaliah*, whereupon the Expulſion of the People, and the utter Deſtruction of the Land enſued, *Jer.* xli. 2. VII. A Faſt for the *Iſraelites* worſhipping the Golden Calf, and the Sentence, which God pronounc'd againſt them in Conſequence of that Crime, *Exod.* xxxii. 6, *&c.* X. The Faſt of Expiation, as ſome think, in Memory of Man's Fall, and Expulſion out of Paradiſe, *Lev.* xxiii. 19. XV. The Feaſt of *Tabernacles*, in Memory of their dwelling in Tents, in their Paſſage through the Wilderneſs, *Lev.* xxiii. 34. XXIII. *The Rejoycing for the Law*; or, a Feaſt inſtituted in Memory of the Law, which God gave them by the Hand of *Moſes*.
8. MARCHESVAN.	VI. A Faſt upon the Occaſion of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s putting out *Zedekiah*'s Eyes, after that he had ſlain his Children in his Sight, 2 *Kings* xxv. 7. *Jer.* lii. 11.
9. CISLEU.	VI. A Faſt in Memory of the Book of *Jeremiah*, torn and burnt by King *Jehoiachim*, Jer. xxxvi. 23. VII. A Feaſt in Memory of the Death of *Herod the Great*, a bitter Enemy to the *Sages*. XXI. The *Feaſt of Mount Gerizim*, upon their obtaining Leave of *Alexander the Great*, to deſtroy the Temple of *Samaria*, which was ſituate there. XXV. The *Feaſt of Dedication*, viz. of the Temple, profan'd by the Order of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and repair'd and purify'd by the Care of *Judas Maccabeus*. This Feſtival Chriſt honoured with his Preſence at *Jeruſalem*. It is likewiſe called the *Feaſt of Lights*, becauſe, during the Time of it's Celebration, the People were us'd to illuminate their Houſes, by ſetting up Candles at every one's Door. *Vid.* 1 *Macc.* iv. 52. 2 *Macc.* ii. 16. *John* x. 22.
10. TEBETH.	X. A Faſt in Memory of the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, 2 *Kings* xxv. 1. XXVIII. A Feaſt for the Excluſion of the *Sadduces* out of the *Sanhedrim*, where they had once all the Power.
11. SHEBETH.	IV. A Faſt in Memory of the Death of the Elders, who ſucceeded *Joſhua*, Judg. ii. 10. XV. *The Beginning of the Years of Trees*, when they were firſt allow'd to eat the Fruit thereof, after they were four Years planted, *Lev.* xix. 23, &c. XXIII. A Faſt for the War of the Ten Tribes againſt that of *Benjamin*, for the Outrage committed upon the Body of the *Levite*'s Wife, *Judg.* xx.

XXIX. A

Months.	Days.	
	XXIX.	A Memorial of the Death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, a cruel Enemy to the *Jews*, 1 *Mac.* vi.
12. ADAR.	VII.	A Faſt in Remembrance of the Death of *Moſes*, *Deut.* xxxiv. 5.
	XIII.	*Eſther*'s *Faſt*, probably in Memory of that, which is mention'd in *Eſther* iv. 16.
	XV.	A Feaſt in Memory of the Death of *Nicanor*, a bitter Enemy to the *Jews*, 2 *Mac.* xv. 30.
		The Feaſt of *Purim* or *Lots*; becauſe, when *Haman* purpoſed to deſtroy all the *Jews* that were in *Perſia*, according to the Superſtition of the Country, he firſt drew *Lots*, to know on what Day of the Year it wou'd be beſt to put his Deſign in Execution, from whence the Feaſt, in Commemoration of their Eſcape, took its Name.
	XIII.	The Dedication of the Temple of *Zerubbabel*, Ezra. vi. 16.
	XXVIII.	A Feaſt in Commemoration of the Repeal of the Decree, whereby the Kings of *Greece* had forbidden the *Jews* to circumciſe their Children, to obſerve the Sabbath, and to reject foreign Worſhip.

WHEN the Year conſiſts of thirteen Months, *here* is the Place where the *ſecond* Month of *Adar*, or *Veadar*, by Way of Intercalation, comes in.

JEWISH MONEY.

THE Cuſtom of making Money, of ſuch a Form, ſuch an Allay, and ſuch a determinate Value, is not ſo antient, as ſome may imagine. (*d*) The *original* Way of Commerce was certainly by Way of *Barter*, or exchanging one Kind of Merchandize for another, as it is the Cuſtom, in ſome Places, even to this Day. In Proceſs of Time, ſuch Metals, as were generally eſteemed to be moſt valuable, were received into Traffick, but then the Cuſtom was to weigh them out to one another; till, finding the Delays and other Inconveniencies of this Method, they agreed to give each Metal a certain Mark, a certain Weight, and a certain Degree of Allay, in Order to fix its Value; but it was a long while, before Men came into this Agreement. The Coinage of Money among the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, was but of late Date: Among the *Perſians*, no older than the Times of *Darius*, Son of *Hyſtaſpes*; and among the *Grecians*, (from whom the *Romans* very probably took it) of the ſame Date with *Alexander*. We have no Traces of this Practice among the antient *Egyptians*, before the Time of the *Ptolemy's*; nor had the *Hebrews* this Cuſtom among them, (*e*) until the Government of *Simon Maccabeus*, to whom *Antiochus Sidetes*, King of *Syria*, granted the Privilege of coining his own Money in *Judea*.

BEFORE *that* Time, they made all their Payments by Weight: and therefore the Reader need leſs wonder, that one and the ſame Word ſhou'd denote, both a certain Weight of any Commodity, and ſuch a (*f*) determinate Sum of Money; what he has to remark is this—— (*g*) that, among the *Ancients*, the Proportion of Gold to Silver was moſt commonly as ten to one; ſometimes it raiſed to be as eleven to one, ſometimes as twelve, and ſometimes as thirteen: That though, in the Time of King *Edward* the Firſt, it was here in *England* at ſo low an Eſtimate as ten to one, yet is it now advanced to the Value of ſixteen to one, and in all the Reductions of this Kind, that we make, is to be ſo computed.

The

(*d*) *Calmet*'s Diſſertations, Vol. I. (*e*) And yet the *Jews* have a Tradition, that not only *Joſhua*, *David*, and *Mordecai*, but even *Abraham* himſelf had found out the Way of coining. It is ſaid of *Abraham* indeed, that *he was very rich in Silver and Gold*, Gen. xiii. 2. But we no where read that this Money was ſtampt with any Impreſſion; and yet the *Jewiſh* Tradition runs thus, *viz.* *That on* Abraham's *Money were ſtampt on one Side an old Man and an old Woman, on the other, a young Man and a young Maid*; *on* Joſhua's *Money, one Side an Ox, on the other a Monoceros*; *on* David's *Money, one Side a Staff and a Scrip, on the other a Tower*; *and on* Mordecai's *Money, on one Side Sackcloth and Aſhes, on the other a Crown.* But this ſeems to have the Air of a *Rabbinical* Fiction. *Lewis*'s *Antiq. Heb. Lib. VI.* (*f*) For ſo the Word *Shekel* comes from *ſhakal*, to *weigh*; and may properly be interpreted the Weight. *Lewis*, Ibid. (*g*) *Prideaux*'s Connection, in the Preface.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
The Gerah	000	00	01	3
The *Hebrew* Drachm	000	00	09	
Two Drachms made a Bekah	000	01	06	
Two Bekahs made a Shekel	000	03	00	
Sixty Shekels made a Mina	009	00	00	
Fifty Minas made a Talent	450	00	00	
A Talent of Gold, ſixteen to one	7200	00	00	

Jewish Weights.

	lb.	*oz.*	*gr.*	*dec.*
The Gerah	000	00	10	95
The *Hebrew* Drachm or Zuza	000	00	54	75
Two Zuzas made a Bekath	000	00	109½	
Two Bekaths made a Shekel	000	00	219	
An hundred Shekels made a Mineth	050	00	00	
Thirty Mineths made a Talent	1500	00	00	

Measures of Length.

	Eng. Feet.	Inch.
The *Hebrew Cubit*, ſomewhat more than	0	21
The *Zerith*, or Span, a little more than	0	10
The *Span* of a Cubit, a little above	0	7
The *Palm*, or Hand's-breadth, ſomewhat above	0	3
The *Fathom*, which makes 4 Cubits, above	7	0
Ezekiel's *Reed*, which was 6 Cubits, above	10	0
The antient *Meaſuring-Line*, or Chain, which was 80 Cubits, above	145	0
A *Sabbath-Day's Journey*, 2000 Cubits	3648	0

	Miles.	Paces.	Feet.
An Eaſtern Mile, 4000 Cubits,	1	10	0
A Day's Journey generally computed much about	33	0	0

Measures of Capacity.

Dry Meaſures.

The *Cab* contained a Quarter of a Peck.

The *Omer*, or *Gnomer* in the *Hebrew*, was *the tenth Part of an Ephah.*

The *Ephah* is computed to be about our Buſhel; and

The *Homer* is ſuppoſed to be *ten.*

Liquid Meaſures.

The *Log* came near to our Pint.

16 *Logs* made an *Hin*, which anſwered our Gallon.

6 *Hins* made a *Bath*, which was about ſix Gallons; and

10 *Baths* made an *Homer*, which was 60.

The Reader will be pleas'd to obſerve, that, in the Valuation of Money, I have chiefly followed Dean *Prideaux*, in his Preface to the firſt Part of his *Connection of Sacred and Profane Hiſtory*; and, in the Reduction of Weights and Meaſures, our learned *Cumberland*: But whoever deſires a fuller Account of theſe Matters, may conſult the ſaid Biſhop *Cumberland*, of the *Jewiſh Weights, Meaſures*, and *Monies*; Mr *Brerewood*, *de ponderibus & pretiis veterum Nummorum*; Dr *Bernard*, *de menſuris & ponderibus antiquis*; and others that have written on this Argument, which is not a little difficult and perplexing.

THE

Hulett Sculp.

THE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE.

BOOK I.

Containing an Account of Things from the Creation *to the* Flood, in all 1656 Years.

CHAP. I.

Of the CREATION *of the WORLD.*

The INTRODUCTION.

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The Creation of the ſupreme *Heaven not included in* Moſes's *Account.*

THE chief Deſign of the Author of the *Pentateuch* is, to give us a ſhort Account of the *Formation* of the Earth, and the *Origin* of Mankind; of the moſt remarkable *Events*, that attended them in the Infancy of the World; and of the Tranſactions of one *particular* Nation more eſpecially, from whence the *Meſſias* was to ſpring: And therefore it cannot well be expected, that he ſhould extend his Hiſtory to the Creation of the ſupreme *Empyrean* Heaven, which God might make the Place of his own *Reſidence*, and the *Manſions* of thoſe celeſtial Beings, whom he conſtituted the Miniſters of his Court, and Attendants on his Throne, * an immenſe Space of

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

* This is no *novel* Notion of our own, but what has been confirmed by many great Authorities, as the learned and ingenious Dr *Burnet* teſtifies. For, ſpeaking of ſome, who ſuppoſed that the whole Univerſe was created at

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Time perhaps, before the *Moſaic* Account of the Origination of this *planetary* World begins.

In the Introduction of the Hiſtory indeed we are told, that *God created* † *the Heaven and the Earth*: But when it is conſidered, that Heaven, in Scripture-Language, is very commonly ſet to ſignify no more, than the upper Region of the Air; that we frequently read of (*a*) the Firmament of Heaven, (*b*) the Windows of Heaven, (*c*) the Bottles of Heaven, and (*d*) the hoary Froſt of Heaven, *&c.* none of which extend beyond our *Atmoſphere*, we have no Grounds to conclude, that, at one and the ſame Time, God created every Thing that is contained in the vaſt *extra-mundanus* Spaces of the Univerſe. On the contrary, when we find him recounting to *Job*, that at the Time, (*e*) *when he laid the Foundations of the Earth, the Morning Stars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for Joy*, we cannot but infer, that theſe *Stars*, and theſe *Sons of God* were pre-exiſtent, and, conſequently, no Part of the *Moſaic* Creation.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

By the *Heaven* therefore we are to underſtand no more, than that Part of the World, which we behold above us: But then I imagine, we have very good Reaſon to extend our Conceptions of this World above us ſo far, as to include in it the whole *planetary* Syſtem. † The Truth is, the ſeveral Planets, that are contain'd within the *Magnus Orbis* (as 'tis call'd) or the *Circle*, which *Saturn* deſcribes about the Sun, have ſo near a Similitude and Relation, the ſame Form, the ſame Centre, and the ſame common Luminary with one another, that it can hardly be imagin'd, but that they were the Production of one and the ſame Creation. And therefore, tho' the Hiſtorian ſeems chiefly to regard the *Earth* in his whole Narration; yet there is Reaſon to preſume, that the other Parts of the *planetary* World went, all along, on in the ſame Degrees of Formation with it.

That this World was formed out of a pre-exiſting Chaos.

2*dly*, It is to be obſerv'd farther, that this *planetary* World, or Syſtem of Things, was not immediately created out of nothing (as very probably the ſupreme Heavens were) but out of ſome ſuch pre-exiſtent

at one and the ſame Time, and the higheſt Heaven and Angels included in the firſt Day's Work; Hieronymi Verba, *ſays he*, libet hic opponere. *Sex mille necdum noſtri orbis implentur anni, & quantas prius Æternitates, quanta Tempora, quantas ſeculorum Origines fuiſſe arbitrandum eſt, in quibus Angeli, Throni, Dominiones, cæteræque virtutes ſervierint Deo.* In libro de *Trinitate* (ſive *Novitiani*, ſive *Tertulliani* ſit) tam mundus angelicus, quam Super-firmamentarius conditus dicitur ante Mundum Moſaicum his verbis. *Quam etiam ſuperioribus*, i. e. *ſuper ipſum quoque Solidamentum partibus, angelos prius inſtituerit* Deus, *ſpirituales Virtutes digeſſerit, Thronos Poteſtateſque præfecerit, & alia multa cœlorum immenſa ſpatia condiderit*, &c. *ut hic Mundus noviſſimum magis Dei opus eſſe appareat, quàm ſolum & unicum.* Denique Catholicorum communem hanc fuiſſe Sententiam notat *Caſſianus* ſuo tempore, nempe ſeculo quinto ineunte; *Ante illud Geneſeos temporale principium, omnes illas Poteſtates cœleſtes Deum creâſſe, non dubium eſt.* Burnet's Archæolog. Philoſoph. c. viii.

† By *Heaven* ſome underſtand, in this Place, the higheſt *ſuper-firmamentary* Heaven, and by the *Earth*, that pre-exiſtent Matter, whereof the Earth was originally made; and ſo the Senſe of the Words will be —— "that God "at firſt created the Matter, whereof the whole Univerſe was compos'd, all at once, in an Inſtant, and by a "Word's ſpeaking; but it was the *ſupreme* Heaven only, which he then finiſh'd, and formed into a moſt excellent Or- "der, for the Place of his own Reſidence, and the Habitation of his holy Angels; the Earth was left *rude* and indi- "geſted, in the Manner that *Moſes* has deſcrib'd it, until there ſhould be a fit Occaſion for it's being reviſed, and ſet "in Order likewiſe."

(*a*) Gen. i. 20. (*b*) Gen. vii. 11. (*c*) Job xxxviii. 37. (*d*) Ibid. ver. 29. (*e*) Ibid. ver. 4, 7.

† The better to underſtand this, and ſome other Matters, in our Explication of the Formation of celeſtial Bodies, it is proper to obſerve, that there are three more remarkable Syſtems of the World, the *Ptolemaic*, *Copernican*, and what is called the *new Syſtem*, which Aſtronomers have deviſed.

1*ſt*, In the *Ptolemaic*, the *Earth* and *Waters* are ſuppoſed to be in the Center of the Univerſe, next to which is the Element of *Air*, and next above that, the Element of *Fire*; then the Orb of *Mercury*, then that of *Venus*, and then that of the *Sun*; above the Sun's Orb, thoſe of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Saturn*; and, above them, all the Orb of the fix'd Stars, then the *Chryſtalline* Orbs, and, laſtly, the *Cœlum Empyreum*, or Heaven of Heavens. All theſe maſſy Orbs, and vaſt Bodies borne by them, are, in this *Syſtem*, ſuppoſed to move round the terraqueous Globe once in twenty-four Hours; and beſides that, to perform other *Revolutions* in certain *periodical* Times, according to their Diſtance from the ſuppos'd *Center*, and the different Circumference they take.

2*dly*, In

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exiſtent Matter, as the ancient Heathens were wont to call *Chaos*. And accordingly we may obſerve, that in the Hiſtory, which *Moſes* gives us of the Creation, he does not ſay, that God at once made all Things in their full Perfection, but that * *in the Beginning he created the Earth*, i. e. the Matter, whereof the *Chaos* was compoſed, which *was without Form*, without any Shape or Order, *and void*, without any Thing living, or growing in it; *and Darkneſs was upon the Face of the Waters*, nothing was ſeen for Want of Light, which lay bury'd in the vaſt *Abyſs*.

ACCORDING to *Tradition* then, and the Repreſentation, which this inſpir'd Author ſeems to give us, * this *Chaos* was a fluid *Maſs*, wherein were the Materials and Ingredients of all Bodies, but mingled in Confuſion with one another, ſo that heavy and light, denſe and rare, fluid and ſolid Particles were jumbled together, and the *Atoms*, or ſmall conſtituent Parts of Fire, Air, Water, and Earth (which have ſince obtain'd the Name of Elements) were every one in every Place, and *all* in a wild Confuſion and Diſorder. This ſeems to be a Part of God's *original* Creation: But why he ſuffer'd it to continue ſo long, before he transform'd it into an habitable World, is a Queſtion only reſolvable into the Divine Pleaſure; ſince, according to the Ideas we have of his *moral* Perfections, there is nothing to fix the Creation of any Thing ſooner or later, than his own *arbitrary* Will determined. Only we may imagine, that after the Revolt of ſo many Angels, God, intending to make a new Race of Creatures, in order to ſupply their Place, and fill up (as it were) the Vacancy in Heaven; and withal, reſolving to make Trial of their Obedience, before he admitted them into his beatific Preſence, ſingled out *one* (as perhaps * there might be many *Chaotic* Bodies in the Univerſe) plac'd at a proper Diſtance

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

2*dly*, In the *Copernican* Syſtem, the Sun is ſuppoſed to be in the *Center*, and the Heavens and Earth to revolve round about it, according to their ſeveral *Periods*; firſt *Mercury*, then *Venus*, then the *Earth* with its *Satellite*, the *Moon*; then *Mars*, then *Jupiter* with its four Moons; laſtly, *Saturn* with its five, or more Moons revolving round it; and beyond, or above all theſe, is the *Firmament*, or Region of *fixed Stars*, which are all ſuppoſed to be at equal Diſtances from their Center the *Sun*.

3*dly*, In the *new* Syſtem, the Sun and Planets have the ſame Site and Poſition, as in the *Copernican*; but then, whereas the *Copernican* ſuppoſes the *Firmament* of the fixed Stars to be the Bounds of the Univerſe, and placed at equal Diſtance from its *Center* the Sun; this new Hypotheſis ſuppoſes, that there are many more Syſtems of Suns and Planets, beſides that, in which we have our Habitation; that every fixed Star, in ſhort, is a Sun, encompaſſed with its Complement of Planets, both *primary* and *ſecundary*, as well as ours; and, that theſe *Stars*, with their *Planets*, are placed at regular Diſtances from each other, and, according to their Diſtances from us, ſeem to vary in their reſpective Magnitudes. *Derham*'s *Aſtro-Theology*, in the preliminary Diſcourſe.

* What our Tranſlators render [*in the Beginning*] ſome learned Men have made [*in Wiſdom*] *God created the Heaven and the Earth*; not only becauſe the *Jeruſalem Targum* has it ſo, but becauſe the Pſalmiſt, paraphraſing upon the Works of the Creation, breaks forth into this Admiration, *O Lord! how wonderful are thy Works, in Wiſdom haſt thou made them all*, Pſal. civ. 24. And again, exhorting us to give Thanks unto the Lord for his manifold Mercies, he adds, *who by Wiſdom made the Heavens*, ibid. cxxxvi. 5. where, by *Wiſdom*, as ſome imagine, he means the *Son of God*, by whom (ſays the Evangeliſt, *John* i. 3.) *all Things were made*, or *all Things created* (ſays the Apoſtle, *Col.* i. 16.) *that are in Heaven, and that are in the Earth*; and therefore the Meaning of the Phraſe muſt be, that God, in creating the World, made uſe of the Agency of his Son. Fuit hæc apud antiquos [*ſays* Petavius, de Officio ſex Dierum, l. i. c. 1.] pervagata, multumque communis Opinio, *Principii* nomine *verbum* ſignificari, ſeu *filium*. And to this Interpretation, the Word *Elohim* in the *plural* Number, joined with *bara* a Verb *ſingular*, ſeems to give ſome Countenance; though others are of Opinion, that a Noun *plural*, governing a Verb *ſingular*, is no more than the common *Idiom* of the *Hebrew* Tongue; and for this *Idiom* a very *conſiderable* Commentator aſſigns this Reaſon: ——That the *Hebrew* Language was originally that of the *Canaanites*, a People ſtrangely addicted to *Idolatry*, and *Polytheiſm*, and who therefore made more uſe of the Plural *Elohim*, than of the Singular *Eloah*; which Uſage the *Jews* continued, though they were zealous Aſſerters of the Unity of the Godhead, and, thereupon, moſt commonly joined a Verb of the *ſingular* Number with it, purſuant to their Notions of the Divine Unity. *Le Clerc*'s Diſſert. de Ling. Hebraicâ.

* To mention one Author out of the many which *Grotius* has cited, *Ovid*, in the Beginning of his *Metamorphoſes*, has given us this Deſcription of it:

Ante mare, & Terras, & quod tegit omnia, Cœlum,
Unus erat toto Naturæ vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos: rudis, indigeſtaque Moles,
Nec quicquam, niſi pondus iners, congeſtaque eodem
Non bene junctarum diſcordia ſemina rerum, *&c.*

* Si materia Chaus extitit ante mundi *Moſaici* Principium, *quid fuit, quem in finem extitit, aut ubinam Loci ante illud tempus?* Reſpondeo, hæc non eſſe nimis ſollicitè quærenda, cum magnâ ex parte notitiam noſtram fugiant. Sed

vidimus

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Diſtance from his own *Empyrean* Seat, to be the Habitation of the Creatures, he was about to form, and might delay the fitting it up for them, until the Time, which his infinite Wiſdom had determin'd for their Creation, was fully come.

The Wiſdom of Moſes's Account of Things.

3*dly*, IT is to be obſerv'd farther, that, tho' *Moſes* might have in his View the whole *planetary Syſtem*, and know very well, that every Day each Planet advanced in the ſame Proportion, as the Earth did, in its Formation; yet what he principally choſe to inſiſt on (as a Specimen of all the reſt) was this *ſublunary* Creation. He, who was vers'd in all the *Learning of the Egyptians*, cou'd not be unacquainted with the *Vulgar*, or what is uſually call'd the *Ptolemaic* Hypotheſis, which came originally from *Egypt* into *Greece*; and yet, inſtead of expreſſing his Notions according to *this*, or any other *Syſtem*, we find him giving us a plain *Narrative*, how Matters were tranſacted, without aſſerting or denying any *philoſophic* Truth. Had he indeed talk'd a great deal of *globular* and *angular* Particles, of *centrinal* Motion, planetary *Vortices*, *Atmoſpheres* of Comets, the Earth's *Rotation*, and the Sun's *Reſt*, he might poſſibly have pleas'd the Taſte of ſome *Theoriſts* better; but Theories we know are Things of uncertain Mode. They depend, in a great Meaſure, upon the Humour and Caprice of an Age, which is ſometimes in Love with one, and ſometimes with another. But this Account of *Moſes* was to laſt for ever, as being the Ground-Work which God deſign'd for all his future Revelations; and therefore it was requiſite to have it fram'd in ſuch a Manner, as that it might *condeſcend* to the meaneſt Capacity, and yet not *contradict* any receiv'd Notions of *Philoſophy*.

THE *Jews*, it muſt be own'd, were a Nation of no great Genius for Learning; and therefore, if *Moſes* had given them a *falſe* Syſtem of the Creation, ſuch as a ſimple People might be apt to fancy, he had both made himſelf an *Impoſtor*, and expos'd his Writings to the Contempt and Deriſion of every Man of Underſtanding: And yet, to have given them a particular Explication of the *true* one, muſt have made the Illiterate look upon him as a *wild Romancer*. By God's Direction therefore, he took the middle and wiſeſt Way, which was to ſpeak exact Truth, but *cautiouſly*, and in ſuch general Terms, as might neither confound the Minds of the *ignorant Jews*, nor expoſe him to the Cenſure of *philoſophizing* Chriſtians: And we may well account it an evident Token of a particular Providence of God over-ruling this inſpir'd *Penman*, that he has drawn up the *Coſmogony* in ſuch a Manner, as makes it of perpetual Uſe and Application; foraſmuch as it contains no peculiar Notions of his own, no Principles borrow'd from the ancient *exploded* Philoſophy, nor *any* repugnant to the various Diſcoveries of the *New*.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

The Creation not left to Matter *and* Motion.

4*thly*, IT is to be obſerv'd farther, in relation to this Account of *Moſes*, that, when God is ſaid to give the Word, and every Thing thereupon proceeded to its Formation, he did not leave Matter and Motion to do their beſt, whilſt he ſtood by (according to Dr *Cudworth*'s Expreſſion) as an idle Spectator of this *Luſus Atomorum*, and the various Reſults of it; but himſelf interpos'd, and, conducting the whole Proceſs, gave not only *Life* and *Being*, but *Form* and *Figure* to every Part of the Creation.

THE warmeſt Abettors of *mechanical* Principles do not deny, but that (*a*) a divine *Energy*, at leaſt, muſt be admitted in this Caſe, where a World was to be form'd, and a wild *Chaos* reduc'd to a fair, regular, and permanent Syſtem. The immediate Hand of God, (they cannot but acknowledge) is apparent in a Miracle, which is an Infraction upon the *ſtanding* Laws

vidimus quandoque novas Stellas in Cœlo oriri, quæ nunquam antea apparuerant, quas tamen præextitiſſe, ſub aliquâ formâ, & alicubi locorum, æquum eſt, credamus. Præterea, *Cometas* ſæpe in Cœlo advertimus, quorum Origo, & primæ ſedes nos latent. Denique neutiquam fingendum eſt, cœlos *incorruptibiles:* Corpora cœleſtia, proinde ac Terreſtria, ſuas habent viciſſitudines & Tranſmutationes; atque ipſæ *Fixæ* in *Planetas*, mediante *Chao*, converti poſſunt, & viciſſim *Planetæ*, excuſſis ſordibus, in *fixas* reviviſcere, *&c.* *Burnet*'s Archæol. Philoſoph. cap. 9.

(*a*) Vid. *Whiſton*'s Theory.

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Laws of Nature; but certainly, of all Miracles, the Creation of the World is the greateſt, not only as it ſignifies the Production of Matter and Motion out of nothing, but as it was likewiſe the ranging and putting Things into ſuch Order, as might make them capable of the Laws of Motion, which were to be ordain'd for them. (*a*) For, whatever Notions we may have of the ſtated *Oeconomy* of Things now, 'tis certain, that the Laws of Motion (with which Philoſophers make ſuch Noiſe) cou'd not take Place, before every Part of the Creation was rang'd and ſettled in its proper Order.

IT may be allow'd however, ſince, even in the *Moſaic* Account, there are ſome Paſſages, (ſuch as, *let the Earth bring forth Graſs, let the Earth bring forth the living Creature after his Kind, and it was ſo*) that whatever comes under the Compaſs of *mechanical* Cauſes, might poſſibly be effected by *Matter* and *Motion*, only ſet on work by infinite Wiſdom, and ſuſtain'd in their Being and Operation by infinite Power; but whatever is above the Power of *ſecond* Cauſes, ſuch as the Production of Matter out of Nothing, the Formation of the Seeds of all Animals and Vegetables, the Creation of our firſt Parents, and inſpiring them with immortal Souls, *&c.* theſe we affirm, and theſe we ought to believe, were the pure Reſult of God's *omnipotent* Power, and are aſcrib'd to him alone. Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

TO this Purpoſe we may obſerve, that, before our Author begins to acquaint us with what particular Creatures were, each Day ſucceſſively, brought into Being, he takes Care to inform us, (as a Thing eſſential and preparatory to the Work) † *that the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters.* For, whether by *the Spirit of God*, we are to underſtand (*b*) his holy and eſſential Spirit, which is the *third* Perſon in the ever-bleſſed *Trinity*, whether (*c*) that *plaſtic* Nature, which (according to ſome) was made ſubſervient to him upon this Occaſion, or any other Emanation of the Divine Power and Energy, 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that its moving, or *Incubation* upon the *chaotic* Maſs, deriv'd into it a certain Fermentation, impregnated it with ſeveral Kinds of *motive* Influence, and ſo ſeparated and digeſted its confuſed Parts, as to make it capable of the Diſpoſition and Order, it was going to receive.

The HISTORY.

The Work of the firſt Day.

IN this Condition we may ſuppoſe the *Chaos* to have been, when the † *Fiat* for Light was given; whereupon, all the confus'd, ſtagnating Particles of Matter began to range into Form and Order. The dull, heavy, and terrene Parts, which overclouded the *Expanſum*, had their Summons to retire to their reſpective *Centers*. They preſently obey'd the Almighty's Orders, and Part of them ſubſided to the Center of the

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(*a*) Vid. *Hale*'s Origin of Mankind.

† The Word in the *Hebrew*, according to the Opinion of ſome both *ancient* and *modern* Interpreters, ſignifies literally a *brooding* upon the Waters, even as an Hen does upon her Eggs; but, as there are only two Places, wherein the Word occurs, [*Deut.* xxxii. 11. and *Jer.* xxxiii. 9.] Mr *Le Clerc* contends, that in neither of theſe it will properly admit of this Senſe; and therefore he rather thinks it (as our *Ainſworth* ſeems to do) to be a Metaphor taken from the hovering and fluttering of an Eagle, or any other Bird, over its Young, but not its ſitting over, or brooding upon them. A Diſtinction of no great Moment in my Opinion.

(*b*) *Cudworth*'s Intellectual Syſtem.

(*c*) *Gen.* i. 2. It is obſerv'd by ſome later *Jewiſh*, as well as *Chriſtian* Interpreters, that the ſeveral Names of God are often given as Epithets to thoſe Things, which are the greateſt, the ſtrongeſt, and the beſt of their Kind; and thereupon they think, that ſince the Word *Ruach* ſignifies the *Wind*, as well as the *Spirit*, *Ruach Elohim* ſhould be tranſlated a moſt *vehement Wind*, inſtead of the *Spirit of God*; and that this Signification agrees very well with *Moſes*'s Account, which repreſents the Earth, ſo mix'd with the Waters, that it cou'd not appear, and therefore ſtood in need of a Wind to dry it. But, beſides that this Senſe ſeems to be a ſad debaſing of the Text, 'tis certain, that the Wind (which is nothing but the moving of the Air) could not be ſpoken of now, becauſe it was not created until the ſecond Day.

† The Words are, *let there be Light*, which, as *Longinus* takes Notice, is a truly lofty Expreſſion; and herein appears the Wiſdom of *Moſes*, that he repreſents God like himſelf, commanding Things into Being by his Word, *i. e.* his *Will*: For, wherever we read the Words [*he ſaid*] in the Hiſtory of the Creation, the Meaning muſt be, that he willed *ſo*, and ſo. *Patrick*'s Comment.

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the *Earth*, ſome to *Jupiter*, ſome to *Saturn*, ſome to *Venus*, *&c.* till the Globes of theſe ſeveral Planets were compleated. And, as the groſſer Parts ſubſided, the lighter, and more tenuous mounted up; and the lucid and fiery Particles, (being lighter than the reſt) aſcending higher, and, by the Divine Order, meeting together in a Body, were put in a *circular* Motion, and, in the Space of a *natural Day*, made to viſit the whole *Expanſum* of the *Chaos*, which occaſion'd a Separation of the *Light* from *Darkneſs*, and thereby a Diſtribution of Day and Night: † And this was the Work of the *firſt* Day.

The Second.

The next Thing, which God Almighty commanded, was, that the Waters, which as yet, were univerſally diſpers'd over the Face of the *Chaos*, ſhou'd retire to their reſpective *Planets*, and be reſtrain'd within their proper Limits by ſeveral *Atmoſpheres*. Hereupon all the *Aqueous* Parts immediately ſubſided towards the Centers of the ſeveral Planets, and were circumfus'd about their Globes; by which Means the great *Expanſum* was again clear'd off, and the Region of the Air became more lucid and ſerene. And this is the Operation, which *Moſes* calls *dividing the Waters under* † *the Firmament from the Waters, which are above* † *the Firmament*; for the Waters under the Firmament are the Waters of the Earth, the Waters above the Firmament are thoſe of the *Moon*, and other Planets, which, in the ſecond Day's Work, were diſmiſs'd to their ſeveral *Orbs*, but were confuſedly mix'd, and over-ſpread the whole Face of the *Expanſum* before.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

The Third.

Thus, on the *ſecond* Day, the delightful Element of *Air*, was diſ-entangled, and extracted from the *Chaos*: And one Part of the Buſineſs of the *Third*, was to ſeparate the other remaining Elements, *Water* and *Earth*. For the watry Particles, as we ſaid, clearing the *Expanſum*, and falling upon the *planetary* Orbs, muſt be ſuppoſed to cover the Face of the Earth, as well as other Planets, when the great Creator gave the Command for *the Waters to be gather'd into one Place, and the dry Land to appear*: Whereupon the mighty Mountains inſtantly rear'd up their Heads, and the Waters, falling every Way from their Sides, ran into thoſe large extended Vallies, which this Swelling of the Earth in *ſome* Places had made for their Reception in *others*. The Earth, being thus ſeparated from the Waters, and deſign'd for the Habitation of Man and Beaſt (which were afterwards to be created) was firſt to be furniſhed with ſuch Things as were proper for their Support; Graſs for Cattle, and Herbs, and Fruit-Trees for the Nouriſhment of Man. Immediately therefore, upon the Divine Command, it was cover'd with a beautiful Carpet of Flowers and Graſs, Trees and Plants of all Kinds, which were produc'd in their full Proportion, laden with Fruit, and not ſubjected to the ordinary Courſe of *Maturation*. For how great ſoever the Fecundity of the *primogenial* Earth might be, yet it is ſcarce to be imagin'd, how †

Trees

† If we rather approve the *Copernican Hypotheſis*, we muſt ſay, that the *Earth*, having now received its *diurnal* and *annual* Motion, and having turn'd round about its *Axis*, for about the Space of 12 Hours, made this luminous Body, now fixed in a proper Place, appear in the *Eaſt*, which, in the Space of 12 Hours more, ſeemed to ſet in the *Weſt*, and that this Revolution made a Diſtinction between Day and Night. *Bedford*'s Chronology.

† *Gen.* i. 6. The LXX Interpreters, in tranſlating the Word [*Rakiagh*] the *firm* or *ſolid*, ſeem to have followed the Philoſophy of the firſt Ages: For the *Ancients* fancy'd, that the Heavens were a ſolid Body, and that the Stars were faſtened therein, which might likewiſe be the Notion of *Elihu*. [*Job* xxxvii. 18] ſince he repreſents the Heaven to be *ſtrong* or ſolid, *like a molten Looking-glaſs*; whereas the proper Senſe of the Word is ſomething *ſpread* or *ſtretched out*. And to this, both the *Pſalmiſt* and *Prophet* allude, when they tell us, that God *ſpreadeth out the Heaven like a Curtain*, Pſal. civ. 2. and *ſtretcheth them out by his Diſcretion*, Jer. x. 12.

† Several Commentators ſuppoſe the *Waters above the Firmament* to be thoſe, which hang in the Clouds; but the Notion of their being *planetary* Waters ſeems more reaſonable, becauſe, at this Time, there were no Clouds, neither had it as yet rained on the Earth, vid. *Gen.* ii. 6.

† There are two Things, wherein the Production of Plants, in the Beginning, differ'd from their Production ever ſince. 1ſt, That they have ſprung, ever ſince, out of their Seed, either ſown by us, or falling from the Plants themſelves; but, in the Beginning, were brought out of the Earth, with their Seed in them, to propagate them ever after. 2dly, That they need now, (as they have ever done ſince the firſt Creation) the Influence of the *Sun*, to make them ſprout; but then they came forth by the Power of God, before there was any Sun, which was not form'd till the next Day. *Patrick*'s Comment. in Loc.

SOCIETY

Chaos of the Sun
I
and Seven Planets

1 Days work
II
Let there be Light, &c. Gen. 1. 3.

2 Days work
III
and God divided ye Waters which were under ye Firmament, &c. Ge. 1. 7

3 Days work
IV
Let ye Waters be gathered to gather, &c. Gen. 1. 9.
Let ye Earth bring forth Grass, &c. v. 11.

4 Days work
V
and God said let there be Lights, &c. v. 14.

VI

To the R.t Rev.d Father in God
Edmund L.d B.p of London

This Plate is most Humbly
most Dutiful & Obedient

Inscribd by his Lordships
Son & Serv.t Tho. Stackhouse.

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Trees and Plants cou'd be ripen'd, into their full Growth and Burthen of Fruit, in the ſhort Period of a Day, any other Way, than by Virtue of a ſupernatural Power of God, which firſt collected the Parts of Matter fit to produce them; then form'd every one of them, and determined their Kinds; and, at laſt, provided for their Continuance, by a curious Incloſure of their *Seed*, in order to propagate their *Species*, even unto the End of the World: And this was the Work of the *third* Day.

The Fourth.

WHEN God had finiſh'd the lower World, and furniſh'd it with all Manner of Store, that Maſs of fiery Light, (which we ſuppoſe to have been extracted on the *firſt* Day, and to have mov'd about the *Expanſum* for two Days after) was certainly of great Uſe, in the Production of the *Æther*, the Separation of the Waters, and the *Rarefaction* of the Land, which might poſſibly require a more violent Operation at firſt, than was neceſſary in thoſe leſſer Alterations, which were afterwards to be effected; and therefore, on the *fourth* Day, God took and *condenſed* it, and, caſting it into a proper *Orb*, placed it at a convenient Diſtance from the *Earth*, and other Planets; inſomuch, that it became a *Sun*, and immediately ſhone out in the ſame glorious Manner, in which it has done ever ſince.

AFTER this, God took another Part of the *Chaos*, an *opaque* Subſtance, which we call the *Moon*, and, having caſt it into a proper Figure, placed it in another *Orb*, at a nearer Diſtance from the Earth, that it might perpetually be moving round it, and that the Sun, by darting its Rays upon its ſolid Surface, might reflect Light to the *terreſtrial* Globe, for the Benefit of its Inhabitants: And, at the ſame Time, that God thus made the Moon, he made, in like Manner, † the other five Planets of the *ſolar* Syſtem, and their *Satellites*. Nor was it only for the Diſpenſation of Light to this Earth of ours, that God appointed the two great *Luminaries* of the Sun and Moon to attend it, but for the Meaſure and Computation of Time likewiſe: That a ſpeedy and ſwift Motion of the Sun, (according to the *Ptolemaic* Syſtem) in twenty-four Hours round the Earth, or, of the Earth (according to the *Copernican*) upon its own *Axis*, might make a *Day*; that the Time from one *Change* of the Moon to another, or thereabouts, might make a *Month*; and the apparent Revolution of the Sun, to the ſame Point of the *Ecliptic* Line, might not only make a *Year*, but occaſion likewiſe a grateful Variety of Seaſons in the ſeveral Parts of the Earth, which are thus *gradually*, and *ſucceſſively* viſited by the reviving Heat of the Sun-beams: And this was the Work of the *fourth* Day.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

The Fifth.

AFTER the *inanimate* Creation, God, on the *fifth* Day, proceeded to form the *animate*; and, becauſe *Fiſh* and *Fowl* are not ſo perfect in their Kind, neither ſo curious in their bodily *Texture*, nor ſo ſagacious in their *Inſtinct*, as terreſtrial Creatures are known to be, he therefore began with them, and ‖ out of the *Waters*, i. e. out of ſuch Matter, as was mix'd and concocted with the *Water*, he form'd ſeveral, of different

† I am very ſenſible that the Words in the Text are, *he made the Stars alſo*, ver. 16. but the whole Sentence comes in ſo very abruptly, that one wou'd be apt to imagine, that, after *Moſes*'s Time, it was clapp'd in by Some-body, who had a Mind to be mending his *Hypotheſis*, or elſe was added, by way of *Marginal Note* at firſt, and, at length, crept into the Text itſelf (as F. *Simon* has evidenc'd in ſeveral other Inſtances). For the fix'd Stars do not ſeem to be comprehended in the *ſix Days Work*, which relates only to this *planetary* World, that has the Sun for its Center. *Patrick*'s Comment. and *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. *vid.* Anſwer to the ſubſequent Objection.

‖ From the Words in *Gen.* [ch. i. ver. 20) *let the Waters* bring *forth abundantly the moving Creature that hath Life, and Fowl, that may fly above the Earth*, &c. ſome have ſtarted an Opinion, that Fowl derive their Origin from the Water; and others, from the Words, *Out of the Ground God formed every Beaſt of the Field, and every Fowl of the Air*, raiſe another, *viz.* that Fowl took their Beginning from *the Earth*: But theſe two Texts are eaſily reconcil'd, becauſe neither denies what the other ſays, tho' they ſpeak differently; as when *Moſes* ſays, let the Waters bring forth Fowl, he does not by that ſay, that the Earth did not bring forth Fowl. It is moſt reaſonable therefore to think, that they had their Original partly from the Waters, and partly from the Earth; and this might render the Fleſh of Fowl leſs groſs, than that of Beaſts, and more firm, than that of Fiſhes. Hence *Philo* calls Fowl *the Kindred of Fiſh*; and that they are ſo, the great Congruity there is in their Natures (they being both *oviparous*, which makes them more fruitful, than other Animals, and both ſteering and directing their Courſe by their Tails) is a ſufficient Indication.

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different Shapes and Sizes; ſome *vaſtly big*, † to ſhew the Wonders of his *creating* Power; and ſome *extremely ſmall*, to ſhew the Goodneſs of his *indulgent* Providence. And (what is peculiar to this Day's Work) here we have the firſt Mention made of God's bleſſing his Creatures, and † *bidding them be fruitful and multiply*, i. e. giving them, at their firſt Creation, a *prolific* Virtue, and a natural Inſtinct for *Generation*, whereby they might not only preſerve their *Species*, but multiply their *Individuals*: And this was the Work of the *fifth* Day.

The Sixth.

Thus every Thing being put in order; the *Earth* cover'd with Plants; the *Waters* ſtor'd with Fiſh; the *Air* repleniſh'd with Fowl; and the *Sun* plac'd at a proper Diſtance, to give a convenient Warmth and Nouriſhment to all; in order to make this ſublunary World a ſtill more comfortable Place of Abode, in the Beginning of the *ſixth*, and laſt Day, ‖ God made the *terreſtrial* Animals, which the ſacred Hiſtorian diſtributes into three Kinds: *1ſt*, *Beaſts*, by which we underſtand all wild and *ſavage* Creatures, ſuch as Lions, Bears, Wolves, *&c.* *2dly*, *Cattle*, all tame and *domeſtic* Creatures, deſign'd for the Benefit and Uſe of Men, ſuch as Oxen, Sheep, Horſes, *&c.* And, *3dly*, *Creeping Things*, ſuch as Serpents, Worms, and other Kinds of Inſects.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

Thus, when all Things, which cou'd be ſubſervient to Man's Felicity, were perfected; when the Light had, for ſome Time, been penetrating into, and clarifying the dark and thick *Atmoſphere*; when the *Air* was freed from its noiſome Vapours, and become pure, and clear, and fit for his *Reſpiration*; when the *Waters* were ſo diſpos'd, as to miniſter to his Neceſſities by Miſts and Dews from Heaven, and by Springs and Rivers from the Earth; when the Surface of the *Earth* was become dry, and ſolid for his Support, and cover'd over with Graſs and Flowers, with Plants and Herbs, and Trees of all Kinds, for his Pleaſure and Suſtenance; when the glorious *Firmament* of Heaven, and the beautiful *Syſtem* of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, were laid open for his Contemplation, and, by their powerful Influences, appointed to diſtinguiſh the Seaſons, and make the World a fruitful, and delicious Habitation for him; when, laſtly, all Sorts of Animals in the Sea, in the Air, and on the Earth, were ſo order'd and diſpos'd, as to contribute, in their ſeveral Capacities, to his Benefit and Delight: When all theſe Things, I ſay, were, by the Care and Providence of God, prepar'd for the Entertainment of this *principal* Gueſt, 'twas then that *Man* was created, and introduc'd into the World, in a Manner and Solemnity not unbecoming the

† *Moſes* inſtances in the *Whale*, becauſe it is ſuppos'd to be the *principal*, and largeſt of all Fiſhes; but the original Word denotes ſeveral Kinds of great Fiſh, as *Bochart* [in his Hierozom. p. 1. l. 1. c. 7.] obſerves at large; and ſhews withal the prodigious Bigneſs of ſome of them; but he ſhould have added, that the Word ſignifies a *Crocodile* likewiſe, as well as a *Whale*. *Patrick*, and *Le Clerc* in Loc.

† That Fiſh and Fowl ſhou'd here have a Bleſſing pronounced upon them, rather than the Beaſts, which were made the ſixth Day, ſome have ſuppoſed this to be the Reaſon;—that the Production of their *Young* requires the particular Care of Divine Providence, becauſe they do not bring them forth *perfectly* form'd, as the Beaſts do, but only lay their *Eggs*, in which the Young are hatch'd, and form'd, even when they are ſeparate from their Bodies: And *what a wonderful Thing is this*, ſays one, *that when the Womb (as we may call it) is ſeparated from the Genitor, a living Creature, like itſelf, ſhou'd be produc'd? Patrick*'s Comment.

‖ In the 24th Verſe of this Chapter it is ſaid, that God commanded the Earth to produce ſuch and ſuch Animals; *let the Earth bring forth the living Creature after his Kind*; and yet, in the very next Verſe, it follows, that God *made the Beaſt of the Earth, and every Thing that moveth, after his Kind*: But this ſeeming Contradiction is eaſily reconcil'd, by putting together the proper Meaning of both theſe Paſſages, which muſt certainly be this——that God himſelf effectually formed thoſe *terreſtrial* Animals, and made uſe of the Earth only as to the *Matter*, whereof he conſtituted their Parts. Some indeed have made it a Queſtion, whether theſe ſeveral Creatures were at firſt produced in their full State and Perfection, or God only created the Seeds of all Animals, (*i. e.* the Animals themſelves in Miniature) and diſperſed them over the Face of the Earth, giving Power to that Element, aſſiſted by the genial Heat of the Sun, to hatch and bring them forth; but for this there is no Manner of Occaſion, ſince it is much more rational to ſuppoſe, that God did not commit the Formation of Things to any intermediate Cauſes, but himſelf created the firſt Set of Animals in the full Proportion, and Perfection of their ſpecific Natures, and gave to each Species a Power afterwards, by Generation, to propagate their Kind; for that even *now*, and in the preſent Situation of Things, any perfect Species can either, naturally or accidentally, be produced by any Preparation of Matter, or by any Influence of the Heavens, without the Interpoſition of an Almighty Power, Phyſical Experiments do demonſtrate. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bentley*'s Sermons at *Boyle*'s Lectures.

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the Lord and Governor of it. To this Purpoſe we may obſerve, that God makes a manifeſt Diſtinction between him and other Creatures, and ſeems to undertake the Creation, even of his Body, with a Kind of mature Deliberation, if not Conſultation with the other Perſons of the ever-bleſſed *Trinity*; † *Let us make Man.*

HOWEVER this be, 'tis certain, that the Force and Energy of the Expreſſion denotes thus much——that the Production of Mankind, at firſt, was ſo immediately the Work of Almighty God, that the Power of no ſubordinate Intelligence cou'd be capable of it: That the curious Structure of Man's Body, the Accommodation of it to *Faculties*, and the furniſhing it with *Faculties*, that are accommodated to it (even as to its animal Life) imports a Wiſdom and Efficacy, far above the Power of any created Nature to effect. And this may poſſibly ſuggeſt the Reaſon, why, in the Formation of his Body, God made choice of *the Duſt of the Ground*, viz. that, from the Incongruity of the Matter, we might judge of the Difficulty, and learn to attribute the Glory of the Performance to him alone. And if the Creation of the Body of our great Progenitor was a Work of ſo much Divine Wiſdom and Power, we cannot but expect, that the ſpiritual and immaterial Nature, the immortal Condition, active Powers, and free and rational Operations, which, in Reſemblance of the Divine Being, the Soul of Man was to participate, ſhou'd require ſome peculiar and extraordinary Conduct in its Production at firſt, and Union with Matter afterward: All which is expreſs'd by God's *breathing into the* Man's ‡ *Noſtrils the Breath of Life*, *i. e.* doing ſomething analogous to breathing (for God has no Body to breathe with) whereby he infus'd a rational and immortal Spirit (for we muſt not ſuppoſe, that God gave any Part of his own *Eſſence*) into the Man's *Head*, as the principal Seat thereof; *and* ‖ *Man became a living Soul.*

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

AS ſoon as *Adam* found himſelf alive, and begun to caſt his Eyes about him, he could not but perceive, that he was in no ſmall Danger, as being ſurrounded with a Multitude of *ſavage* Creatures, all gazing on him, and (for any Thing he knew) ready, and diſpos'd to fall upon and devour him. And therefore, to ſatisfy his Mind in this Particular, God took Care to inform him, that all the Creatures upon Earth were ſubmitted to his Authority; that on them he had impreſs'd an Awe and Dread of him; had inveſted him with an abſolute Power and Dominion over them; and, to convince him of the full Poſſeſſion of that Power, he immediately appointed every Creature to appear before him, which accordingly

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† *Gen.* i. 26. The *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion, that the Conſultation was real, and held with ſuch angelical Beings, as God might employ in the Work of Man's Creation; and they tell a Story, upon this Occaſion, which ſeems a little *fictitious*, viz. that, as *Moſes* was writing his Book by God's Appointment, and theſe Words came to be dictated, he refus'd to ſet them down, crying out, *O Lord! would'ſt thou then plunge Men in Error, and make them doubt of the Doctrine of the Unity?* Whereupon it was anſwered by God, *I command thee to write, and if any will err, let them err.* Several modern Expoſitors account it only a majeſtic Form of Speech, as nothing is more common, than for Kings, and ſovereign Princes to ſpeak in the plural Number, eſpecially when they are giving out any important Order or Command. It has been obſerv'd however, that, as there were no Men, and conſequently no great Men, when this was ſpoken; ſo there was no ſuch Manner of Speech in uſe, among Men of that Rank, for many Ages after *Moſes*. There common Cuſtom was, in all their public Inſtruments and Letters (the better to inhance the Notion of Sovereignty) to ſpeak in the *firſt* Perſon, as it was in our Nation not long ago, and is in the Kingdom of *Spain* to this very Day; and therefore, upon the Authority of almoſt all the Fathers of the Church (nam hæc verba Deum patrem ad filium, & ſpiritum ſanctum, aut ſaltem ad filium direxiſſe, omnes fere Patres, ab ipſis Apoſtolorum temporibus, fidenter pronunciant: *Whitby* ſtructuræ patrum). Others have thought, that this Language of *Moſes* repreſents God ſpeaking, as he is, *i. e.* in a Plurality of Perſons.

‡ The original Word, which our Tranſlators render *Noſtrils*, ſignifies more *properly* the Face or Head.

‖ It is not to be doubted, but that *Eve*, the *Mother of all Living*, was created by Almighty God, and inſpired with a rational and immortal Soul, the ſame Day with her Huſband; for ſo it is ſaid, that in the *ſixth* Day, *Male and Female created he them*, Ver. 27. and therefore the Hiſtorian only reaſſumes the Argument in the *ſecond* Chapter, to give us a more full and particular Account of the Woman's Origin, which was but briefly deliver'd, or rather indeed but hinted at, in the *firſt*.

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cordingly they did, and, * by their lowly Carriage, and Geſtures of Reſpect, ſuitable to their ſeveral Species, evidenc'd their Submiſſion; and, as they paſs'd along, ſuch Knowledge had *Adam* then of their ſeveral Properties and Deſtinations, that he aſſign'd them their Names, which, a ſmall Skill in the *Hebrew* Tongue will convince us, were very proper, and ſignificant of their Natures.

This *Survey* of the ſeveral Creatures might poſſibly occaſion ſome uneaſy Reflections in *Adam*, to ſee every one provided with its *Mate*, but himſelf left deſtitute of any Companion of a *ſimilar* Nature; and therefore, to anſwer his Deſires in this Particular likewiſe, (*c*) *God cauſed a deep Sleep to fall upon him*, which was intended, not only as an Expedient for the Performance of the wonderful Operation upon him without Senſe of Pain *, but as a Trance, or Extaſy likewiſe, wherein was repreſented to his Imagination, both what was done to him, and what was the myſtical Meaning of it, and whereby he was prepared for the Reception of that Divine *Oracle* (*d*) concerning the ſacred Inſtitution of Marriage, which preſently, upon his awaking, he utter'd.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

While *Adam* continu'd in this Sleep, God, who, with the ſame Facility, wherewith he made him, cou'd have form'd the Woman out of the *Duſt of the Earth*, (being willing to ſignify that Equality and Partnerſhip, that Love and Union, and Tenderneſs of Endearment, which ought to interfere between Huſband and Wife) took Part of the Subſtance of the Man's Body, ‡ near his Side, and, cloſing up the Orifice again, out of that Subſtance he † form'd the Body of *Eve*, and then, *breathing into* her *the Breath of Life*, made her, in like Manner, *become a living Soul*.

This was the * concluſive Act of the whole Creation: And upon a general Survey of ſuch Harmony riſen from Principles ſo

* *Milton* has expreſs'd himſelf upon this Occaſion in the following Manner:

As thus he ſpake, each Bird, and Beaſt, behold
Approaching, two and two; theſe cow'ring low
With Blandiſhment; each Bird ſtoop'd on his Wing.
I nam'd them, as they paſs'd, and underſtood
Their Nature, with ſuch Knowledge God endu'd
My ſudden Apprehenſion. BOOK VIII.

(*c*) *Gen.* ii. 21.

* In like Manner, he makes this Sleep, which fell upon *Adam*, to have been a Kind of *Trance*, or Extacy (for ſo the LXX tranſlate it) and thus he relates the Occaſion and Nature of it.

He ended, and I heard no more; for now
My *earthly*, by his *heavenly* over-power'd,
Which it had long ſtood under, ſtrain'd to th' Height
In that celeſtial Colloquy ſublime,
(As with an Object, that excels the Senſe,
Dazl'd and ſpent) ſunk down, and ſought Relief
Of Sleep, which inſtantly fell on me, call'd
By Nature as in Aid, and clos'd mine Eyes.
Mine Eyes he clos'd, but open left the Cell
Of *Fancy*, my internal Sight; by which
(Abſtract as in a *Trance*) methought I ſaw,
Tho' ſleeping, where I lay, and ſaw the Shape
Still glorious, before whom awake I ſtood ——
Under his forming Hands a Creature grew
Man-like, but different Sex; ſo lovely fair,
That what ſeem'd fair in all the World, ſeem'd now
Mean, or in her ſumm'd up, in her contain'd,
And in her Looks, which from that Time infus'd
Sweetneſs into my Heart, unfelt before;
And into all Things from her Air inſpir'd
The Spirit of Love, and amorous Delight.
BOOK VIII.

(*d*) *Gen.* ii. 23.

‡ As the original Word does not ſtrictly ſignify a *Rib*, and is all along render'd by the LXX πλευρα, ſo I thought it not improper to give it that Conſtruction, thereby to cut off from *Infidels* an Occaſion for Raillery, and to ſpare them all their Wit about the *redundant* or *defective* Rib of *Adam*.

† The original Word ſignifies *building*, or *framing* any Thing with a ſingular Care, Contrivance, and Proportion, and hence our Bodies are in Scripture frequently call'd Houſes, *Job* iv. 19. 2 *Cor.* v. 1. and ſometimes Temples, *John* ii. 19. 21. 1 *Cor.* iii. 16.

* It is not very neceſſary to determine, at what Seaſon of the Year the World was made; yet it ſeems moſt probable, that it was about the *Autumnal Equinox*, and that not only becauſe the Trees were laden then with Fruit, as the Hiſtory tells us our firſt Parents did eat of them; but becauſe the *Jews* did then begin their *civil* Year (*viz.* in the Month *Tiſri*, which anſwers Part of our *September* and *October*) from whence their *ſabbatical* and *jubilee* Years did likewiſe commence, *Exod.* xxiii. 16. xxxiv. 22. *Lev.* xxv. 9. The Month *Abib* (which anſwers to Part of our *March* and *April*) had indeed the Honour afterwards to be reckoned among the *Jews* the Beginning of their Year in *Eccleſiaſtical* Matters, becauſe the Children of *Iſrael*, on that Month, came out of the Land of *Egypt*; but, from the very Creation, the Month *Tiſri* was always counted the firſt of their *civil* Year, becauſe it was the general Opinion of the

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ſo jarring and repugnant, and ſo beautiful a Variety and Compoſition of Things from a mere Maſs of Confuſion and Diſorder, God was pleas'd with the Work of his Hands; and, having pronounc'd it *Good*, or properly adapted to the Uſes, for which it was intended, *he reſted from all his Work. i. e.* he ceaſed to produce any more Creatures, as having accompliſh'd his Deſign, and anſwer'd his original Idea; and thereupon he * *ſanctify'd*, and ſet apart the next enſuing Day, (which was the *Seventh* from the Beginning of the Creation, and the *firſt* of *Adam*'s Life) as a Time of ſolemn Reſt and Rejoicing for ever after, to be obſerv'd and expended in Acts of Praiſe and religious Worſhip, and in Commemoration of the infinite Wiſdom, Power, and Goodneſs of God, in the World's Creation. Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

The OBJECTION.

Againſt Moſes's *Account of the Creation.*

" BUT how great ſoever the Diſplay of the Divine Attributes, " may ſeem in the glorious Works of " the Creation, yet *Moſes*, one wou'd " think, is far from endeavouring to give " us the moſt advantageous Repreſenta- " tion of them. To ſpeak the World " into Being at once, and in an Inſtant, " had been more agreeable to the No- " tions we have of an *Almighty* Power, " than the ſpinning it out into ſo many " Day's Labour. But, allowing this Suc- " ceſſion of Time to have been real, " what a ſad Blunder does the Hiſtorian " make, even at his firſt ſetting out, " when he talks of *Light*, before there " was any ſuch Thing as the Sun, " and of the Moon's being a *great Light*, " when every Body knows it to be an " opaque Body; when he diſtributes the " whole Work into ſuch unequal Pro- " portions, and accounts for ſome Parts " of it, in a Manner inconſiſtent with the " Wiſdom of its Maker. For, on the " *firſt* Day, to have no more to do than " what might be diſpatch'd in the twink- " ling of an Eye, but, on the *Third*, to " have all the Waters of the Abyſs " drain'd off, and broad Channels dug for " the Reception of the Sea; to have the " Sun, Moon, and other Planets, together " with the Stars (a vaſt Number of immenſe " Bodies!) all made on the *Fourth*; and, " when one Piece of Clay wou'd have done " for both, to have two diſtinct Creations " for our firſt Parents; and (what is worſt " of all) in the Hurry of the Work (for the " *Sixth* Day, being the winding up of all, " was

the Ancients, that the World was created at the Time of the *Autumnal Equinox*; and for this Reaſon, the *Jews* do ſtill, in the *Æra* of the Creation, as well in that of *Contracts*, and other *Inſtruments*, compute the Beginning of their Year from the firſt Day of *Tiſri*. Herein, however, the *Jews* do differ from us; that, whereas they make the World only 3760, moſt of the Chriſtian *Chronologers* will have it to be much about 4000 Years older than Chriſt; ſo that by them 5732 Years, or thereabouts, are thought a moderate Computation of the World's Antiquity. Vid. *Uſher*'s Annals, *Bedford*'s Chronology, and *Shuckford*'s Connection.

* Whether the Inſtitution of the *Sabbath* was from the Beginning of the World, and one Day in ſeven always obſerv'd by the *Patriarchs*, before the Promulgation of the Law; or whether the *Sanctification* of the Seventh Day is related only by Way of *Anticipation*, as an Ordinance not to take Place until the Introduction of the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy, is a Matter of ſome Debate among the Learned, but I think with little or no Reaſon; for, when we conſider, that, as ſoon as the Sacred Penman had ſaid, *God ended his Work, and reſted*, he adds immediately, in the Words of the ſame Tenſe, *he bleſſed the Seventh Day, and ſanctified it*; when we compare this Paſſage in *Geneſis* with the Twentieth Chapter of *Exodus*, wherein *Moſes* ſpeaks of God's *bleſſing and ſanctifying the Sabbath*, not as an Act then firſt done, but as what he had formerly done upon the Creation of the World; when we remember, that all the *Patriarchs* from *Adam* to *Moſes* had ſet Times for their ſolemn Aſſemblies, and that theſe Times were *weekly*, and of Divine Inſtitution; that, upon the Return of theſe Week-*Sabbaths*, very probably it was, that *Cain* and *Abel* offer'd their reſpective Sacrifices to God; and that *Noah*, the only righteous Perſon among the *Antediluvians*, *Abraham*, the moſt faithful Servant of God after the Flood, and *Job*, that *perfect and upright Man, who feared God, and eſchewed Evil*, are all ſuppoſed to have obſerv'd it; we cannot but think, that the Day, whereon the Work of the Creation was concluded, from the very Beginning of Time, was, every Week, (until Men had corrupted their Ways) *kept holy*, as being the *Birth-Day of the World* (as Philo *de mundi Opificio* ſtyles it) and the *Univerſal Feſtival of Mankind*. Bedford's Scripture Chronology, *and* Patrick's Commentary.

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" was a Day of great Hurry) to forget the " Creation of the poor Woman's Soul, to " ſay nothing of the ſtrange *Subſtratum* of " her Body: Theſe, and ſeveral other " Particulars, are enough to make us ſuſ- " pect the *Phyſical* Truth of our Author's " *Coſmogony*, and to pronounce it not much " better than what we meet with in the " *Theology*, or Hiſtories of other antient " Nations."

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing that a gradual and ſucceſſive Creation *comported beſt with the Glory of God.*

(*e*) *WHERE waſt thou, when I laid the Foundations of the Earth? Declare, if thou haſt Underſtanding. Whereupon are the Foundations thereof faſten'd, and who laid the Corner Stone thereof?* Is a Queſtion very proper to be put to thoſe, who demand a Reaſon for the Actions of God: For, if they cannot comprehend the Works themſelves, they are certainly very culpable in enquiring too buſily into the Time, and Manner of his doing them. But, (to gratify the Inquiſitive for once) though we do not deny, that all Things are equally eaſy to Almighty Power, yet it pleas'd the Divine *Architect* to employ the Space of *ſix Days* in the gradual Formation of the World, becauſe he foreſaw, that ſuch Procedure wou'd be a Means conducive to the better Inſtruction both of *Men* and *Angels*. Angels (as we hinted before) were very probably created, when the *ſupreme* Heavens were made, at leaſt ſome conſiderable Time before the Production of this viſible World. Now, tho' they be great and glorious Beings, yet, ſtill they are of a finite Nature, and unable to comprehend the wonderful Works of God. There are ſome Things (as (*f*) the Apoſtle tells us) that theſe Celeſtial Creatures *deſire to look into*; and the more they are let into the Knowledge and Wiſdom of God, the more they are incited to praiſe him. (*g*) That therefore they might not want ſufficient Matter for this heavenly Exerciſe, the whole Scene of the Creation, according to the ſeveral Degrees and Nature of Things, ſeems to have been laid open in Order before them, that thereby they might have a more full and comprehenſive View of the Divine Attributes therein exhibited, than they cou'd have had, in Caſe the World had ſtarted forth in an Inſtant, or jump'd (as it were) into this beautiful Frame and Order all at once; juſt as he, who ſees the whole Texture and Contrivance of any curious Piece of Art, values and admires the Artiſt more, than he, who beholds it in the Groſs only.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

God was therefore pleas'd to diſplay his Glory before the Angels; and, by ſeveral Steps and Degrees, excite their Praiſe, and Love, and Admiration, which mov'd them to Songs and *Shouts of Joy*. By this Means his Glory, and their Happineſs were advanc'd, far beyond what it wou'd have been, had all Things been created, and rang'd in their proper Order in a Moment. By this Means they had Time to look into the firſt *Principles* and *Seeds* of all Creatures, both *animate* and *inanimate*, and every Day preſented them with a glorious Spectacle of new Wonders; ſo that the more they ſaw, the more they knew, and the more they know of the Works of God, the more they for ever love and adore him. But this is not all.

By this ſucceſſive and gradual Creation of Things, in the Space of *ſix Days*, the Glory of God is likewiſe more manifeſt to *Man*, than it wou'd have been, had they been made by a ſudden and inſtantaneous Production. The Heavens and *all the Hoſt of them*, we may ſuppoſe, were made in an Inſtant, becauſe there were then perhaps no other Creatures, to whom God might diſplay the Glory of his Works; but, as they were made in an Inſtant, we have little or no Perception of the Manner, wherein they were made: But now, in this *leiſurely* Procedure of the Earth's Formation, we ſee, as it were, every Thing ariſing out of the *primordial* Maſs, firſt the ſimple Elements, and then the compounded, and more curious Creatures, and are led, Step by Step, full of Wonder and Admiration, until we ſee the Whole compleated. So that, in Condeſcenſion to our Capacity it was, that God divided the Creation into ſtated Periods, and

(*e*) Job xxxviii. 4, 6. (*f*) 1 Pet. i. 12. (*g*) *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs of the Chriſtian Religion.

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and prolong'd the Succeſſion of what he cou'd have done in fix Moments, to the Term of ſix Days, that we might have clearer Notions of his eternal Power and Godhead, and, every particular Day of the Week, new and particular Works, for which we are to praiſe him. And this, by the by, ſuggeſts another Argument, founded on the Inſtitution of the *Sabbath-Day*: For if, *in ſix Days, the Lord made Heaven and Earth, and, reſting on the ſeventh Day, did bleſs and ſanctify it*, this ſeems to imply, that God oblig'd himſelf to continue the Work of the Creation for ſix Days, that, ſhewing himſelf (if I may ſo ſay) a Divine Example of *weekly* Labour, and *ſabbatical* Reſt, he might more effectually ſignify to Mankind, what Tribute of Duty he wou'd require of them, *viz.* that, one Day in ſeven, abſtaining from Buſineſs and worldly Labour, they ſhou'd devote and conſecrate it to his Honour, and religious Worſhip.

THERE is therefore no Neceſſity of departing from the literal Senſe of the Scripture in this Particular. The reiterated Acts, and the different Operations mention'd by *Moſes*, ought indeed to be explain'd in ſuch a Manner, as is conſiſtent with the infinite Power, and perfect Simplicity of the Acts of God, and in ſuch a Manner, as may exclude all Notions of Weakneſs, Wearineſs, or Imperfection in him; but all this may be done without receding from a *ſucceſſive* Creation, which redounds ſo much to the Glory of God, and affords the whole *intelligent Creation* ſo fair a Field for Contemplation.

Why Light *before the Sun.*

SOME of the *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion, that in the *firſt* Day, when God created *Light*, at the ſame Time, he form'd and compacted it into a *Sun*; and that the Sun is mention'd again on the *fourth* Day, merely by Way of *Repetition*; while others maintain, that this *Light* was a certain luminous Body (not unlike that, which conducted the Children of *Iſrael* in the Wilderneſs) that mov'd round the World, until the Day, wherein the Sun was created. But there is no Occaſion for ſuch Conjectures as theſe: Every one knows, that *Darkneſs* has, in all Ages, been the chief Idea, which Men have had of a *Chaos*. (*b*) Both Poets and Philoſophers have made *Nox*, and *Erebus*, and *Tartarus*, the principal Parts and Ingredients of its Deſcription; and therefore it ſeems very agreeable to the Reaſon of Mankind, that the firſt Remove from the *Chaos* ſhou'd be a Tendency to Light. But then by Light (as it was produc'd the *firſt* Day) we muſt not underſtand the darting of Rays from a luminous Body, ſuch as do now proceed from the Sun, (*i*) but thoſe Particles of Matter only, which we call *Fire* (whoſe Properties we know are *Light* and *Heat*) which *the Almighty* produc'd, as a proper Inſtrument for the Preparation, and Digeſtion of all other Matter. For Fire, being naturally a ſtrong and reſtleſs *Element*, when once it was diſentangled and ſet free, wou'd not ceaſe to move, and agitate from Top to Bottom the whole heavy and confus'd *Maſs*, until the purer and more ſhining Parts of it being ſeparated from the groſſer, and ſo uniting together (as Things of the ſame *Species* naturally do) did conſtitute that *Light*, which, on the *fourth* Day, was more *compreſs'd* and *conſolidated*, and ſo became the Body of the *Sun*.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

THE Author of the Book of *Wiſdom* tells us indeed, that (*k*) *God order'd all Things in Meaſure, and Number, and Weight*; but we cannot from hence infer, that, in the *Hexæmeron*, he was ſo nice and curious, as to weigh out to himſelf in gold Scales (as it were) his daily Work by Grains and Scruples. We indeed, who are finite Creatures, may talk of the *Heat and Burthen of the Day*, and, in a Weekly Taſk, are forc'd to proportion the Labour of each Day to the preſent Condition of our Strength; but this is the Caſe of human Infirmity, and no Way compatable to God. To *Omnipotence* nothing can be laborious, nor can there be more or leſs of Pains, where all Things are equally eaſy. But, in the mean Time, how does it appear, that, even in human Conception, the Work of the *third* Day,

No Diſproportion *in the Work of each Day.*

(*b*) *Patrick*'s Comment. in Locum. (*i*) *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. (*k*) Wiſd. xi. 20.

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which conſiſted in draining the Earth, and ſtocking it with Plants; or even of the *fourth* Day, wherein the Sun, and Moon, and other Planets were made, was more difficult, than that of the *firſt*, which is accounted the ſimple Production of *Light*?

THE Compaſs of the *Chaos* (as we ſuppos'd) took up the whole *ſolar Syſtem*, or that Space, which *Saturn* circumſcribes in his Circulation round the Sun: And if ſo, what a prodigious Thing was it, to give Motion to this vaſt unweildy Maſs, and to direct that Motion in ſome Sort of Regularity; in the general Struggle and Combuſtion, to unite Things, that were no Ways akin, and to ſort the promiſcuous Elements into their proper Species; to give the Properties of *Reſt* and *Gravitation* to one Kind, and of *Aſcenſion* and *Elaſticity* to another; to make ſome Parts ſubſide and ſettle themſelves, not in one continu'd *Solid*, but in ſeveral different *Centers*, at proper Diſtances from each other, and ſo lay the Foundation for the *Planets*; to make others aſpire and mount on high, and, having obtain'd their Liberty by hard Conflict, join together, as it were, by Compact, and make up one Body, which, by the *Tenuity* of its Parts, and *Rapidity* of its Motion, might produce Light and Heat, and ſo lay the Foundation for the *Sun*; to place this luminous Body in a Situation, proper to influence the upper Parts of the *Chaos*, and to be the Inſtrument of *Rarefaction*, *Separation*, and all the reſt of the Operations to enſue; to cauſe it, when thus plac'd, either to circulate round the whole *planetary Syſtem*, or to make the planetary Globes turn round to it, in order to produce the Viciſſitudes of Day and Night: To do all this, and more than this, I ſay, as it is included in the ſingle Article of creating *Light*, is enough to make the *firſt Day*, wherein Nature was utterly *impotent* (as having Motion then firſt impreſs'd upon her) a Day of more Labour, and curious Contrivance, than any ſubſequent one cou'd be, when Nature was become mere *awake* and *active*, and ſome Aſſiſtance might poſſibly be expected from the *Inſtrumentality* of *ſecond Cauſes*.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

TO *excavate* ſome Parts of the Earth, and raiſe others, in order to make the Waters ſubſide into proper Channels, is thought a Work not ſo comporting with the Dignity and Majeſty of God; and therefore * ſome have thought, that it poſſibly might have been effected, by the ſame Cauſes, that occaſion *Earthquakes*, *i. e.* by *ſubterraneous* Fires, and *Flatus*'s. What incredible Effects the Accenſion of *Gunpowder* has, we may ſee every Day; how it rends Rocks, and blows up the moſt ponderous and ſolid Walls, Towers, and Edifices, ſo that its Force is almoſt irreſiſtable. And why then might not ſuch a proportionable Quantity of the like Materials, ſet on Fire together, raiſe up the Mountains (how great and weighty ſoever) and the whole Superficies of the Earth above the Waters, and ſo make Receptacles for them to run into. *(l)* Thus we have a Channel for the Sea, even by the Intervention of ſecond Cauſes: Nor are we deſtitute of good Authority to patronize this Notion; for, after that the Pſalmiſt had ſaid, *the Waters ſtand above the Mountains*, immediately he ſubjoins, *at thy Rebuke they fled, at the Voice of thy Thunder* (an Earthquake, we know, is but a ſubterraneous Thunder) *they haſted away, and went down to the Valley beneath, even unto the Place, which thou had appointed to them.*

How Channels for the Sea might eaſily be made.

HOWEVER this be, 'tis probable, and (if our *Hypotheſis* be right) 'tis certain, that on the *fourth* Day, the Sun, Moon, and Planets, were pretty well advanc'd in their Formation. The *luminous* Matter, extracted from the *Chaos* on the *firſt* Day, being a little more condens'd, and put into a proper *Orb*, became the Sun, and the Planets had all along been working off, in the ſame Degrees of Progreſſion

The Work of the fourth *Day not* diſproportionably *great.*

* This we may conceive to have been effected by ſome Particles of Fire, ſtill left in the Bowels of the Earth, whereby ſuch *Nitro-Sulphureous* Vapours were kindled, as made an *Earthquake*, which both lifted up the Earth, and alſo made Receptacles for the Waters to run into. *Patrick*'s Comment.

(l) Pſal. civ. 6, 7, 8. *(m)* *Ray*'s Wiſdom of God in the Creation.

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ſion with the Earth; ſo that the Labour of this Day cou'd not be ſo diſproportionably great, as is imagin'd. Tis true indeed, the Scripture tells us, that God, on this Day, *not only made the Sun, and the Moon, but that he made the Stars alſo*; and, conſidering the almoſt infinite Number of theſe heavenly Bodies, (which we may diſcern with our Eyes, and much more with *Glaſſes*) we cannot but ſay, that a Computation of this Kind wou'd ſwell the Work of the *fourth* Day to a prodigious Diſproportion: But then we are to obſerve, that our *Engliſh* Tranſlation has interpolated the Words [he made] which are not in the *Original*; for the ſimple Verſion of the *Hebrew* is this —— and (*n*) *God made two great Lights, the greater Light to rule the Day, and the leſſer Light to rule the Night, and the Stars:* Which laſt Words [and the Stars] are not to be referr'd to the Word [made] in the Beginning of the Verſe, but to the Word [rule] which immediately goes before them: And ſo this Sentence, *the leſſer Light to rule the Night, and the Stars*, will only denote the peculiar Uſefulneſs and Predominancy of the Moon, above all other Stars or Planets, in reſpect of this Earth of ours; in which Senſe it may not improperly be ſtiled (as * ſome of the moſt polite Authors are known to call it) the *Ruler of the Night*, and a *Queen*, or *Goddeſs*, as it were, *among the Stars*. With regard to us therefore, who are the Inhabitants of the Earth, the *Moon*, though certainly an *opaque* Body, may not be improperly call'd a *great Light*; ſince, by reaſon of its Proximity, it communicates more Light (not of its own indeed, but what it borrows from the Sun) and is of more Uſe and Benefit to us, than all the other Planets put together. Nor muſt we forget (what indeed deſerves a peculiar Obſervation) that the Moon (*o*) by its conſtant Deviations towards the Poles, affords a ſtronger and more laſting Light to the Inhabitants of thoſe *forlorn* Regions, whoſe long and tedious Nights are of ſome Days, nay, of ſome Months Continuance, than if its Motion were truly *circular*, and the Rays, it reflects, conſequently more *oblique*. A mighty Comfort and Refreſhment this to *them*, and a ſingular Inſtance of the great Creator's Wiſdom in contriving, and Mercy in preſerving, all his Works!

Why the Moon may be called a great Light.

Gen. Ch. 1. and Part of the 2d.

ST *Paul*, in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, makes all Mankind (as certainly our firſt Parent literally was) *Clay* in the Hands of the *Potter*, and thereupon he aſks this Queſtion; (*p*) *Nay but, O Man, who art thou, that replieſt againſt God? Shall the Thing formed ſay to him that formed it, why haſt thou formed me thus? Hath not the Potter Power over the Clay, of the ſame Lump to make one Veſſel unto Honour, and another unto Diſhonour?* It but badly becomes us therefore, to enquire into the Reaſon, that might induce God to make the Man and the Woman at different Times, and of different Materials; and 'tis an impertinent, as well as impious Banter, to pretend to be ſo *frugal* of his Pains. What if God, willing to ſhew a pleaſing Variety in his Works, condeſcended to have the Matter, whereof the Woman was form'd, paſs twice through his Hands, in order to * ſoften the Temper, and meliorate

Why the Woman was made of a Rib.

* Lucidum cœli Decus —— Syderum Regina Bicornis. *Hor.* Aſtrorum Decus. *Virg. Æn.* —— Obſcuri Dea clara mundi. *Seneca Hip.* Arcanæ moderatrix Cynthia noctis. *Statius Theb.* —— Phœben imitantem Lumina Fratris Semper, & in proprio regnantem tempore noctis. *Manil.*

(*n*) *Gen.* i. 16. (*o*) *Derham's* Aſtro-Theology, Ch. iv. (*p*) *Rom.* ix. 20, 21.

* *Milton* has given us a very curious Deſcription of *Eve's* Qualifications both in Body and Mind.

Tho' well I underſtand, in the prime End
Of Nature, her th' inferior in the Mind,
And inward Faculties, which moſt excel.
In outward alſo her reſembling leſs
His Image, who made both, and leſs expreſſing
The Character of that Dominion giv'n
O'er other Creatures; yet when I approach
Her Lovelineſs, ſo abſolute ſhe ſeems,
So in herſelf compleat, ſo well to know
Her own, that what ſhe wills to do, or ſay,
Seems wiſeſt, virtuouſeſt, diſcreteſt, beſt.
All higher Knowledge in her Preſence falls
Degraded, Wiſdom in Diſcourſe with her
Loſes diſcountenanc'd, and like Folly ſhews.
Authority and Reaſon on her wait,
As one intended firſt, but after made
Occaſionally; and, to conſummate all,
Greatneſs of Mind, and Nobleneſs their Seat
Build in her Lovelineſs, and create an Awe
About her, as a Guard angelic plac'd. BOOK VIII.

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liorate the Compoſition? Some peculiar Qualities, remarkable in the *female Sex*, might perhaps juſtify this Suppoſition: But the true Reaſon, as I take it, is couch'd in theſe Words of *Adam* (*q*), *This is now Bone of my Bones, and Fleſh of my Fleſh; ſhe ſhall be called* † *Woman, becauſe ſhe was taken out of Man, therefore ſhall a Man leave his Father and his Mother, and cleave to his Wife, and they ſhall be one Fleſh.*

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

SINCE God was determin'd then to form the Woman out of ſome Part of the Man's Body, and might probably have a *myſtical* Meaning in ſo doing; to have taken her (like the Poets *Minerva*) out of the Head, might have entitled her to a *Superiority*, which he never intended for her; to have made her of any inferior, or more diſhonourable Part, wou'd not have agreed with that *Equality*, to which ſhe was appointed; and therefore he took her out of the Man's *Side*, to denote the Obligations to the ſtricteſt Friendſhip and Society; to beget the ſtrongeſt Love and Sympathy between him and her, as Parts of the ſame *Whole*; and to recommend *Marriage* to all Mankind, as founded in Nature, and as the *Re-union* of Man and Woman.

Why the Woman's Soul *is not mention'd in the Works of Creation.*

'TIS an eaſy Matter to be *ſceptical*, but ſmall Reaſon, I think, there is to wonder, why no Mention is made, in this Place, of the Inſpiration of the Woman's Soul. What the Hiſtorian means here, is only to repreſent a peculiar Circumſtance in the Woman's Compoſition, *viz.* her Aſſumption from the Man's Side: And therefore what relates to the Creation of her Soul, muſt be preſum'd to go before, and is indeed ſignified in the Preface, God makes before he begins the Work; (*r*) *It is not good that Man ſhou'd be alone, I will make him an help*-Meet *for him*, i. e. of the ſame (*s*) *eſſential* Qualities with himſelf. For we cannot conceive of what great Comfort this Woman wou'd have been to *Adam*, had ſhe not been endow'd with a *rational* Part, capable of converſing with him; had ſhe not had, I ſay, the ſame Underſtanding, Will, and Affections, tho' perhaps in a lower Degree, and with ſome Accommodation to the Weakneſs of her Sex, in order to recommend her Beauty, and to endear that Softneſs, wherein (as I hinted before) ſhe had certainly the Pre-eminence.

The ridiculous Accounts, which other Nations give us of the Creation.

SUCH is the Hiſtory, which *Moſes* gives us of the Origin of the World, and the Production of Mankind: And, if we ſhou'd now compare it with what we meet with in other Nations recorded of theſe great Events, we ſhall ſoon perceive, that it is the only rational and *philoſophical* Account extant; which, conſidering the low Ebb that Learning was at in the *Jewiſh* Nation, is no ſmall Argument of its Divine *Revelation*. What a wretched Account was that of the *Egyptians* (from whence the *Epicureans* borrow'd their *Hypotheſis*) that the World was made by *Chance*, and Mankind grew out of the Earth like *Pumkins*? What ſtrange Stories does the *Grecian* Theology tell us of Ουρανος and Γη, *Jupiter* and *Saturn*; and what ſad Work do their antient Writers make, when they come to form Men and Women out of *projected Stones*? How unaccountably does the *Phœnician* Hiſtorian make a dark and windy Air the Principle of the Univerſe; all intelligent Creatures to be form'd alike in the Shape of an *Egg*, and both Male and Female awaken'd into Life by a great Thunder-clap? The *Chineſe* are accounted a wiſe People, and yet the Articles of their Creed are ſuch as theſe —— That one *Tayn*, who liv'd in Heaven, and was famous for his Wiſdom, diſpos'd the Parts of the World into the Order we find them; that he created out of nothing the firſt Man *Panſon* and his Wife *Panſone*; that this *Panſon*, by a Power from *Tayn*, created another Man call'd *Tanhom*, who was a great *Naturaliſt*, and thirteen Men more, by whom the World was peopled, till, after awhile,

† *Arius Montanus* renders the *Hebrew* Word *Virago*, in the Margin *Viriſſa*, i. e. *She man.*

(*q*) *Gen.* ii. 23, 24. (*r*) *Gen.* ii. 18. (*s*) So the original Word means, and ſo the vulgar *Latin* has tranſlated it. (*t*) Vid. *Cumberland*'s Sanchoniatho.

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awhile, the Sky fell upon the Earth, and deſtroy'd them all; but that the wife *Tayn* afterwards created another Man, call'd *Lotziram*, who had two Horns, and an odoriferous Body, and from whom proceeded ſeveral Men and Women, who ſtock'd the World with the preſent Inhabitants. But, of all others, the *Mahometan* Account is the moſt ridiculous; for it tells us, that the firſt Things, which were created, were the *Throne* of God, * *Adam*, *Paradiſe*, and a great *Pen*, wherewith God wrote his Decrees; that this Throne was carry'd about upon Angels Necks, whoſe Heads were ſo big, that Birds cou'd not fly, in a thouſand Years, from one Ear to another; that the Heavens were propped up by the Mountain *Koff*; that the Stars were *Firebrands*, thrown againſt the Devils, when they invaded Heaven, and that the Earth ſtands upon the Top of a great *Cow*'s *Horn*; that this Cow ſtands upon a white Stone, this Stone upon a Mountain, and this Mountain upon *God knows what*; with many more Abſurdities of the like Nature.

And the Juſtneſs *of that of* Moſes.

THESE are ſome Accounts of the World's Creation, which Nations of great Sagacity, in other Reſpects, have at leaſt pretended to believe. But alas! how ſordid and trifling are they, in Compariſon of what we read in the Book of *Geneſis*, where every Thing is eaſy and natural, comporting with God's Majeſty, and not repugnant to the Principles of Philoſophy? Nay, where every Thing agrees with the Poſitions of the greateſt Men in the Heathen World, * the Sentiments of their wiſeſt Philoſophers, and the *Deſcriptions* of their moſt renowned Poets. So that were we to judge of *Moſes* at the Bar of Reaſon, merely as an *Hiſtorian*; had we none of thoſe *ſupernatural* Proofs of the Divinity of his Writings, which ſet them above the Sphere of all human Compoſitions; had his Works none of that manifeſt Advantage of *Antiquity* above all others, we ever yet ſaw; and were we not allowed to preſume, that his living near the Time, which he makes the *Æra* of the World's Creation, gave him great Aſſiſtances in Point of *Tradition*; were we, I ſay, to wave all this, that might be alledg'd in his Behalf; yet the very Manner of his treating the Subject, gives him a Preference above all others. Nor can we, without Admiration, ſee a Perſon, who had none of the *Syſtems* before him, which we now ſo much value, giving us a clearer Idea of Things, in the Way of an eaſy *Narrative*, than any Philoſopher, with all his *hard*

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

* As to the Formation of *Adam*'s Body, the *Mahometans* tell us many ſtrange Circumſtances, *viz.* That after God, by long continued Rains, had prepar'd the Slime of the Earth, out of which he was to form it, he ſent the Angel *Gabriel*, and commanded him, of ſeven *Lays* of Earth, to take out of each an Handful: That, upon *Gabriel*'s Coming to the *Earth*, he told her, that God had determin'd to extract *that* out of her Bowels, whereof he propos'd to make Man, who was to be Sovereign over all, and his Vicegerent: That, ſurpriz'd at this News, the Earth deſired *Gabriel* to repreſent her Fears to God, that this Creature, whom he was going to make in this Manner, wou'd one Day rebel againſt him, and draw down his Curſe upon her. That *Gabriel* return'd, and made a Report to God of the Earth's Remonſtrances; but God, reſolving to execute his Deſign, diſpatch'd *Michael*, and afterwards *Aſraphel*, with the ſame Commiſſion: That theſe two Angels return'd, in like Manner, to report the Earth's Excuſes, and abſolute Refuſal to contribute to this Work; whereupon he deputed *Azrael*, who, without ſaying any Thing to the Earth, took an Handful out of each of the ſeven different Lays, or Beds, and carry'd it to a Place in *Arabia*, between *Mecca* and *Taief*: That after the Angels had mix'd, and kneeded the Earth, which *Azrael* brought, God, with his own Hand, form'd out of it an human Statue, and having left it in the ſame Place for ſome Time to dry, not long after communicating his Spirit, or enlivening Breath, infus'd Life and Underſtanding into it; and cloathing it in a wonderful Dreſs, ſuitable to its Dignity, commanded the Angels to fall proſtrate before it, which *Eblis* (by whom they mean *Lucifer*) refuſing to do, was immediately driven out of Paradiſe. *N. B.* The Difference of the Earth, employ'd in the Formation of *Adam*, is of great Service to the *Mahometans*, in explaining the different Colours, and Qualities of Mankind, who are deriv'd from it, ſome of whom are White, others Black, others Tawny, Yellow, Olive-colour'd, and Red; ſome of one Humour, Inclination, and Complexion, and others of a quite different. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Adam*.

* *Thales*, quem primum Græci putant rerum naturalium Cauſas eſſe rimatum, mundum opus eſſe Dei, Deumque antiquiſſimum eſſe Rerum omnium, utpote Ortûs expertem, aſſerit. *Pythagoras*, cùm Mundi hujus Fabricam & Ornatum contemplaret, videri ſibi, aiebat, audire vocem illam Dei, quâ exiſtere juſſus eſt. *Plato* non ex æternâ materiâ, ſuique coæquali Deum mundum compegiſſe ratus eſt, ſed eduxiſſe ex nihilo, ſolâque ſuâ voluntate ad id eguiſſe, neque ſolum à Deo, ſed ad Dei ſimilitudinem factum eſſe hominem, & animos noſtros Deo eſſe cognatos & ſimiles, eidem *Platoni* notum fuit. Vocandi quoque ad Partes Poetæ; inter *Latinos* Virgilius, cùm canentem inducit *Silenum*, ut coactis Rerum ſeminibus mundi tener orbis concreverit; præcipuè *Ovidius*, cùm Cœli Terræque narrat ortum, hominiſque ad Dei effigiem confícti; &, inter *Græcos*, imprimis *Heſiodus*, qui Rerum omnium Machinationem, ſuaviſſimis Carminibus, Moſaicæ Doctrinæ conſonis, in *Theogoniâ* celebravit. *Huetii* Alnetanæ Quæſtiones.

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Words, and new-invented Terms, has yet been able to do; and, in the Compaſs of two ſhort *Chapters*, comprizing all, that has been advanced with Reaſon, even from his own Time, to this very Day.

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

DISSERTATION I.

The Wiſdom of God in the Works of the Creation.

THO' the Author of the *Pentateuch* (*a*) never once attempts to prove the *Being* of a God, as taking it all along for a Thing undeniable; yet it may not be improper for us, in this Place, to take a *curſory* View of the Works of the Creation (as far at leaſt as they come under the *Moſaic* Account) in order to ſhew the Exiſtence, the Wiſdom, the Greatneſs, and the Goodneſs of their Almighty Maker.

The Being and Wiſdom of God prov'd from the Make and Motion of heavenly Bodies.

LET us then caſt our Eyes up to the *Firmament*, where the rich *Handy-work* of God preſents itſelf to our Sight, and aſk ourſelves ſome ſuch Queſtions as theſe. What Power built, over our Heads, this vaſt and magnificent *Arch*, and *ſpread out the Heavens like a Curtain?* Who garniſh'd theſe Heavens with ſuch a Variety of ſhining Objects, a thouſand, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand different Stars, new Suns, new Moons, new Worlds, in Compariſon of which, this Earth of ours is but a Point, all regular in their Motions, and ſwimming in their liquid *Æther?* Who painted the Clouds with ſuch a Variety of Colours, and in ſuch Diverſity of Shades and Figures, as is not in the Power of the fineſt *Pencil* to emulate? Who form'd the Sun of ſuch a determinate Size, and placed it at ſuch a convenient Diſtance, as not to annoy, but only refreſh us, and nouriſh the Ground with its kindly Warmth? If it were *larger*, it wou'd ſet the Earth on Fire; if *leſs*, it wou'd leave it frozen: If it were *nearer* us, we ſhou'd be ſcorch'd to Death; if *farther* from us, we ſhou'd not be able to live for want of Heat: Who then hath made it ſo commodious (*b*) *a Tabernacle* (I ſpeak with the Scriptures, and according to the common Notion) *out of which it cometh forth*, every Morning, *like a Bridegroom out of his Chamber, and rejoiceth, as a Giant, to run his Courſe?* For ſo many Ages paſt, it never fail'd *riſing* at its appointed Time, nor once miſs'd ſending out the *Dawn* to proclaim its Approach: But, at whoſe Voice does it ariſe, and by whoſe Hand is it directed in its *diurnal* and *annual* Courſe, to give us the bleſſed Viciſſitudes of the Day and Night, and the regular Succeſſion of different Seaſons? That it ſhou'd always proceed in the ſame ſtrait Path, and never once be known to ſtep aſide; that it ſhou'd turn at a certain determinate *Point*, and not go forward in a *Space*, where there is nothing to obſtruct it; that it ſhou'd traverſe the ſame Path back again, in the ſame conſtant and regular Pace, to bring on the Seaſons by gradual Advances; that the *Moon* ſhou'd ſupply the Office of the Sun, and appear, at ſet Times, to illuminate the Air, and give a *vicarious* Light, when its Brother is gone to carry the Day to the other *Hemiſphere*; (*c*) that it ſhou'd procure, or at leaſt regulate the *Fluxes*, and *Refluxes* of the Sea, whereby the Water is kept in conſtant Motion, and ſo preſerv'd from Putrefaction, and accommodated to Man's manifold Conveniences, beſides the Buſineſs of Fiſhing, and the Uſe of Navigation: In a Word, that the reſt of the *Planets*, and all the innumerable *Hoſt* of heavenly Bodies ſhou'd perform their Courſes and *Revolutions*, with ſo much Certainty and Exactneſs, as never once to fail, but, for almoſt this 6000 Years, come conſtantly about to the ſame *Period*, in the hundredth Part of a Minute; this is ſuch a clear, and inconteſtible Proof of a divine *Architect*, and of that Counſel and Wiſdom wherewith he rules and directs the Univerſe, as made the *Roman* Philoſopher, with good

(*a*) Vid. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 1. (*b*) Pſal. xix. 4, 5. (*c*) *Ray*'s Wiſdom of God in the Creation.

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good Reaſon, conclude, " That (*d*) who-
" ever imagines, that the wonderful Order,
" and incredible Conſtancy of the heaven-
" ly Bodies, and their Motions (whereupon
" the Preſervation, and Welfare of all
" Things do depend) is not govern'd by an
" *intelligent* Being, himſelf is deſtitute of
" Underſtanding. For, ſhall we, when we
" ſee an *artificial Engine*, a Sphere, a Dial,
" for Inſtance, acknowledge, at firſt Sight,
" that it is the Work of *Art* and Under-
" ſtanding; and yet, when we behold the
" Heavens, mov'd and whirl'd about with
" an incredible Velocity, moſt conſtantly
" finiſhing their anniverſary Viciſſitude,
" make any Doubt, that theſe are the Per-
" formances, not only of Reaſon, but of a
" certain excellent and divine Reaſon?'

AND if *Tully*, from the very imperfect Knowledge of *Aſtronomy*, which his Time afforded, could be ſo confident, that the heavenly Bodies were fram'd, and mov'd by a wiſe and underſtanding Mind, as to declare, that, in his Opinion, whoever aſſerted the contrary, was himſelf deſtitute of Underſtanding; (*e*) what wou'd he have ſaid, had he been acquainted with the modern Diſcoveries of *Aſtronomy*; the immenſe *Greatneſs* of the World, that Part of it (I mean) which falls under our Obſervation; the exquiſite *Regularity* of the Motions of all the Planets, without any Deviation or Confuſion; the inexpreſſible Nicety of *Adjuſtment* in the *primary* Velocity of the Earth's *annual* Motion; the wonderful Proportion of its *diurnal* Motion about its own *Center*, for the Diſtinction of Light and Darkneſs; the exact Accommodation of the *Denſities* of the Planets to their Diſtances from the Sun; the admirable Order, Number, and Uſefulneſs of the ſeveral *Satellites*, which move about their reſpective Planets; the Motion of the *Comets*, which are now found to be as regular, and *periodical*, as that of other planetary Bodies; and, laſtly, the Preſervation of the ſeveral *Syſtems*, and of the ſeveral Planets and *Comets* in the ſame *Syſtem*, from falling upon each other: What, I ſay, wou'd *Tully*, that great Maſter of Reaſon, have thought and ſaid, if theſe, and other newly diſcovered Inſtances of the inexpreſſible Accuracy and Wiſdom of the Works of God, had been obſerv'd and conſider'd, in his Days? Certainly *Atheiſm*, which even *then* was unable to withſtand the Arguments drawn from this Topic, muſt *now*, upon the additional Strength of theſe later *Obſervations*, be utterly aſham'd to ſhow its Head, and forc'd to acknowledge, that it was an Eternal and Almighty Being, God alone, who gave theſe celeſtial Bodies their proper *Menſuration* and Temperature of *Heat*, their Dueneſs of *Diſtance*, and Regularity of *Motion*, or, in the Phraſe of the Prophet, *(f) who eſtabliſh'd the World by his Wiſdom, and ſtretched out the Heavens by his Underſtanding.*

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

The Air *and its* Meteors.

IF, from the *Firmament*, we deſcend to the *Orb* whereon we live, what a glorious Proof of the divine Wiſdom do we meet with in this *intermediate* Expanſion of the *Air*, which is ſo wonderfully contriv'd, as, at one and the ſame Time, to ſupport Clouds for Rain, and to afford Winds for Health and Traffick; to be proper for the Breath of Animals by its *Spring*, for cauſing Sounds by its *Motion*, and for conveying Light by its *Tranſparency?* But whoſe Power was it, that made ſo thin and fluid an *Element*, the ſafe Repoſitory of Thunder and Lightning, of Winds and Tempeſts? By whoſe Command, and out of whoſe *Treaſuries*, are theſe *Meteors* ſent forth to purify the Air, which wou'd otherwiſe ſtagnate, and conſume the Vapours, which wou'd otherwiſe annoy us? And by what ſkilful Hand is the (*g*) Water, which is drawn from the Sea, by a natural Diſtillation made freſh, and bottled up, as it were, in the Clouds, to be ſent upon the *Wings of the Wind* into different Countries, and, in a Manner, equally diſpers'd, and diſtributed over the *Face of the Earth*, in gentle Showers?

From the Earth, and its Animals.

WHOSE Power and Wiſdom was it, that *hang'd the Earth upon Nothing*, and gave it a *ſpherical* Figure, the moſt commodious, that cou'd be deviſ'd, both for the *Conſiſtency* of its Parts, and the *Velocity* of its Motion?

(*d*) *Tully* de Nat. Deorum. (*e*) *Clarke*'s Demonſtration of a God. (*f*) Jer. li. 15. (*g*) *Ray*'s Wiſdom of God in the Creation.

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Motion? That *weighed the Mountains in Scales*, and the *Hills in a Ballance*, and diſpos'd of them in their moſt proper Places for Fruitfulneſs and Health? That diverſify'd *the Climates* of the Earth into ſuch an agreeable Variety, that, at the fartheſt Diſtance, each one has its proper Seaſons, Day and Night, Winter and Summer? That cloath'd *the Face* of it with Plants and Flowers, ſo exquiſitely adorned with various and inimitable Beauties, that even *Solomon, in all his Glory, was not arrayed like one of them?* That plac'd the Plant in the Seed (as the Young is in the Womb of Animals) in ſuch elegant *Complications*, as afford at once both a pleaſing and aſtoniſhing Spectacle? That painted and perfum'd the Flowers, gave them the ſweet *Odours* which they diffuſe in the Air for our Delight, and, with one and the ſame Water, dy'd them into different Colours, the Scarlet, the Purple, the Carnation, ſurpaſſing the Imitation, as well as Comprehenſion of Mankind? That has repleniſh'd it with ſuch an infinite Variety of living Creatures, (*b*) ſo *like*, and, at the ſame Time, ſo *unlike* to each other, that of the innumerable *Particulars*, wherein each Creature differs from all others, every one is known to have its peculiar Beauty, and ſingular Uſe? Some walk, ſome creep, ſome fly, ſome ſwim; but every one has Members and Organs, (*i*) fitted to its peculiar Motions. In a Word, the Pride of the *Horſe*, and the Feathers of the *Peacock*, the Largeneſs of the *Camel*, and the Smallneſs of the *Inſect*, are equal Demonſtrations of an infinite Wiſdom and Power: Nay, * the ſmaller the Creature is, the more amazing is the Workmanſhip; and when in a little *Mite*, we do (by the Help of Glaſſes) ſee Limbs perfectly well organiz'd, an Head, a Body, Legs, and Feet, all diſtinct, and as well proportion'd for their Size, as thoſe of the vaſteſt Elephants; and conſider withal, that, in every Part of this living *Atom*, there are Muſcles, Nerves, Veins, Arteries, and Blood; in that Blood *ramous* Particles and Humours; and, in thoſe *Humours*, ſome Drops, that are compos'd of other minute Particulars: When we conſider all this, I ſay, can we help being loſt in Wonder and Aſtoniſhment, or refrain crying out, with the bleſſed Apoſtle, (*k*) *O the Depth of the Riches both of the Wiſdom, and Knowledge of God! how unſearchable are his Works, and his Ways of* Creation and Providence *paſt finding out!*

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

But there is another Thing in Animals, both *terreſtrial* and *aqueous*, no leſs wonderful than their Frame, and that is, their *natural Inſtinct*. In Compliance with the common Forms of Speech, I call it ſo, but, in Reality, it is the providential Direction of them by an all-wiſe, and all-powerful Mind. For what elſe has infus'd into *Birds* the Art of building their Neſts, either hard or ſoft, according to the Conſtitution of their Young? What elſe makes them keep ſo conſtantly in their Neſts, while they are hatching their Young, as if they knew the Philoſophy of their own Warmth, and its Aptneſs for Animation? What elſe moves the *Swallow*, upon the Approach of Winter, to fly to a more temperate Climate, as if it underſtood the Celeſtial Signs, the Influence of the Stars, and the Change of Seaſons? What elſe (*l*) cauſes the *Salmon*, every

(*b*) Dr *Sam. Clarke*'s Serm. Vol. I. (*i*) *Ray*'s Wiſdom of God in the Creation. (*k*) *Rom.* xi. 33.

* *Where has Nature diſpos'd ſo many Senſes, as in a Gnat?* (ſays *Pliny* in his *Natural Hiſtory*, when conſidering the Body of that *Inſect*) "Ubi Viſum prætendit? Ubi Guſtatum applicavit? Ubi Odoratum inſeruit? Ubi vero truculentam "illam, & portione maximam Vocem ingeneravit? Quâ ſubtilitate pennas adnexuit? Prælongavit pedum Crura, diſpo- "ſuit jejunam Caveam, uti alvum, avidam ſanguinis, & potiſſimum humani accendit? Telum vero, perfodiendo Tergori, "quo ſpiculavit Ingenio? Atque, ut in capaci, cùm cerni non poſſit Exilitas, ita reciprocâ geminavit arte, ut fodiendo "accuminatum, pariter ſorbendoque fiſtuloſum eſſet?" And if *Pliny* made ſo many Queries concerning the Body of a *Gnat* (which, by his own Confeſſion, is none of the leaſt of Inſects) what wou'd he, in all Likelihood, have done, had he ſeen the Bodies of theſe *Animalcula*, which are diſcernable by Glaſſes, to the Number of 10, 20, or 30 Thouſand, in a Drop of Pepper-Water, not larger than a Grain of Millet? And if theſe Creatures be ſo very ſmall, what muſt we think of their Muſcles, and other Parts? Certain it is, that the *Mechaniſm*, by which Nature performs the *muſcular* Motion, is exceedingly minute and curious, and to the Performance of every muſcular Motion, in greater Animals at leaſt, there are not fewer diſtinct Parts concern'd, than many Millions of Millions, and theſe viſible thro' a Microſcope. *Ray*'s Wiſdom of God in the Creation. (*l*) *Ray*'s Wiſdom of God.

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every Year, to aſcend from the Sea up a River, ſome four or five hundred Miles perhaps, only to caſt its *Spawn*, and ſecure it in Banks of Sand, until the Young be hatch'd, or excluded, and then return to the Sea again? How theſe Creatures, when they have been wandring, a long Time, in the wide Ocean, ſhou'd again find out, and repair to the Mouth of the ſame Rivers, ſeems to me very ſtrange; and hardly accountable, without having Recourſe either to ſome Impreſſion given at their firſt Creation, or the immediate and continual Direction of a ſuperior Cauſe. In a Word, (*m*) can we behold the Spider's *Net*, the Silk-worm's *Webs*, the Bee's *Cells*, or the Ant's *Granaries*, without being loſt in the Contemplation, and forc'd to acknowledge that infinite Wiſdom of their Creator, who either directs their unerring Steps himſelf, or has given them a *Genius* (if I may ſo call it) fit to be an *Emblem*, and to ſhew Mankind the Pattern of Art, Induſtry, and Frugality?

From the Water, *and its Animals.*

IF from the Earth, and the Creatures which live upon it, we caſt our Eye upon the Water, we ſoon perceive, that it is a liquid and tranſparent Body, and that had it been more or leſs *rarify'd*, it had not been ſo proper for the Uſe of Man: But who gave it that juſt *Configuration* of Parts, and exact Degree of *Motion*, as to make it both ſo fluent, and, at the ſame Time, ſo *ſtrong*, as to carry and waft away the moſt unweildy Burthens? Who hath taught the Rivers to run, in winding Streams, through vaſt Tracts of Land, in order to water them more plentifully; then throw themſelves into the Ocean, to make it the common *Center* of Commerce; and ſo, by ſecret and imperceptible Channels, return to their Fountain-head, in one perpetual Circulation? Who ſtor'd and repleniſh'd theſe Rivers with Fiſh of all Kinds, which glide, and ſport themſelves in the limpid Streams, and run heedleſly into the Fiſher's Net, or come greedily to the Angler's Hook, in order to be caught (as it were) for the Uſe and Entertainment of Man? *The great and wide Sea* is a very awful, and ſtupendous Work of God, and the Flux and Reflux of its Waters are not the eaſieſt *Phænomena* in Nature. (*n*) All that we know of Certainty is this, that the Tide carries, and brings us back to certain Places, at preciſe Hours: But whoſe Hand is it, that makes it ſtop, and then return with ſuch Regularity? A little more or leſs Motion in this *fluid Maſs*, wou'd diſorder all Nature, and a ſmall Incitement upon a Tide ruin whole Kingdoms: Who then was ſo *wiſe*, as to take ſuch exact Meaſures in immenſe Bodies, and who ſo *ſtrong*, as to rule the Rage of that proud Element at Diſcretion? Even He, (*o*) *who hath plac'd the Sand for the Bound thereof, by a perpetual Decree, that they cannot paſs*; and plac'd the *Leviathan* (among other Animals of all Kinds) *therein to take his Paſtime, out of whoſe Noſtrils goeth a Smoke, and whoſe Breath kindleth Coals*; ſo that *he maketh the Deep to boil like a Pot, and maketh the Sea like a Pot of Ointment*, as the Author of the Book of (*p*) *Job* elegantly deſcribes that moſt portentous Creature.

Gen. Ch. 1. and Part of the iid.

And from the Make of Man's Body and Soul.

IF now, from the *World* itſelf, we turn our Eyes more particularly upon *Man*, the principal Inhabitant, that God has placed therein, no Underſtanding certainly can be ſo low and mean, no Heart ſo ſtupid and inſenſible, as not plainly to ſee, that nothing, but infinite Wiſdom, cou'd, in ſo wonderful a Manner, have faſhion'd his Body, and inſpir'd into it a Being of ſuperior Faculties, whereby he (*q*) *teacheth us more than the Beaſts of the Field, and maketh us wiſer than the Fowls of Heaven.*

SHOULD any of us ſee a Lump of Clay riſe immediately from the Ground into the compleat Figure of a Man, full of Beauty and Symmetry, and endow'd with all the Parts and Faculties, we perceive in ourſelves, and poſſibly far more exquiſite and beautiful: Shou'd we preſently, after his Formation, obſerve him perform all the Operations of Life, Senſe, and Reaſon; move as gracefully, talk as eloquently, reaſon as juſtly, and do every Thing as dexteroufly, as the moſt accompliſh'd Man breathing;

(*m*) *Charnock's* Exiſtence of a God. (*n*) *Fenelon's* Demonſtration of a God. (*o*) Jer. v. 22. (*p*) Job xli. 31. (*q*) Job xxxv. 11.

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ing; the ſame was the Caſe, and the ſame the Moment of Time, in God's Formation of our firſt Parent. But (to give the Thing a ſtronger Impreſſion upon the Mind) we will ſuppoſe, (*r*) that this Figure riſes by Degrees, and is finiſh'd Part by Part, in ſome Succeſſion of Time; and that, when the Whole is compleated, the Veins and Arteries bor'd, the Sinews and Tendons laid, the Joints fitted, and the Liquor (tranſmutable into Blood and Juices) lodg'd in the *Ventricles* of the Heart, God infuſes into it a vital Principle; whereupon the Liquor in the Heart begins to deſcend, and thrill along the Veins, and an heavenly Bluſh ariſes in the Countenance, ſuch as ſcorns the Help of Art, and is above the Power of Imitation. The Image moves, it walks, it ſpeaks; it moves with ſuch a Majeſty, as proclaims it the Lord of the Creation, and talks with ſuch an Accent, and Sublimity of Sentiment, as makes every Ear attentive, and even its great Creator enter into Converſe with it: Were we to ſee all this tranſacted before our Eyes, I ſay, we cou'd not but ſtand aſtoniſh'd at the Thing; and yet this is an exact Emblem of every Man's Formation, and a Contemplation it is, that made holy *David* break out into this rapturous Acknowledgment, (*s*) *Lord! I will give thee Thanks, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made; marvellous are thy Works, and that my Soul knoweth right well: Thine Eyes did ſee my Subſtance, yet being imperfect, and in thy Book were all my Members written.*

Nay, ſo curious is the Texture of the human Body, and, in every Part, ſo full of Wonder, that even *Galen* himſelf (who was otherwiſe backward enough to believe a God) after he had carefully ſurvey'd the Frame of it, and view'd the Fitneſs and Uſefulneſs of every Part, the many * ſeveral Intentions of every little Vein, Bone, and Muſcle, and the beautiful Compoſition of the *Whole*, fell into a Pang of Devotion, and wrote an Hymn to his Creator's Praiſe. (*t*) And, if in the Make of the Body, how much more does the Divine Wiſdom appear in the Creation of the Soul of Man, a Subſtance *immaterial*, but united to the Body by a *Copula*, imperceptible, and yet ſo ſtrong, as to make them mutually operate, and ſympathize with each other, in all their Pleaſures, and their Pains; a Subſtance, endued with thoſe wonderful Faculties of *Thinking*, *Underſtanding*, *Judging*, *Reaſoning*, *Chuſing*, *Acting*, and (which is the End and Excellency of all) the Power of knowing, obeying, imitating, and praiſing its Creator; tho' certainly neither *It*, nor any ſuperior Rank of Beings, *Angels*, and *Arch-angels*, or the *whole Hoſt of Heaven* can worthily and ſufficiently do it; (*u*) *for who can expreſs the mighty Acts of the Lord, or ſhew forth all his Praiſe?*

Gen. Ch. i. and Part of the iid.

Thus, which Way ſoever we turn our Eyes; whether we look upwards, or downwards; without us, or within us; upon the *animate*, or *inanimate* Parts of the Creation; we ſhall find abundant Reaſon to take up the Words of the Pſalmiſt, and ſay, (*x*) *O Lord, how wonderful are thy Works! in Wiſdom haſt thou made them all; the Earth is full of thy Riches.* (*y*) *O, that Men wou'd therefore praiſe the Lord for his Goodneſs, and declare the Wonders, that he doth for the Children of Men! that they wou'd offer him the Sacrifice of Thankſgiving, and tell out all his Works with Gladneſs!*

(*r*) *Hale*'s Origination of Mankind. (*s*) Pſal. cxxxix. 14, 16.

* *Galen*, in his Book *de Formatione Fœtûs*, takes Notice, that there are, in an human Body, above 600 Muſcles, in each of which there are, at leaſt, ten ſeveral *Intentions*, or due Qualifications, to be obſerv'd; ſo that, about the Muſcles alone, no leſs than 6000 ſeveral Ends and Aims are to be attended to. The Bones are reckoned to be 284, and the diſtinct *Scopes*, or Intentions of each of theſe are above 40; in all, about 12,000; and thus it is in ſome Proportion with all the other Parts, the *Skin*, *Ligaments*, *Veſſels*, *and Humours*; but more eſpecially with the ſeveral Veſſels of the Body, which do, in regard of the great Variety, and Multitude of thoſe ſeveral Intentions required to them, very much exceed the *homogeneous* Parts. *Wilkins*'s Nat. Rel.

(*t*) *Clarke*'s Serm. Vol. I. (*u*) Pſal. cvi. 2. (*x*) *Ibid.* civ. 24. (*y*) *Ibid.* cvii. 21, 22.

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Gen. Ch. ii. from ver. 8.

CHAP. II.

Of the State of Man's Innocence.

The HISTORY.

God's conducting Eve *to* Adam, *marrying, and bleſſing them.*

AS ſoon as the *ſeventh* Day from the Creation (the firſt Day, as we ſaid of *Adam*'s Life, and, conſequently, the firſt Day of the Week) was begun, *Adam*, awaking out of his Sleep, and muſing, very probably, on his Viſion the preceding Night, beheld the fair Figure of a Woman approaching him †, conducted by the Hand of her Almighty Maker; and, as ſhe advanc'd, the ſeveral innocent Beauties, that adorn'd her Perſon, the Comlineſs of her Shape, and Gracefulneſs of her Geſture, the Luſtre of her Eye, and Sweetneſs of her Looks, diſcover'd themſelves in every Step more and more.

It is not to be expreſſed, nor now conceiv'd, *. what a full *Tide* of Joy enter'd in at the Soul of our firſt Parent, when he ſurvey'd this lovely Creature, who was deſtin'd to be the Partner and Companion of his Life; when, by a ſecret *Sympathy*, he felt that ſhe was of his own Likeneſs, and Complexion, *Bone of Bones, and Fleſh of his Fleſh*, his very Self, diverſify'd only into another Sex; and cou'd eaſily foreſee, that the Love and Union, which was now to commence between them, was to be perpetual, and for ever inſeparable. (*a*) For the ſame Divine Hand, which conducted the Woman to the Place where *Adam* was, preſented her to him in the Capacity of a *matrimonial* Father; and, * having joined them together in the *nuptial* State, pronounc'd his

† It is the general Opinion of Interpreters, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*, that God himſelf, or, more particularly, the *ſecond* Perſon in the *ever-bleſſed Trinity*, God the Son (who is therefore ſtiled in Scripture [*Iſa.* lxiii. 9.] *the Angel of God's Preſence*) appear'd to *Adam*, on this, and ſundry other Occaſions, in a viſible glorious Majeſty, ſuch as the *Jews* call the SCHECHINAH; which ſeems to have been *a very ſhining Flame*, or *amazing Splendor of Light*, breaking out of a thick Cloud, of which we afterward read very frequently, under the Name of *the Glory of the Lord*, and to which we cannot ſuppoſe our firſt Parents to have been Strangers. We therefore look upon it, as highly probable, that this *Divine Majeſty* firſt conducted *Eve* to the Place where *Adam* was, and, not long after their Marriage, convey'd them both, from the Place where they were form'd, into the Garden of *Eden*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* *Milton* has expreſs'd the Joy and Tranſport of *Adam*, upon his firſt Sight of *Eve*, in the following Manner.

When out of Hope, behold her! not far off;
Such as I ſaw her in my Dream, adorn'd
With what all Earth, or Heaven cou'd beſtow,
To make her amiable. On ſhe came,
Led by her heav'nly Maker (tho' unſeen)
And guided by his Voice; not uninform'd
Of nuptial Sanctity, and Marriage Rites.
Grace was in all her Steps, Heav'n in her Eye,
In ev'ry Geſture Dignity and Love.
I overjoy'd, cou'd not forbear aloud.
" This Turn hath made Amends, thou haſt fulfill'd
" Thy Words, Creator bounteous, and benign!
" Giver of all Things fair! but fairеſt this
" Of all thy Gifts." BOOK VIII.

(*a*) Vid. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The Words of *Milton*, upon this Occaſion, are extremely fine.

——— all Heav'n,
And happy Conſtellations, on that Hour
Shed their ſelecteſt Influence: The Earth
Gave Sign of Gratulation, and each Hill.
Joyous the Birds; freſh Gales, and gentle Airs
Whiſper'd it to the Woods, and from their Wings
Flung Roſe, flung Odors, from the ſpicey Shrub,
Diſporting. BOOK VIII.

Nor can we paſs by his *Epiſode* upon Marriage, which, for its grave and majeſtic Beauty, is inimitable.

Hail wedded Love! myſterious Law! true Source
Of human Offſpring! ſole Propriety
In Paradiſe, of all Things common elſe!
By Thee adultrous Luſt was driv'n from Men,
Among the beſtial Herds to range; by Thee
(Founded in Reaſon, loyal, juſt, and pure)
Relations dear, and all the Charities
Of Father, Son, and Brother, firſt were known.
Perpetual Fountain of domeſtic Sweets!
Whoſe Bed is undefil'd, and chaſte pronounc'd ——
Here Love his golden Shafts employs; here lights
His conſtant Lamp, and waves his purple Wings;
Reigns here and revels ——
BOOK IV.

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his *Benediction* over them; to the Intent that (*b*) they might enjoy the unmoleſted Dominion, he had given them, over the other Parts of the Creation, and, being themſelves † fruitful in the Procreation of Children, might live to ſee the *Earth* repleniſh'd with a numerous Progeny, deſcended from their Loins.

The Situation of Paradiſe.

In the mean Time God had taken Care to provide our firſt Parents * with a pleaſant and delightful Habitation in the Country of *Eden* (*c*), which was water'd by four Rivers; by the *Tigris*, in Scripture called *Hiddekel*, on one Side, and by *Euphrates* on the other, which, joining their Streams together in a Place, where (not long after the Flood) the famous City of *Babylon* was ſituate, paſs through a large Country, and then dividing again, form the two Rivers, which the ſacred Hiſtorian calls *Piſon*, and *Gihon*, and ſo water Part of the Garden of Paradiſe, wherein were all Kinds of Trees, Herbs, and Flowers, which cou'd any way delight the Sight, the Taſte, or the Smell.

Gen. Ch. ii. from ver. 8.

The Tree of Life, and that of Knowledge, why ſo called.

AMONG other Trees however, there were two of very remarkable Names and Properties, planted *in the Midſt*, or moſt eminent Part of the Garden, to be always within the View and Obſervation of our firſt Parents; *the Tree of Life*, ſo called, (*d*) becauſe it had a Virtue in it, not only to repair the animal Spirits, as other Nouriſhment does, but likewiſe to preſerve and * maintain them in the ſame equal Temper and State, wherein they were created, without Pain, Diſeaſes, or Decay; and *the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil*, ſo called, (*e*) not becauſe it had a Virtue to confer any ſuch Knowledge, but * becauſe

(*b*) Vid. *Gen.* i. 28, 29, 30.

† The Words of the Text are, *Be fruitful, and multiply, and repleniſh the Earth*: Whereupon ſome have made it a Queſtion, whether this is not a Command, obliging all Men to *Marriage* and *Procreation*, as moſt of the *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion. But to this it may be reply'd, 1*ſt*. That it is indeed a Command, obliging all Men ſo far, as not to ſuffer the Extinction of Mankind, in which Senſe it did abſolutely bind *Adam* and *Eve*, as alſo *Noah*, and his Sons, and their Wives, after the Flood: But 2*dly*, that it does not oblige every particular Man to marry, appears from the Example of our *Lord Jeſus*, who liv'd and dy'd in an unmarry'd State; from his Commendation of thoſe, who made themſelves *Eunuchs for the Kingdom of God*, Matth. xix. 12. and from St *Paul*'s frequent Approbation of *Virginity*, 1 *Cor.* vii. 1, &c. And therefore, 3*dly*, it is here rather a Permiſſion, than a Command, though it be expreſſed in the Form of a Command, as other Permiſſions frequently are. Vid. *Gen.* ii. 16. *Deut.* xiv. 4. *Pool*'s Annotations.

* The Deſcription, which *Milton* gives us of the Garden of Paradiſe, is very agreeable in ſeveral Places, but in one more eſpecially, where he repreſents the pleaſing Variety of it.

——— Thus was this Place
A happy rural Seat of various View.
Groves, whoſe rich Trees wept od'rous Gums, and Balm;
Others, whoſe Fruit, burniſh'd with golden Rind,
Hung amiable; (*Heſperian* Fables true,
If true, *here* only) and of delicious Taſte.
Betwixt them Lawns, or level Downs, and Flocks,
Grazing the tender Herb, were interpos'd;
Or palmy Hillock, or the flow'ry Lap
Of ſome irriguous Valley ſpread her Store.
Flow'rs of all Hue, and without Thorn the Roſe.
Another Side umbrageous Grots, and Caves
Of cool Receſs, o'er which the mantling Vine
Lays forth her purple Grape, and gently creeps
Luxuriant. Mean while murm'ring Waters fall
Down the ſlope Hills, diſpers'd, or in a Lake
(That to the fringed Bank, with Myrtle crown'd,
Her chryſtal Mirror holds) unite their Streams.
The Birds their Choir apply. Airs, vernal Airs,
Breathing the Smell of Fields, and Groves, attune
The trembling Leaves, while univerſal PAN
Knit with the GRACES, and the HOURS, in Dance
Lead on the eternal Spring.———

BOOK IV.

(*c*) Hiſtoire de la Bible, par M. *Martin*. (*d*) *Patrick*'s Comment. & vid. Ch. iii. Ver. 20.

* Others think, that the *Tree of Life* was ſo called, in a *ſymbolical* Senſe, as it was a Sign and Token of that Life, which Man had receiv'd from God, and of his continual Enjoyment of it, without Diminution, had he perſiſted in his Obedience; and, as this Garden, ſay they, was confeſſedly a Type of Heaven, ſo God might intend by this Tree to repreſent that immortal Life, which he meant to beſtow upon Mankind with himſelf, *Revel.* xxii. 2. according to which, is that famous Saying of St *Auſtin*, *Erat ei in cæteris Lignis Alimentum, in iſtis vero Sacramentum*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

(*e*) *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

* Others think the *Tree of Knowledge* was ſo call'd, either in Reſpect to God, who was minded by this Tree to prove our firſt Parents, whether they wou'd be good or bad, which was to be *known* by their abſtaining from the Fruit, or eating it; or in Reſpect to them, who, in the Event, found, by ſad Experience, the Difference between *Good* and *Evil*, which they *knew* not before; but they found the Difference to be this, that *Good* is that, which gives the Mind Pleaſure and Aſſurance; but *Evil* that, which is always attended with Sorrow and Regret. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Young*'s Sermons, Vol. I.

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becauſe the Devil, in his Temptation of the Woman, pretended that it had; pretended that *(f)* as God knew all Things, and was himſelf ſubject to no one's Controul, ſo the eating of this Tree would confer on them the ſame Degree of Knowledge, and put them in the ſame State of Independency: And from this unfortunate Deception (whereof God might ſpeak by way of *Anticipation*) it did not improperly derive its Name.

The Prohibition given our firſt Parents.

INTO this † Paradiſe of much Pleaſure, but ſome Danger, wherein was one Tree of a pernicious Quality, tho' all the reſt were good in their Kind, and extremely ſalutary, *the Lord God* conducted our firſt Parents; who, at this Time, *were naked*, and yet *not aſham'd*, becauſe their Innocence was their Protection. They had no ſinful Inclinations in their Bodies, no evil Concupiſcence in their Minds, to make them bluſh; and, withal, the Temperature of the Climate was ſuch, as needed no Cloathing to defend them from the Weather. God having given them (as we may imagine) a Survey of their new Habitation, ſhewn them the various Beauties of the Place, the Work, wherein they were to employ themſelves by Day, and * the Bower, wherein they were to repoſe themſelves by Night, he granted to eat of the Fruit of every Tree in the Garden, except that one, *the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil*, which, (how lovely ſoever it might appear to the Eye) he ſtrictly charg'd them not ſo much as to *touch*, upon the Penalty of incurring his Diſpleaſure, forfeiting their Right and Title to eternal Life, and entailing upon themſelves, and their Poſterity, ‖ Mortality, Diſeaſes, and Death.

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

Their Employment in Paradiſe.

WITH this ſmall Reſtraint, which the divine Wiſdom thought proper to lay upon *Adam*, as a Token of his Subjection, and a Teſt of his Obedience, God left him to the Enjoyment of this Paradiſe, where every

A a Thing

(f) Eſtius in difficiliora Loca.

† The Word *Paradiſe*, which the *Septuagint* make uſe of, (whether it be of *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, or *Perſian* Original) ſignifies *a Place enclos'd for Pleaſure and Delight*: either *a Park*, where Beaſts do range, or a Spot of Ground, ſtock'd with choice Plants, which is properly a *Garden*; or curiouſly ſet with Trees, yielding all Manner of Fruit, which is an *Orchard*. There are three Places in the *Hebrew* Text of the Old Teſtament, wherein this Word is found, 1. in *Nehemiah* ii. 8. where that Prophet requeſts of *Artaxerxes* Letters to *Aſaph*, the *Keeper of the King's Foreſt*, or Paradiſe; 2dly, in the Song of *Solomon* [iv. 13.] where he ſays, that *the Plants* of the Spouſe *are an Orchard of Pomegranates*; and 3dly, in *Eccleſiaſtes* [ii 5.] where he ſays, he *made himſelf Gardens*, or Paradiſes. In all which Senſes, the Word may very fitly be applied to the Place, where our firſt Parents were to live; Since it was not only a pleaſant Garden, and fruitful Orchard, but a ſpacious Park and Foreſt likewiſe, whereinto the ſeveral Beaſts of the Field were permitted to come. *Edwards*'s Survey of Religion, Vol. I; and *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Paradiſe*.

* The Deſcription, which *Milton* gives us of this bliſsful Bower, is extremely fine.

—— It was a Place,
Chos'n by the ſov'reign Planter, when he fram'd
All Things to Man's delightful Uſe: The Roof
Of thickeſt Covert was, in woven Shade,
Laurel and Myrtle, and what higher grew
Of firm and fragrant Leaf. On either Side
Acanthus, and each od'rous buſhy Shrub,
Fenc'd up the verdant Wall. Each beauteous Flow'r,
Iris, all Hues, Roſes, and Jeſſamin,
Rear'd high their flouriſh'd Heads between, and wrought
Moſaic: Underfoot the Violet,
Crocus, and Hyacinth, with rich Inlay,
Broider'd the Ground, more colour'd than with Stone
Of coſtlieſt Emblem. Other Creature here,
Beaſt, Bird, Inſect, or Worm, durſt enter none;
Such was their Awe of Man!

BOOK IV.

‖ The Words in our Verſion are, *In the day thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die*, which ſeem to imply, that on the Day, that *Adam* ſhould eat of the *Tree of Knowledge*, he ſhould die, which eventually prov'd not ſo, becauſe he liv'd many Years after; and therefore (as ſome obſerve very well) it ſhould be render'd, *Thou ſhalt deſerve to die without Remiſſion*; for the Scripture frequently expreſſes by the *Future*, not only what will come to paſs, but alſo what ought to come to paſs, to which Purpoſe there is a very appoſite Text in 1 *Kings* ii. 37. where *Solomon* ſays to *Shimei*, —— *Go not forth thence* (viz. from *Jeruſalem*) *any whither*; *for in the Day thou goeſt out, and paſſeſt over the Brook* Kidron, *thou ſhalt ſurely die*, i. e. *thou ſhalt deſerve Death without Remiſſion*. For *Solomon* reſerv'd to himſelf the Power of puniſhing him, when he ſhould think fit; and, in Effect, he did not put him to Death the ſame Day that he diſobeyed, any more than God did put *Adam* to Death, the ſame Day that he tranſgreſſed in eating the forbidden Fruit. This ſeems to be a good Solution: Though ſome Interpreters underſtand the Prohibition, as if God intended thereby to intimate to *Adam* the deadly Quality of the forbidden Fruit, whoſe Poiſon was ſo very exquiſite, that on the very Day he eat thereof, it would certainly have deſtroy'd him, had not God's Goodneſs interpos'd, and reſtrain'd its Violence. *Vid. Eſſay for a New Tranſlation*, and *Le Clerc*'s Comment.

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Thing was *pleaſant to the Sight*, and accommodated to his Liking. Not thinking it convenient however for him, even in his State of Innocence, to be idle or unemploy'd, here he appointed him to dreſs and keep the new Plantation, which, by reaſon of its Luxuriancy, would in Time, he knew, require his Care. Here he was to employ his Mind, as well as exerciſe his Body; to contemplate, and ſtudy the Works of God; to ſubmit himſelf wholly to the divine Conduct; to conform all his Actions to the divine Will; and to live in a conſtant Dependance upon the divine Goodneſs. Here he was to ſpend his Days in the continual Exerciſes of Prayer and Thankſgiving; and, it may be, the natural Dictates of Gratitude wou'd prompt him to offer ſome of the Fruits of the Ground, and ſome living Creatures by way of Sacrifice to God. Here were thouſands of Objects to exerciſe his *intellective* Faculties, to call forth his Reaſon, and employ it; but that, wherein the ultimate Perfection of his Life was doubtleſs to conſiſt, was the Union of his Soul with the ſupreme Good, that infinite and eternal Being, which alone can conſtitute the Happineſs of Man.

Their Happineſs.

(g) O! *Adam*, beyond all Imagination happy; with uninterrupted Health, and untainted Innocence, to delight thee; no Perverſeneſs of Will, or Perturbation of Appetite, to diſcompoſe thee; a Heart upright, a Conſcience clear, and an Head unclouded, to entertain thee; a delightful Earth for thee to enjoy; a glorious Univerſe for thee to contemplate; an everlaſting Heaven, a Crown of never-fading Glory, for thee to look for, and expect; and, in the mean Time, the Author of that Univerſe, the King of that Heaven, and Giver of that Glory, thy God, thy Creator, thy Benefactor, to ſee, to converſe with, to bleſs, to glorify, to adore, to obey!

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

And deſign'd Tranſlation.

This was the deſign'd Felicity of our firſt Parents. Neither they nor their Poſterity were to be liable to Sorrow, or Miſery of any Kind, but to be poſſeſs'd of a conſtant and never-failing Happineſs; and, after innumerable Ages and Succeſſions, were, in their Courſes, to be taken up into an *heavenly* Paradiſe. For *(h)* that the *terreſtrial* Paradiſe was to *Adam* a Type of Heaven, and that the never-ending Life of Happineſs, promis'd to our firſt Parents (if they had continu'd obedient, and grown up to Perfection under that Oeconomy, wherein they were plac'd) ſhou'd not have been continu'd in this *Earthly*, but only have commenc'd here, and been perpetuated in an *higher* State, *i. e.* after ſuch a Trial of their Obedience, as the divine Wiſdom ſhould think convenient, they ſhou'd have been tranſlated from Earth to Heaven, is the joint Opinion * of the beſt *antient*, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Writers.

(g) Revelation examin'd, *Part* i. *(h)* *Bull*'s State of Man before the Fall.

* This ſame learned Writer (*viz.* Biſhop *Bull*) has compil'd a great many Authorities from the Fathers of the firſt *Centuries*, all full and ſignificant to the Purpoſe, and to which I refer the Reader, only mentioning one or two of more remarkable Force and Antiquity, for his preſent Satisfaction. *Juſtin Martyr*, ſpeaking of the Creation of the World, delivers not his own private Opinion only, but the common Senſe of Chriſtians in his Days: *We have been taught*, ſays he, *that God, being good, did, in the Beginning, make all Things out of uninform'd Matter for the Sake of Men, who, if by their Works they had render'd themſelves worthy of his Acceptance, we preſume, ſhould have been favour'd with his Friendſhip, and reign'd together with him, being made incorruptible, and impaſſible.* Apol. 2. *Athanaſius*, among other Things, worthy our Obſervation, concerning the *primordial* State of our firſt Parents, has theſe remarkable Words: *He brought them therefore into Paradiſe, and gave them a Law, that, if they ſhould preſerve the Grace then given, and continue obedient, they might enjoy in Paradiſe a Life without Grief, Sorrow, or Care; beſides that they had a Promiſe alſo of an Immortality in the Heavens.* De Incarnatione Verbi. And therefore we need leſs wonder, that we find it an Article, inſerted in the common Offices of the primitive Church; and that in the moſt antient Liturgy now extant [that of *Clemens*] we read theſe Words concerning *Adam*: *When thou broughteſt him into the Paradiſe of Pleaſure, thou gaveſt him free Leave to eat of all other Trees, and forbadeſt him to taſte of one only, for the Hope of better Things; that if he kept the Commandment, he might receive Immortality, as the Reward of his Obedience.* Apoſt. Conſt. Lib. viii. Cap. 12.

OF THE ASIATIC SOC.

A MAP of the TERRESTRIAL PARADISE according to M. HUET's draught of it.

TUBAL

IBERIA

CASPIAN SEA

The rise of the Euphrates

ARMENIA MAJOR

Mount Anitaurus

M. Niphates

The Gordian Mountains

The Spring of the Tygris

MEDIA

Noah's Ark

M. Ararat

Ecbatana

Cydnus R.

Pyramus R.

M. Taurus

M. Taurus

ASSYRIA or ADIBENE

CILICIA

Adana

Tarsus

Issus

M. Amanus

GAUZANTIS

Nineveh

Mausat

Carrhe

MESOPOTAMIA or ARAM NAHARAJIM

TIGRIS R.

M. Zagrus

Salamis

CYPRUS

Ur

Ur

Seleucia

Babel

Ctesiphon

ELYMAIS

M. Parchoatras

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

SYRIA

Tripolis

Eleutheras R.

Orontes R.

Eden

M. Libanus

Paradisus

EUPHRATES R.

Apamea

Susa

Sydon

Tyre

CHALONITIS

Dan

Damascus

Basan

SYRIA

Sichem

Gilead

M. Antilibanus

BABILONIA

EDEN Dracea

TERRESTRIAL PARADISE

Calatha

CHUSISTAN or SUSIANA

CESSIE

Jerusalem

Jordan R.

Arnon R.

Sea

Sodom

Gomorha

Adama

Zebrim

JUDEA

SUR

EDOM

ARABIA DESERTA

Jeredon

Pison

Gihon R.

Charax Spasini

Mesene Chaldæa

CHUZESTAN

Anuchtha

ELYMEANS

Pasinvallum

Pelodes

Nagira

ARABIA PETREA

SABEANS

Calathua

THE PERSIAN GULF

ARABIA FELIX

Ichara, now Carek

Bahaven formerly Tilos

now Catif

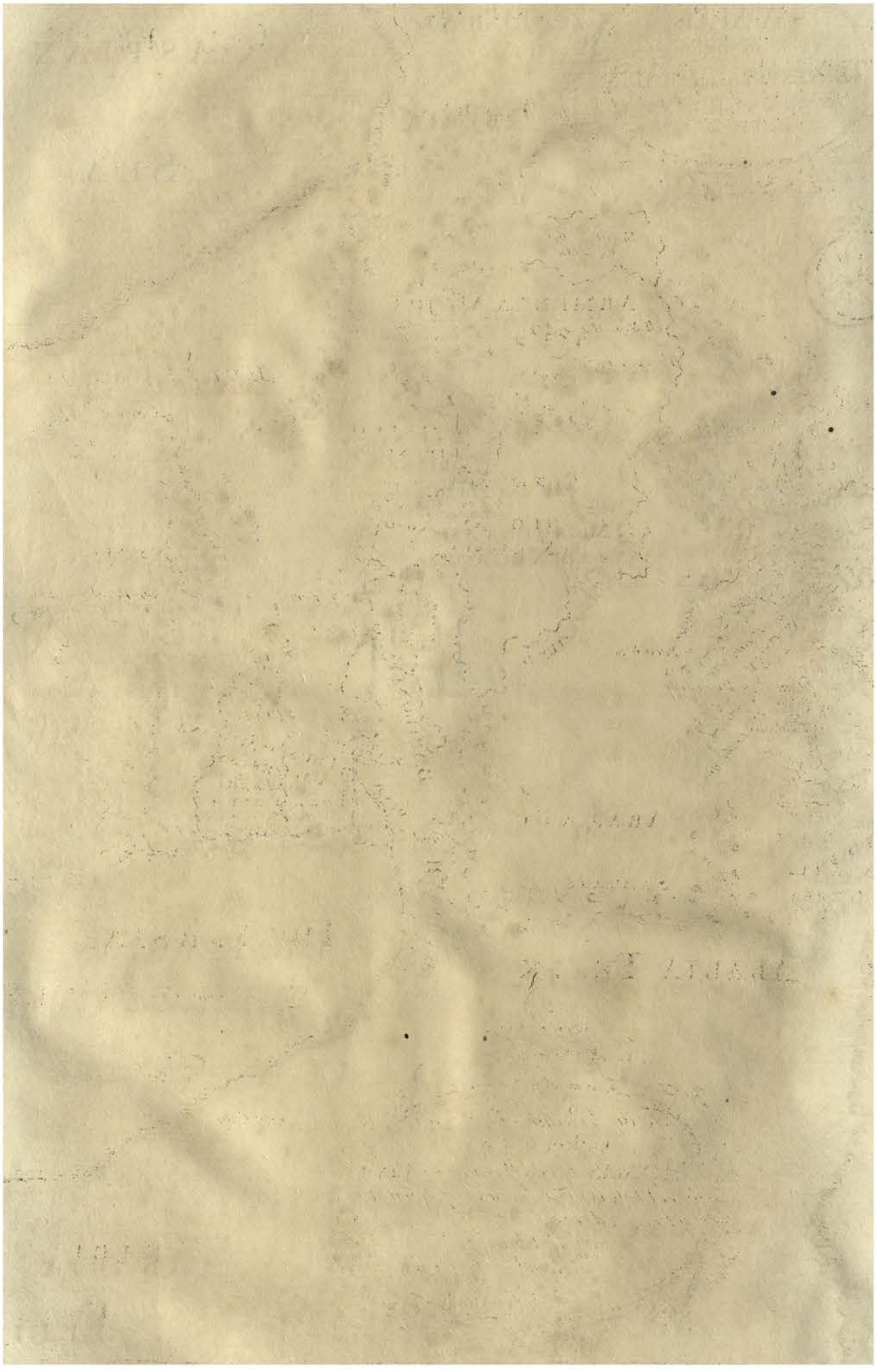
THE ARABIAN GULF

Regma

ARABIA FELIX

To the Right Reverend
Father in God
THOMAS Lord Bishop of ELY
this Plate is most humbly Inscrib'd
by his Lordship's
most Obliged
humble Servant
Tho. Stackhouse

Ja.s Mynde Sculp.



A. M. 1.
Ant. Chriſ. 4004.

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

The OBJECTION.

Againſt the Reality of a Terreſtrial Paradiſe.

"BUT how delightful ſoever the "Garden of *Eden* might be, a Type "of Heaven, and an Entrance into the "Regions of eternal Bliſs; yet all this "ſeems to be but (*i*) an *imaginary*, and "*romantic* Deſcription of what never "had any Exiſtence in Nature. In the "whole habitable World we can meet "with no ſuch Place, as had the four "great Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Gan-*"*ges*, and the *Nile* (which two latter, "according to ſome Mens Opinions, are "the *Piſon* and *Gihon* of *Moſes*) all con-"curring to water it: And therefore the "Oddneſs of this *Geography* has led ſeveral "learned Men to place this Paradiſe in the "third Heaven, in the Orb of the Moon, in "the Moon itſelf, in the middle Region of "the Air, &c. and of thoſe, who allow it "a Situation in this ſublunary World, "ſome have carried it into a far diſtant "Country, quite concealed from the "Knowledge of Men; whilſt others had "rather have it lie in *Tartary*, in *China*, "in *Armenia*, in *Meſopotamia*, in *Syria*, "in *Perſia*, in *Babylonia*, in *Arabia*, in "*Paleſtine*, in *Ethiopia*, &c. In ſhort, "there is ſcarce any Corner of the known "World, wherein this wonderful Garden "has not been ſeated; and therefore others "have more wiſely concluded, that there "was never any ſuch determinate Place; "that (*k*) the whole Earth, before its De-"vaſtation, was entirely *paradiſiacal*; "that *Moſes*, in his Account, only puts "a Part for the Whole, the better to ac-"commodate it to his Reader's Conceptions; or that, if ever there was a *local* "Paradiſe, the violent Concuſſions, which "happened at the Flood, did unſettle "the Bounds of Countries, and Courſes "of Rivers, and ſo totally change the "Face of Nature, that it is next to im-"poſſible now to find it out."

Difference of Opinion no Argument againſt it.

THAT learned Men ſhou'd differ in their Opinions about a Queſtion, which, it muſt be confeſs'd, has its Difficulties attending it, is no wonderful Thing at all; but that *Moſes*, who wrote about 850 Years after the *Flood*, ſhou'd give us ſo particular a Deſcription of this Garden, and that other ſacred Writers, long after him, ſhou'd make ſuch frequent Mention of it, if there was never any ſuch Place, nay, if there were not then remaining ſome *Marks* and *Characters* of its Situation, is pretty ſtrange and unaccountable. The very Nature of his Deſcription ſhews, that *Moſes* had no *imaginary* Paradiſe in his View, but a Portion of this habitable Earth, bounded with ſuch Countries and Rivers, as were very well known by the Names he gave them in his Time, and (as it appears from other Paſſages in Scripture) for many Ages after. (*l*) *Eden* is as evidently a real Country, as *Ararat*, where the Ark reſted, or *Shinaar*, where the Sons of *Noah* remov'd after the Flood. We find it mention'd, as ſuch, in Scripture, as often as the other two; and there is the more Reaſon to believe it, becauſe, in the *Moſaic* Account, the Scene of theſe three memorable Events is all laid in the Neighbourhood of one another.

Moſes, we muſt allow, is far from being *pompous* or *romantic* in his Manner of Writing; and yet, it cannot be deny'd, but that he gives a manifeſt Preference to this Spot of Ground, above all others; which why he ſhou'd do, we cannot imagine, unleſs there was really ſuch a Place as he deſcribes: Nor can we conceive, (*m*) what other Foundation, both the ancient *Poets* and *Philoſophers* cou'd have had, for their *fortunate Iſlands*, their *Elyſian Fields*, their *Garden of Adonis*, their *Garden of the Heſperides*, their *Ortygia* and *Toprabane* (as deſcrib'd by *Diodorus Siculus*) which

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(*i*) *Burnet*'s Theory. (*k*) *Burnet*'s Theory, and Archæol. Philoſoph. (*l*) Univerſ. Hiſt. Book i. Chap. i. (*m*) Huet. Quæſt. Aletan.

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which are but borrow'd *Sketches* from what our inſpir'd Penman tells us of the firſt *terreſtrial Paradiſe*.

Moſes really intended a Deſcription of it.

It is not to be queſtion'd then, but that, in the *antidiluvian* World, there really was ſuch a Place, as this Garden of *Eden*, a Place of diſtinguiſh'd Beauty, and more remarkably pleaſant in its Situation; otherwiſe we cannot preceive, * why the Expulſion of our firſt Parents from that Abode ſhou'd be thought any Part of their Puniſhment; nor can we ſee, what Occaſion there was for placing a *flaming Sword* about the *Tree of Life*; or, for appointing an Hoſt of Cherubims to guard the Entrance againſt their Return. The Face of Nature, and the Courſe of Rivers, might poſſibly be alter'd by the Violence of the Flood, but this is no valid Exception to the Caſe in Hand; (*n*) becauſe *Moſes* does not deſcribe the Situation of Paradiſe in *Antidiluvian* Names. The Names of the Rivers, and the Countries adjacent, *Cuſh*, *Havilah*, &c. are Names of later Date than the Flood; nor can we ſuppoſe, but that *Moſes* (according to the known *Geography* of the World, when he wrote) intended to give us ſome Hints of the Place, near which, *Eden*, in the former World, and the Garden of *Paradiſe*, were ſeated.

And how to find it out.

Now the Deſcription, which *Moſes* gives us of it, is deliver'd in theſe Words—(*o*) *And the Lord God planted a Garden eaſtward in* Eden, *and a River went out of* Eden *to water the Garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four Heads. The Name of the firſt is* Piſon, *that is it, which compaſſeth the whole Land of* Havilah, *where there is Gold, and the Gold of that Land is good: There is the* Bdellium, *and the* Onyx Stone. *And the Name of the ſecond River is* Gihon; *the ſame is it, that compaſſeth the whole Land of* Cuſh. *And the Name of the third River is* Hiddekel, *that is it, which goes before* Aſſyria; *and the fourth is* Euphrates. So that to diſcover the Place of Paradiſe, we muſt find out the true Situation of the Land of *Eden*, whereof it was probably a Part, and then trace the Courſes of the Rivers, and enquire into the Nature of the Countries, which *Moſes* here ſpecify'd. Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

The different Countries called Eden, *and their ſeveral* Situations.

The Word *Eden*, which, in the *Hebrew* Tongue (according to its primary Acceptation) ſignifies *Pleaſure* and *Delight*, in a ſecondary Senſe, is frequently made the proper Name of ſeveral Places, which are either more remarkably fruitful in their Soil, or pleaſant in their Situation. Now, of all the Places, which go under this Denomination, the Learned have generally look'd upon theſe *three*, as the propereſt Countries, wherein to enquire for the terreſtrial Paradiſe.

1. The firſt is that Province, which the Prophet (*p*) *Amos* ſeems to take Notice of, when he divides *Syria* into three Parts, *viz. Damaſcus*, the Plain of *Aven*, and the Houſe of *Eden*, call'd *Cælo Syria*, or the hollow *Syria*, becauſe the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus* encloſe it on both Sides, and make it look like a Valley. But (*q*) (how great ſoever the Names be, that ſeem to patronize it) this, by no Means, can be the *Eden*, which *Moſes* means; not only, becauſe it lies, not

* *Eve*'s Lamentation, upon the Order, which *Michael* brought, for their Departure out of Paradiſe, is very beautiful, and affecting, in *Milton*:

O unexpected Shock, worſe far than Death!
Muſt I thus leave thee, Paradiſe, thus leave
Thee, native Soil? Thoſe happy Walks, and Shades,
Fit Haunt of Gods! where I had Hope to ſpend
Quiet, tho' ſad, the Reſpite of that Day
Which muſt be mortal to us both! O Flow'rs,
That never will in other Climate grow,
My early Viſitation, and my laſt
At Ev'n, which I had bred with tender Hand
From the firſt op'ning Bud, and gave the Names!
Who now will rear you to the Sun, and rank
Your Tribes, or Water from the ambroſial Fount?
Thee, laſtly, nuptial Bow'r, by me adorn'd
With what to Sight, or Smell, was ſweet! from thee
How ſhall I part, and whither wander down
Into a lower World? ——— BOOK XI.

(*n*) *Shuckford*'s Connect. L. i. (*o*) Gen. ii. 8, &c. (*p*) Ch. i. 5. (*q*) Its chief Abettors are *Heideggar* in his *Hiſtoria Patriarch.* *Le Clerc* in Gen. ii. 8. *P. Abram* in his *Pharus* Vet. Teſt. and *P. Hardruin* in his Edition of *Pliny*.

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not to the *Eaſt*, but to the *North* of the Place, where he is ſuppos'd to have wrote his Book, but more eſpecially, becauſe it is deſtitute of all the Marks in the *Moſaical* Deſcription, which ought always to be the principal Teſt in this Enquiry.

2. THE ſecond Place, wherein (*r*) ſeveral learned Men have ſought for the Country of *Eden*, is *Armenia*, between the Sources of the *Tigris*, the *Euphrates*, the *Araxis*, and the *Phaſis*, which they ſuppoſe to be the four Rivers ſpecify'd by *Moſes*. But this Suppoſition is far from being well founded, becauſe, according to modern Diſcoveries, the *Phaſis* does not riſe in the Mountains of *Armenia* (as the ancient *Geographers* have miſ-inform'd us) but at a great Diſtance from them, in Mount *Caucaſus*; nor does it run from *South* to *North*, but, directly contrary, from *North* to *South*, as ſome (*s*) late *Travellers* have diſcover'd. So that, according to this *Scheme*, we want a whole River, and can no ways account for *that*, which (according to *Moſes*'s Deſcription of it) *went out of the Country of* Eden, *to water the Garden of* Paradiſe.

3. THE third Place, and that, wherein the Country of *Eden*, as mention'd by *Moſes*, ſeems moſt likely to be ſeated, is *Chaldea*, not far from the Banks of the River *Euphrates*. To this Purpoſe, when we find *Rabſhekah*, vaunting out his Maſter's Actions, (*t*) *Have the Gods of the Nations deliver'd them which my Fathers have deſtroy'd, as* Gazan, *and* Haran, *and* Rezeph, *and the Children of* Eden, *which were in* Telaſſar? As *Telaſſar*, in general, ſignifies any *Garriſon*, or *Fortification*; ſo here, more particularly, it denotes (*u*) that ſtrong Fort, which the Children of *Eden* held, in an Iſland of the *Euphrates*, towards the Weſt of *Babylon*, as a Barrier againſt the Incurſions of the *Aſſyrians* on that Side. And therefore, in all Probability, (*x*) the Country of *Eden* lay on the *Weſt* Side, or rather on both Sides of the River *Euphrates*, after its Conjunction with the *Tigris*, a little below the Place, where, in Proceſs of Time, the famous City of *Babylon* came to be built. Gen. Ch. ii. from ver. 8.

THUS we have found out a Country, call'd *Eden*, which, for its Pleaſure and Fruitfulneſs, * (as all Authors agree) anſwers the Character which *Moſes* gives of it; and, are now to conſider his Deſcription of the four Rivers, in order to aſcertain the Place, where the Garden (we are in queſt of) was very probably ſituate.

The firſt River is Piſon, or Phiſon (as the Son of *Sirach* calls it) *that which compaſſeth the Land of* Havilah. Now, for the better underſtanding of this, we muſt obſerve, that, (*y*) when *Moſes* wrote his Hiſtory, he was, in all Probability, in *Arabia Petrea*, on the *Eaſt* of which lies *Arabia Deſerta*; but the Sterility of the Country will not admit of the Situation of the Garden of *Eden* in that Place, and therefore we muſt go on *Eaſtward* (as our Author directs us) until we come to ſome Place, through which *Euphrates* and *Tigris* are known to ſhape their Courſe. Now *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, tho' they both riſe out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, take almoſt quite contrary Courſes. *Euphrates* runs to the *Weſt*, and, paſſing thro' *Meſopotamia*, waters the Country, where *Babylon* once ſtood; whereas *Tigris* takes towards the *Eaſt*, and, paſſing along *Aſſyria*, waters the Country, where the once fam'd City of *Nineveh* ſtood. After a long Progreſs, they meet a little below *Babylon*, and, running *The River* Piſon.

(*r*) The chief Patrons of this Scheme are *Santon* in his *Atlas*, *Reland* in his *Diſſertat. de Situ Paradiſi*, and *Calmet*, both in his Dictionary, and Commentary on *Gen.* ii. 8. (*s*) Vid. *Thavenot*, and Sir *John Chardin*'s Travels.

(*t*) 2 Kings xix. 12. *and* Iſa. xxxvii. 12. (*u*) Vid. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology. (*x*) *Calvin* [on *Gen.* ii. 8.] was the firſt Starter of this Opinion, and is, with ſome little Variation, follow'd by *Marinus*, *Bochart*, *Huetius*, Biſhop of *Auranches*, and divers others.

* *Herodotus*, who was an Eye-Witneſs of it, tells us, that where *Euphrates* runs out into *Tigris*, not far from the Place where *Ninus* is ſeated, that Region is, of all, that he ever ſaw, the moſt excellent; ſo fruitful in bringing forth Corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold, and ſo plenteous in Graſs, that the People are forc'd to drive their Cattle from Paſture, leſt they ſhou'd ſurfeit themſelves by too much Plenty. Vid. *Herod. Clio.* Lib. and *Quint. Curt.* L. 5.

(*y*) Vid. *Wells*'s Geography, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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ning a conſiderable Way together in one large Stream, with *Babylonia* and *Chaldea* on the *Weſt*, and the Country of *Suſiana* on the *Eaſt* Side, they ſeparate again, not far from *Baſſora*, and ſo fall, in two Channels, into the *Perſian Gulf*, incloſing the Iſland *Teredon*, now call'd *Balſara*.

The Land of Havilah.

Now, taking this along with us, we may obſerve farther, that there are two Places in Scripture, which make mention of the Land of *Havilah*. In the one we are told, that *(z) the* Iſraelites *dwelt from* Havilah *to* Shur, *that is before* Egypt; and in the other, that *(a)* Saul *ſmote the* Amalekites *from* Havilah, *until thou goeſt to* Shur, *that is before* Egypt; where, by the Expreſſion, *from* Havilah *unto* Shur, is probably meant the whole Extent of that Part of *Arabia*, which lies between *Egypt* to the *Weſt*, and a certain Stream, or River, which empties itſelf into the *Perſian Gulf*, on the *Eaſt*. That *Havilah* is the ſame with this Part of *Arabia*, is farther evinc'd from its abounding with *very good Gold*. For all Authors, both *ſacred* and *profane*, highly commend the Gold of *Arabia*; tell us, that it is there dug in great Plenty; is of ſo lively a Colour, as to come near to the Brightneſs of Fire; and of ſo fine a Kind, ſo pure and unmix'd, as to need no Refinement. *Bdellium* (which by ſome Interpreters is taken for *Pearl*, and by others for an *Aromatic* Gum) is, in both theſe Senſes, applicable to this Country: For the * *Bdellium*, or Gum of *Arabia*, was always held in great Eſteem; nor is there any Place in the World, which produces finer * Pearls, or in greater Quantities, than the Sea about *Baharen*, an Iſland ſituate in the *Perſian Gulf*; and, as for * the *Onyx-Stone* in particular (if we will believe what *Pliny* tells us) the Antients were of Opinion, that it was no where to be found, but in the Mountains of *Arabia*. It ſeems reaſonable therefore to conclude, (according to all the Characters which *Moſes* has given us of it) that that Tract of *Arabia*, which lies upon the *Perſian Gulf*, was, in his Days, call'd the Land of *Havilah*, and that the Channel, which, after *Euphrates* and *Tigris* part, runs *Weſtward* into the ſaid *Gulf*, was originally call'd *Piſon*; and this the rather, becauſe, † ſome Remains of its antient Name continued a long while after this Account of it.

Gen. Ch. ii. from ver. 8.

The ſecond River is Gihon, *that which compaſſeth, or runneth along, the whole Land of* ‡ Cuſh. Where we may obſerve, that

The River Gihon.

(z) Gen. xxv. 18. (a) 1 Sam. xv. 7.

* *Galen*, comparing the Gum of *Arabia* with that of *Syria*, gives ſome Advantage to the former, which he denies to the other, *De Simp. Medic. Lib.* 6. And *Pliny* prefers the *Bdellium* of *Arabia*, before that of any other Nation, except that of *Bactriana*, *Plin.* Lib. 12. Cap. 9.

* *Nearchus*, one of *Alexander*'s Captains, who conducted his Fleet from the *Indies*, as far as the *Perſian Gulf*, ſpeaks of an Iſland there, abounding in Pearls of great Value, *Strabo*, Lib. 16. And *Pliny*, having commended the Pearls of the *Indian* Seas, adds, that ſuch as are fiſh'd towards *Arabia*, in the *Perſian Gulf*, deſerve the greateſt Praiſe, *Lib.* 6. *Cap.* 28.

* *Strabo* tells us, that the Riches of *Arabia*, which conſiſted in precious Stones, and excellent Perfumes (the Trade of which brought them a great deal of Gold and Silver, beſides the Gold of the Country itſelf) made *Auguſtus* ſend *Ælius Gallus* thither, either to make theſe Nations his Friends, and ſo draw to himſelf their Riches, or elſe to ſubdue them, *Lib.* 16. *Diodorus Siculus* deſcribes at large the Advantages of *Arabia*, and eſpecially its precious Stones, which are very valuable both for their Variety, and Brightneſs of Colour, *Lib.* 2. And (to name no more) *Pliny*, who is very curious in remarking the Countries of precious Stones, aſſures us, that thoſe of the greateſt Value came out of *Arabia*, Lib. ult.

† It is a great while, ſince both this River, and the River *Gihon* have loſt their Names. The *Greek*, and *Roman* Writers call them ſtill, after their parting, by the Names they had before they met, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*; but there was ſome Remainder of the Name of *Piſon* preſerv'd in the River *Piſotigris*, which is *Piſon* mix'd with *Tigris* (as Mr *Carver* obſerves). By *Xenophon* it is call'd ſimply *Phyſeus*, in which the Name of *Phiſon* is plainly enough retain'd, and went under that Name, until the Time of *Alexander the Great*. For *Q. Curtius* commonly calls *Tigris* itſelf by the Name of *Phiſis*, and ſays, it was ſo call'd by the Inhabitants thereabout, which, in all Probability, was the Name of this other River *Phiſon*, but, in Proceſs of Time, loſt by the many Alterations, which were made in its Courſe, as *Pliny* tells us. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‡ The LXX Tranſlation renders the *Hebrew* Word *Cuſh* by the Name of *Ethiopia*, and in this Miſtake is all along follow'd by our *Engliſh* Verſion (whereas by the Land *Cuſh* is always meant ſome Part of *Arabia*) which has led *Joſephus*,

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that *Moſes* has not affix'd ſo many Marks on the *Gihon*, as he does on the *Piſon*, and that probably for this Reaſon; (*b*) becauſe, having once found out the *Piſon*, we might eaſily diſcover the Situation of the *Gihon*. For, *Piſon* being known to be the firſt River, in Reſpect to the Place where *Moſes* was then writing, it is but natural to ſuppoſe, that *Gihon* (as the *ſecond*) ſhou'd be the River next to it, and, conſequently, that other Stream, which, after the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* are parted, holds its Courſe *Eaſtward*, and empties itſelf in the *Perſian Gulf*. For all Travellers agree, that the Country lying upon the *Eaſtern* Stream, which other Nations call *Suſiana*, is by the Inhabitants, to this Day *, call'd *Chuzeſtan*, which carries in it plain Footſteps of the original Word *Cuſh*, or (as ſome write it) *Chuz*.

THO' therefore no Remains of this River *Gihon* are to be met with in the Country itſelf, yet, ſince it lies exactly the ſecond in Order, according to the Method that *Moſes* has taken in mentioning the four Rivers; and, ſince the Province it runs along and waſhes, was formerly call'd the Land of *Cuſh*, and has, at this Time, a Name not a little analogous to it; there is no Doubt to be made, but that the ſaid *Eaſterly* Channel, coming from the united Stream of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, is the very *Gihon* deſcrib'd by *Moſes*.

The River Hiddekel.

The third River is Hiddekel, *that which goeth towards the Eaſt of*, or (as it is better tranſlated) *that, which goeth along the Side of*, Aſſyria. It is allow'd by all Interpreters, as well as the LXX, that this River is the ſame with *Tigris*, which (as *Pliny* ſays) was call'd *Diglito*, in thoſe Parts where its Courſe was ſlow, but where it began to be rapid, it took the other Name. And, tho' it may be difficult to ſhew any juſt Analogy between the Names of *Hiddekel* and *Tigris*; yet, if we either obſerve *Moſes*'s Method of reckoning up the four Rivers, or conſider the true *Geography* of the Country, we ſhall eaſily perceive, that the River *Hiddekel* cou'd properly be no other. (*c*) For, as, in Reſpect to the Place where *Moſes* wrote, *Piſon* lay neareſt to him, and ſo, in a natural Order, was nam'd firſt, and the *Gihon*, lying near to *that*, was accordingly reckon'd *ſecond*; ſo, having paſs'd over that Stream, and turning to the *left*, in order to come back again to *Arabia Petrea* (where *Moſes* was) we meet, in our Paſſage, with *Tigris* in the third Place; and ſo, proceeding *Weſtward* through the lower Part of *Meſopotamia*, come to *Pherath*, or *Euphrates*, at laſt. For *Tigris* (we muſt remember) parts *Aſſyria* from *Meſopotamia*, and meeting with *Euphrates*, a little below *Babylon*, runs along with it in one common Channel, until they ſeparate again, and make the two Streams of *Piſon* and *Gihon*, which, as we ſaid before, empty themſelves into the *Perſian Gulf*.

Gen. Ch. ii. from ver. 8.

Euphrates *and the four Heads of the* Rivers.

THE *fourth River was* † Euphrates; but this lay ſo near the Country of *Judea*, and was ſo well known to the Inhabitants thereof, that there was no Occaſion for *Moſes* particularly to deſcribe it. From the Courſe of theſe four Rivers however, which

ſephus, and ſeveral others into a Notion, that the River *Gihon* was the *Nile* in *Egypt*; and, ſuppoſing withal, that the Country of *Havilah* was ſome Part of the *Eaſt-Indies*, they have run into another Error, and taken *Piſon* for the *Ganges*, whereby they make the Garden of *Eden* contain the greateſt Part of *Aſia*, and ſome Part of *Africa* likewiſe, which is a Suppoſition quite incredible. *Patrick*, ibid. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology; and *Shuckford*'s Connection.

(*b*) *Wells*'s Hiſtorical Geography, Vol. I.

* *Benjamin of Navarre* tells us, that the Province of *Elam*, whereof *Suſa* is the *Metropolis*, and which extends itſelf as far as the *Perſian Gulf*, at the *Eaſt* of the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*, or *Tigris* (as you pleaſe to term it) is call'd by that Name. *Wells*, ibid.

(*c*) *Wells*'s Geography.

† *Euphrates* is of the ſame Signification with the *Hebrew Pherah*, and is probably ſo call'd, by Reaſon of the Pleaſantneſs, at leaſt the great Fruitfulneſs of the adjacent Country. It muſt not be diſſembled however, that it is one of thoſe corrupt Names, which our Tranſlations have borrow'd from the *Septuagint* Verſion, and which probably the *Greeks*, as *Reland* [de Situ Paradiſi] judiciouſly obſerv'd, took from the *Perſians*, who often ſet the Word *Ab* or *Au*, which ſignifies *Water*, before the Names of Rivers, of which Word, and *Frat* (as it is ſtill call'd by the neighbouring People) the Name *Euphrates* is apparently compounded. *Univerſ. Hiſt.* Book I. Chap. I.

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which he manifeſtly makes the Bounds and Limits of it, we may perceive, that the Land of *Eden* muſt neceſſarily lie upon the great Channel, which the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* make, while they run together, and where they part again, muſt there terminate: For ſo the ſacred Text informs us, *viz.* that a *River went out of* Eden *to water the Garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four Heads*; which Words manifeſtly imply, that in *Eden* the River was but one, *i. e.* one ſingle Channel; but *from thence*, i. e. when it was gone out of *Eden*, *it was parted*, and became four Streams or Openings (for ſo the *Hebrew* Word may be tranſlated) two upwards, and two below. For, ſuppoſing this Channel to be our *common Center*, we may, if we look one Way, *i. e.* up towards *Babylon*, ſee the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* coming into it; and, if we look another Way, *i. e.* down towards the *Perſian Gulf*, ſee the *Piſon* and the *Gihon* running out of it.

IT ſeems reaſonable then to ſuppoſe, that this Country of *Eden* lay on each Side of this great Channel, partly in *Chaldea*, and partly in *Suſiana*: And, what may confirm us in this Opinion, is, the extraordinary Goodneſs and Fertility of the Soil. For, as it is incongruous to ſuppoſe, that God wou'd make Choice of a barren Land, wherein to plant the Garden of Paradiſe; ſo all antient *Hiſtorians*, and *Geographers* inform us, that not only *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, a good Part of *Syria*, and other neighbouring Countries, were the moſt pleaſant and fruitful Places in the World; but modern Travellers likewiſe particularly aſſure us, that, in all the Dominions which the *Grand Seignior* has, there is not a finer Country (tho', for Want of Hands, it lies in ſome Places *uncultivated*) than that which lies between *Bagdat* and *Baſſera*, the very Tract of Ground, which, according to our Computation, was formerly *call'd the Land of* Eden.

Gen. Ch. ii. from ver. 8.

In what part of Eden *was the Garden of Paradiſe.*

IN what preciſe Part of the Land of *Eden* the Garden of Paradiſe was planted, the ſacred Hiſtorian ſeems to intimate, by informing us, that it (*d*) *lay Eaſtward in* Eden: For he does not mean, that it lay Eaſtward from the Place, where he was then writing (That every Body might eaſily know) but his Deſign was to point out, as near as poſſible, the very Spot of Ground, where it was antiently ſeated. If then the Garden of Paradiſe lay in the *eaſterly* Part of the Country of *Eden*, and (*e*) *the River*, *which water'd* it, ran thro' that Province (as the Scripture tells us it did) before it enter'd into the Garden, then muſt it neceſſarily follow, that Paradiſe was ſituated on the Eaſt Side of one of the Turnings of *that* River, which the Conjunction of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* makes (now called the River of the *Arabs*) and very probably at the loweſt great Turning, which *Ptolomy* takes Notice of, and not far from the Place, where *Aracca* (in Scripture call'd *Erec*) at preſent is known to ſtand.

The Alterations in the preſent Country accounted for.

THUS we have follow'd the Path, which * the learned and judicious *Huetius*, Biſhop of *Auranches*, has pointed out to us, and have happily found a Place, wherein to fix this *Garden of Pleaſure*. And, though it muſt be own'd, that there is no *Draught* of the Country, which makes the Rivers exactly anſwer the Deſcription that *Moſes*

(*d*) Gen. ii. 8. (*e*) Chap. ii. 10.

* Upon this Occaſion, it may not be improper to ſet down a brief Expoſition of his Opinion in his own Words. " Je dis donc, que la Paradis terreſtre eſtoit ſitué ſur le Canal, que forment le *Tegre et l'Euphrate* joints enſemble, entre " le lieu de leur jonction, et celuy de la Separation, qu'ils font de leurs eaux, avant que de tomber dans *le Golphe Per-* " *ſique*. Et comme ce canal faiſoit quelques Detours, et quelques courbures, je dis, (pour entrer dans une plus grande " preciſion) que le *Paradis* eſtoit ſitué ſur une de ces Courbures, et apparemment ſur le Bras meridional de la plus " grande, (qui à eſté marquée par *Agathodæmon* dans les Tables Geographiques de *Ptolemée*) lorſque ce fleuve revient " vers l'Orient, aprés avoir fait un long retours vers l'Occident, environ à trente deux degrez trente-neuf minutes de " Latitude ſeptentrionale, et à quatre vingt degrez diz minutes de Longitude, (ſelon la Délineation dé *Agathodæmon*) " à peu prés là, où il place l'*Aracca*, qui eſt l'*Erec* de l'Ecriture. L'ajoute encore, que les quatre Teſtes de ce fleuve " ſont le *Tigre*, et l'*Euphrate* avant leur junction, et les deux Canaux, par où il tombe dans la mer, aprés ſa Divi- " ſion; que le plus Occidental de ces deux Canaux eſt le *Phiſon*; que le pais de *Chavilah*, qu'il traverſe, eſt une partie " de l'*Arabie Heureuſe*, et une partie de l'*Arabie Déſerté*; que le *Gehon* eſt le Canal oriental des deux, dont l'ay parlé; " et que le pais de *Chus* eſt la *Suſiana*." Vid. *Traitté* de la Situation du Paradis, *p.* 16.

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Moſes has given us of them; yet, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, *(f)* that he wrote according to the then known *Geography* of the Country; that, if the Site, or Number of Rivers about *Babylon* have been greatly alter'd ſince, this, in all Probability, has been occaſion'd by the *Cuts* and Canals, which the Monarchs of that great Empire were remarkable for making; and that all modern Obſervations find greater Variations in the Situation of Places, and make greater Corrections in all their *Charts* and *Maps*, than need to be made in the Deſcription of *Moſes*, to bring it to an Agreement even with our lateſt Accounts of the preſent Country, and Rivers near *Chaldea*. But I eſpouſe this Opinion, without any formal Oppoſition to the Sentiments of other learned Men, who doubtleſs, in this Caſe, are left to their own Choice; ſince the *Situation of Paradiſe* (as the learned Biſhop concludes) whether it be in one Part of the World, or in another, can never be eſteem'd as an Article of our *Chriſtian Faith*.

Gen. Ch. ii. from ver. 8.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the Image of God in Man.

WHOEVER looks into the Hiſtory of the Creation, as it is recorded by *Moſes*, will ſoon perceive, that there was ſomething ſo peculiar in the Formation of Man, as to deſerve a divine *Conſultation*, and that this Peculiarity chiefly conſiſts in that † divine *Image* and *Similitude*, wherein it pleas'd God to make him. This Pre-eminence the holy Penman has taken Care, *(g)* in two ſeveral Places, to remind us of, in order to imprint upon us a deeper Senſe of the Dignity of human Nature: And therefore it may be no improper Subject for our Meditation in this Place, to conſider a little, wherein this *divine Image* or *Likeneſs* did conſiſt; how far it is now impair'd in us; and in what Meaſures it may be recover'd again.

A Difficulty to conceive what the Image of God was.

WHAT the *Image of God*, impreſs'd upon Man, in the State of his Integrity, was, 'tis as difficult a Matter for us, who date our Ignorance from our firſt Being, and were all along bred up with the ſame Infirmities about us, wherein we were born, to form any adequate Perception of, (*h*) as it is for a *Peaſant*, bred up in the Obſcurities of a Cottage, to fancy in his Mind the unſeen Splendors of a Court; and therefore we have the leſs Reaſon to wonder, that we find ſuch a Variety of Opinions concerning it.

Different Opinions concerning it.

(*i*) SOME of the *Jewiſh* Doctors were fond enough to imagine, that *Adam*, at firſt, had his Head ſurrounded with a *viſible radiant Glory*, which accompany'd him wherever he went, and ſtruck Awe and Reverence into the other Parts of the Animal Creation; and that his Perſon was ſo compleatly perfect and handſome, that even God, before he form'd him, aſſum'd an human Body of the moſt perfect Beauty, and ſo, in a *literal* Senſe, made him after his own Image and Reſemblance. But there needs no Pains to refute this groundleſs Fancy.

(*k*) *PHILO* is of Opinion, that this *Image of God* was only the *Idea* of human Nature in the divine Underſtanding, by looking on which he form'd Man, juſt as an *Architect*, about to build an Houſe,

(f) Shuckford's Connection, Book I.

† The Words in the Text are, *in our Image, after our Likeneſs*, which ſeem to be much of the ſame Import, only a learned *Jewiſh* Interpreter has obſerv'd, that the laſt Words, *after our Likeneſs*, give us to underſtand, that Man was not created properly and perfectly in *the Image of God*, but only in a Kind of Reſemblance of him; for he does not ſay, *in our Likeneſs*, as he does, *in our Image*; but, *after* our Likeneſs; where the *Caph* of Similitude (as they call it) abates ſomething of the Senſe of what follows, and makes it ſignify only an Approach to the divine Likeneſs, in Underſtanding, Freedom of Choice, Spirituality, Immortality, *&c. Patrick*'s Commentary.

(g) Gen. i. 26, 27. *(h) South*'s Sermon Vol. I. *(i) Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Adam*. *(k)* De Mundi Opificio.

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first delineates the *Scheme* in his Mind, and then proceeds to erect the *Fabrick*. But this Opinion, how true soever, does not come up to the Point in Hand; because it makes no Distinction between Man, and other Creatures (for they were likewise made according to the *ideal Image* in the divine Intellect) tho' it be manifestly the Intent of the Scripture-Account to give him a particular Preference.

(*l*) ORIGEN, among *ancient Christian* Authors, will have it to be the *Son of God*, who is call'd (*m*) *the express Image of the Father*: But there is no such Restriction in the Words of *Moses*. They are deliver'd (*n*) in the *Plural* Number; and therefore cannot, without Violence, be apply'd to one *single* Person in the Godhead; and, among the *Moderns*, some have plac'd it in *Holiness* alone; whilst others have thought it more properly seated in *Dominion*. But these are only single *Lines*, and far from coming to the whole *Protraiture*.

Its Division and Explication.

THE divine Similitude, in short, is a complex Thing, and made up of many Ingredients; and therefore (to give our Thoughts a Track in so spacious a Field) we may distinguish it into *Natural* and *Supernatural*; and, accordingly, shall 1st, consider the *supernatural* Gifts and Ornaments; and then 2dly, those *natural* Perfections and Accomplishments, wherein this Image of God, impress'd in our first Parents, may be said to consist.

(*o*) AN eloquent Father of the Church has set this whole Matter before us in a very apt Similitude, comparing this *Animal* and living Effigies of the *King of Kings*, with the Image of an Emperor, so express'd by the Hand of an Artificer, either in *Sculpture* or *Painting*, as to represent the very *Dress* and *Ensigns* of royal Majesty, such as the purple Robe, the Sceptre, and the Diadem, &c. But as the Emperor's Image does represent, not only his Countenance, and the Figure of his Body, but even his Dress likewise, his Ornaments, and royal Ensigns; so Man does then properly represent in himself the *Image* and *Similitude* of God, when, to the Accomplishments of Nature (which cannot totally be extinguish'd) the Ornaments of *Grace* and Virtue are likewise added; when Man's *Nature* (as he expresses it) *is not cloath'd in Purple, nor vaunts its Dignity by a Sceptre or Diadem (for the* Archetype *consists not in such Things as these) but instead of Purple, is cloath'd with Virtue, which, of all other, is the most royal Vestment; instead of a Sceptre, is supported by a blessed Immortality; and, instead of a Diadem, is adorn'd with a Crown of Righteousness.*

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

THAT our first Parents, besides the Seeds of natural Virtue and Religion sown in their Minds, and besides the natural Innocence and Rectitude, wherein they were created, were endued with certain Gifts and Powers *supernatural*, infus'd into them by the Spirit of God, is manifest, not only from the Authority of (*p*) Christian Writers, but from the Testimony of *Philo* the *Jew* likewise, who is very full of sublime Notions concerning the divine Image, and, in one Place more especially, expresses himself to this Purpose. (*q*) *The Creator made our Soul*, says he, *while enclos'd in a Body, able of itself to see, and know its Maker; but, considering how vastly advantageous such Knowledge wou'd be to Man (for this is the utmost Bound of its Felicity) he inspir'd into him, from above, something of his own Divinity, which, being invisible, impress'd upon the invisible Soul, its own Character; that so even this earthly Region might not be without some Creature, made after the Image of God:* And this * he asserts

The supernatural *Part of it as to the* Soul.

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(*l*) Vid. *Edward*'s Survey of Religion, Vol. I. (*m*) Heb. i. 3. (*n*) Gen. i. 26. *Let us make Man.* (*o*) *Greg. Nyssen.* de Hominis Opificio, Cap. 4. (*p*) Vid. *Bull*'s State of Man before the Fall. (*q*) Lib. quod det potiori insid. soleat, p. 171.

* *The great* Moses, says he, *makes not the Species of the rational Soul to be like to any of the Creatures, but pronounceth it to be the* Image *of the invisible God, as judging it then to become the true and genuine* Coin *of God, when it is form'd, and impress'd by the divine Seal, the Character whereof is the eternal* Word. *For God,* saith he, *breath'd into his Face the Breath of Life; so that he, who receives the Inspiration, must, of necessity, represent the Image of him that gives it, and for this Reason it is said, that* Man was made *after the Image of God.* Lib. de Plantatione Noe.

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Inſtances thereof.

aſſerts to be the *recondite* Senſe of *Moſes*'s Words, in the Hiſtory of Man's Creation.

AND indeed we need go no farther, than this Hiſtory of *Moſes*, to prove the very Point we are now upon. For, whereas it acquaints us, that the firſt Man, in his State of Integrity, was able to ſuſtain the Approaches of the divine Preſence, and converſe with his Maker, in the ſame Language, 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it was a particular Vouchſafement to him, to confirm his Mind, and enlighten his Underſtanding in this Manner; becauſe no Creature is fit to converſe with God without divine Illumination, nor is any Creature able to bear his majeſtic Appearance, that is not fortify'd and prepared for it by a divine Power.

WHEREAS it tells us, that (*r*) *God brought every living Creature unto* Adam, *to ſee what he wou'd call them, and whatever he call'd them, that was the Name thereof*; it can hardly be ſuppos'd (conſidering the Circumſtances of the Thing) but that this was the Effect of ſomething more than *human* Sagacity. That, in an infinite Variety of Creatures, never before ſeen by *Adam*, he ſhou'd be able, on a Sudden, without Labour or Premeditation, to give Names to each of them, ſo adapt, and fitted to their reſpective Natures, as that God himſelf ſhou'd approve the *Nomenclature*, is a Thing ſo aſtoniſhing, that we may venture to ſay, * no ſingle Man, among all the Philoſophers ſince the Fall, no *Plato*, no *Ariſtotle*, among the *Ancients*, no *Des Cartes*, no *Gaſſendus*, no *Newton*, among the *Moderns*; nay, no *Academy*, or Royal Society whatever, durſt have once attempted it.

WHEREAS it informs us, that *Adam* no ſooner ſaw his Wife brought unto him, but (*s*) he told exactly her *Original*, and gave her a Name accordingly, tho' he lay in the profoundeſt Sleep, and Inſenſibility, all the while that God was performing the wonderful Operation of taking her out of his Side; this can be imputed to nothing, but either an immediate Inſpiration, or ſome *prophetic* Viſion (as we ſaid before) that was ſent upon him, while he ſlept. (*t*) From the Conformity of Parts, which he beheld in that goodly Creature, and her near Similitude to himſelf, he might have conjectur'd indeed, that God had now provided him with a *meet Help*, which before he wanted; but 'tis ſcarce imaginable, how he cou'd ſo punctually deſcribe her Riſe, and Manner of Formation, and ſo ſurely propheſy, that the general Event to his Poſterity wou'd be, for the Sake of her Sex, *to leave Father and Mother, and cleave to their Wives*, otherwiſe, than by divine Illumination; " which enabled him (*u*) (as one excellently expreſſes it) " to view *Eſ-* " *ſences* in themſelves, and read *Forms* " without the Comment of their reſpective " Properties; which enabled him to ſee " *Conſequences*, yet dormant in their Prin- " ciples, and *Effects* yet unborn, and in " the Womb of their *Cauſes*; which en- " abled him, in ſhort, to pierce almoſt " into *future Contingencies*, and improv'd " his *Conjectures* and *Sentiments* even to " a *Prophecy*, and the Certainties of a " *Prediction*."

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

THESE ſeem to be ſome of the *ſupernatural* Gifts, and what we may call the chief Lines, wherein the Image of God was ſo conſpicuous upon *Adam*'s *Soul*; and there was this *Supernatural* in his *Body* likewiſe, that, (*x*) whereas it was made *of the Duſt of the Earth*, and, in its Compoſition, conſequently, corruptible, either

As to the Body.

(*r*) Gen. ii. 19.

* The Knowledge of *Adam* is highly extoll'd by the *Jewiſh* Doctors. Some of them have maintain'd, that he compos'd two Books, one concerning the Creation, and another about the Nature of God. They generally believe, that he compos'd the xciſt Pſalm; but ſome of them go farther, and tell us, that *Adam*'s Knowledge was not only equal to that of *Solomon*, and *Moſes*, but exceeded even that of *Angels*; and, for the Proof of this, they produce this Story ——— That the Angels having ſpoke contemptuouſly of Man, God made this Anſwer, ———That the Creature, whom they deſpis'd, was their Superior in Knowledge; and, to convince them of this, that he brought all the Animals to them, and bid them name them, which they being not able to do, he propos'd the Thing to *Adam*, and he did it immediately: With many more Fancies of the ſame ridiculous Nature. *Saurin*'s Diſſertations.

(*s*) Gen. ii. 23. (*t*) *Bull*'s Sermons and Diſcourſes. (*u*) *South*'s Sermons, Vol. I. (*x*) *Hopkins*'s Doctrine of the two Covenants.

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either by a Power continually proceeding from God, whereof *(y) the Tree of Life* was the divine Sign and *Sacrament*, or by the *inherent* Virtue of the Tree itſelf, perpetually repairing the Decays of Nature, it was to enjoy the Privilege of *Immortality*. (z) Not ſuch an Immortality, as the *glorify'd* Bodies of Saints ſhall hereafter poſſeſs (for they ſhall be made wholly *impaſſable*, and ſet free from the Reach of any outward Impreſſions, and elemental Diſorders, which may impair their Vigour, or endanger their Diſſolution) but an Immortality by *Donation*, and the Privilege of an eſpecial Providence, which engag'd itſelf to ſway, and over-rule the natural Tendency, which was in Man's Body to Corruption; and, notwithſtanding the Contrarieties, and Diſſentions of a terreſtrial Conſtitution, to continue him in Life, as long as he ſhou'd continue himſelf in his Obedience.

The natural Part as to the Soul.

2. ANOTHER chief Part of the *divine Image and Similitude* in our firſt Parents, was an *univerſal* Rectitude in all the Faculties, belonging to the Soul. Now the two great Faculties, or rather eſſential Acts of the Soul, are the *Underſtanding*, and *Will*; which, tho' (for the clearer Conception of them) we may ſeparate, are, in their Operation, ſo blended and united together, that we cannot properly think them diſtinct Faculties. 'Tis the ſame individual Mind, which ſees and perceives, as well as chuſes or rejects, the ſeveral Objects that are preſented to it. When it does the *Former*, we call it the *Underſtanding*, and when the *Latter*, the *Will*; ſo that they are both radically and inſeparably the ſame, and differ only in the Manner of our conceiving them. Nay, the cleareſt, and only diſtinct Apprehenſion we are able to form of them, (even when we come to conſider them ſeparately) is only this, that the Underſtanding is chiefly converſant about *intelligible*, the Will about *eligible* Objects; ſo that the one has *Truth*, and the other *Goodneſs* in its View and Purſuit. There are, beſides theſe, belonging to the Soul of Man, certain *Paſſions* and *Affections*, which (according to the common Notion and Manner of Speaking) have chiefly their Reſidence in the *ſenſitive* Appetite; and however, in this laps'd Condition of our Nature, they may many Times mutiny and rebel, yet, when kept in due Temper and Subordination, are excellent Handmaids to the (a) Soul. Tho' the *Stoics* look upon them all as ſinful Defects, and Deviations from right Reaſon; yet it is ſufficient for us, that our bleſſed Saviour (who took upon him all our natural, but none of our ſinful Infirmities) was known to have them, and that our firſt *Progenitor*, in the State of his greateſt Perfection, was not devoid of them. Let us then ſee how far we may ſuppoſe, that the Image of God might be impreſs'd upon each of theſe.

Gen. ii. Ch. ii. om Ver. 8.

(b) HIS *Soul* itſelf was a rational Subſtance, immaterial, and immortal; and therefore a proper Repreſentation of that *ſupreme* Spirit, whoſe Wiſdom is infinite, and Eſſence eternal.

In its Underſtanding.

(c) HIS *Underſtanding* was, as it were, the upper Region of his Soul, lofty, and ſerene; ſeated above all ſordid Affections, and free from the Vapours and Diſturbances of inferior Paſſions. Its Perceptions were quick, and lively; its Reaſonings true, and its Determinations juſt. A *deluded* Fancy was not then capable of impoſing upon it, nor a *fawning* Appetite of deluding it, to pronounce a falſe and diſhoneſt Sentence. In its Direction of the inferior Faculties, it convey'd its Suggeſtions with Clearneſs, and enjoin'd them with Power; and tho' its Command over them was but *ſuaſive*, yet it had the ſame Force and Efficacy, as if it had been *deſpotical*.

Will.

HIS *Will* was then very ductile and pliant to the Motions of right Reaſon. It purſu'd the Directions that were given it, and attended upon the Underſtanding, as a *Favourite* does upon his *Prince*, where the Service is both *Privilege* and *Preferment*: And, while it obey'd the Underſtanding, it

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(y) Gen. ii. 9. (z) *Edwards*'s Survey of Religion, Vol. I. (a) *South*'s Sermons, Vol. I.
(b) *Edwards*'s Survey. (c) *South*'s Sermons, Vol. I.

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it commanded the other Faculties, that were beneath it; gave Laws to the *Affections*, and reſtrain'd the *Paſſions* from licentious Sallies.

Affections.

HIS *Paſſions* were then indeed all ſubordinate to his *Will*, and *Intellect*, and acted within the Compaſs of their proper Objects. His *Love* was center'd upon God, and flam'd up to Heaven in direct Fervours of Devotion. His *Hatred* (if Hatred may be ſuppos'd in a State of Innocence) was fix'd only upon that, which his Poſterity only love, *Sin*. His *Joy* was then the Reſult of a real *Good* ſuitably apply'd, and fill'd his Soul (as God does the Univerſe) ſilently, and without Noiſe. His Sorrow (if any ſuppos'd Diſaſter cou'd have occaſion'd Sorrow) muſt have mov'd according to the ſevere Allowances of Prudence; been as ſilent as Thought, and all confin'd within the Cloſet of the Breaſt. His *Hope* was fed with the Expectation of a better Paradiſe, and a nearer Admiſſion to the Divine Preſence; and (to name no more) his *Fear*, which was then a *Guard*, and not a *Torment* to the Mind, was fix'd upon him, who is only to be fear'd, *God*, but in ſuch a *filial* Manner, as to become an *Awe* without *Amazement*, and a *Dread* without *Diſtraction*.

Conſcience.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd indeed, that the Scriptures do not expreſsly attribute all theſe Perfections to *Adam* in his firſt Eſtate; but, ſince the oppoſite Weakneſſes now infeſt the Nature of Man *fallen*, we muſt conclude (if we will be true to the Rule of *Contraries*) that theſe, and ſuch like Excellencies, were the Endowments of Man *innocent*. And if ſo, then is there another Perfection ariſing from this *Harmony*, and due Compoſure of the Faculties, which we may call the Crown and Conſummation of all, and that is *a good Conſcience*. For, as in the Body, when the vital and principal Parts do their Office, and all the ſmaller Veſſels act orderly, there ariſes a ſweet Enjoyment upon the Whole, which we call *Health*; ſo in the Soul, when the ſupreme Faculties of the *Underſtanding* and *Will* move regularly, and the inferior *Paſſions* and *Affections* liſten to their Dictates, and follow their Injunctions, there ariſes a *Serenity* and Complacency upon the whole Soul, infinitely beyond all the Pleaſures of Senſuality, and which, like a ſpicy Field, refreſhes it upon every Reflection, and fills it with a joyful *Confidence towards God*.

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

As to the Body, and its Dominion over other Creatures.

THESE are ſome of the *natural* Lines (as we may diſtinguiſh them) which the Finger of God pourtray'd upon the Soul of Man: And (ſo far as a *Spiritual* Being may be reſembled by a *Corporeal*) (*d*) the Contrivance of Man's bodily Parts was with ſuch Proportion and Exactneſs, as moſt conduc'd to its Comelineſs and Service. His Stature was erect and rais'd, becoming him, who was to be the Lord of this Globe, and the Obſerver of the Heavens. A Divine Beauty and Majeſty was ſhed upon it, ſuch as cou'd neither be eclips'd by Sickneſs, nor extinguiſh'd by Death; (*e*) For *Adam* knew no Diſeaſe, ſo long as he refrain'd from the *forbidden* Tree. Nature was his Phyſician, and Innocence and Abſtinence wou'd have kept him healthful to Immortality. And from this Perfection of Man's Body, eſpecially that *Port* and *Majeſty*, which appear'd in his Looks and Aſpect, there aroſe, in ſome Meaſure, another Lineament of the *Divine Image*, *viz.* (*f*) that *Dominion* and Sovereignty, wherewith God inveſted him, over all other Creatures. For there is even ſtill remaining in Man, a certain *terrific* Character (as (*g*) one calls it) which, aſſiſted by that Inſtinct of Dread, that he hath equally implanted in their Natures, commands their Homage and Obeiſance; inſomuch, that it muſt be Hunger or Compulſion, or ſome violent Exaſperation or other, that makes them, at any Time, rebel againſt their Maker's *Vicegerent* here below.

THIS is the beſt Copy of the *Divine Image* that we can draw: Only it may not

(*d*) *Bates*'s Harmony of the Divine Attributes.
(*g*) *Cornelius Agrippa*, de Occult. Philoſ.

(*e*) *South*'s Sermons, Vol. I.
(*f*) Gen. i. 26.

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not be amiſs to add, (*b*) that the *Holineſs* of Man was a Reſemblance of the Divine *Purity*, and his *Happineſs* a Repreſentation of the Divine *Felicity*. And now, to look over it again, and recount the ſeveral Lines of it. What was *ſupernatural* in it, was, a Mind fortify'd to bear the Divine Preſence, qualify'd for the Divine Converſe, fully illuminated by the Divine Spirit; and a Body, that (contrary to the natural Principles of its Compoſition) was indulg'd the Privilege of Immortality. What was *natural* to it, was an univerſal *Harmony* in all its Faculties; an *Underſtanding* fraught with all Manner of Knowledge; a *Will* ſubmitted to the Divine Pleaſure; *Affections* plac'd upon their proper Objects; *Paſſions* calm and eaſy; a *Conſcience* quiet and ſerene; reſplendent *Holineſs*, perfect *Felicity*, and a *Body* adorned with ſuch Comelineſs and Majeſty, as might juſtly challenge the Rule and Juriſdiction of this inferior World.

How far it is loſt or impair'd.

If it be demanded, how much of this *Image* is defac'd, loſt, or impair'd, the Anſwer is; that (*i*) whatever was *ſupernatural* and adventitious to Man by the Benignity of Almighty God (as it depended upon the Condition of his Obedience to the Divine Command) upon the Breach of that Command, was entirely loſt: What was *perfective* of his Nature, ſuch as the *Excellency* of his Knowledge, the *Subordination* of his Faculties, the *Tranquillity* of his Mind, and full *Dominion* over other Creatures, was ſadly impair'd: But what was eſſential to his Nature, the *Immortality* of his Soul, the *Faculties* of Intellection, and Will, and the natural *Beauty* and Uſefulneſs of his Body, does ſtill remain, notwithſtanding the Concuſſions, they ſuſtain'd in the Fall.

Gen. Ch. ii. from Ver. 8.

How it may be repair'd.

If it be aſk'd, what we muſt do in order to repair this defac'd Image of God in us? the only Anſwer we can have in this Caſe, is, from the *ſacred Oracles* of Scripture. We muſt (*k*) *be renewed in the Spirit of our Mind, and put on the new Man, which after God is created in Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs:* We muſt (*l*) *be Followers of God as dear Children; grow in Grace*, (*m*) *be renewed in Knowledge*, and (*n*) *conformed to the Image of his Son:* We muſt (*o*) *give all Diligence to add to our Faith Virtue; and to Virtue, Knowledge; and to Knowledge, Temperance; and to Temperance, Patience; and to Patience, Godlineſs; and to Godlineſs, brotherly Kindneſs; and to brotherly Kindneſs, Charity*; that we may (*p*) *be complete in him, who is the Head of all Principality and Power*; and that, (*q*) *as we have borne the Image of the Earthly, we may alſo bear the Image of the Heavenly* Adam.

(*b*) *Bates*'s Harmony. (*i*) *Hales*'s Origination of Mankind. (*k*) Eph. iv. 23, 24. (*l*) Eph. v. 1. (*m*) Col. iii. 10. (*n*) Rom. viii. 29. (*o*) 2 Pet. i. 5, &c. (*p*) Col. ii. 10. (*q*) 1 Cor. xv. 49.

CHAP. III.

Of the Fall of MAN.

The History.

The *ſacred* Hiſtorian indeed gives us no Account of *Satan*, the *Chief* of the fallen Angels, and grand Adverſary of God and Man; but, from ſeveral other Places in Scripture, we may learn, that he at firſt was made like other *celeſtial* Spirits, perfect in his Kind, and happy in his Condition, but that, thro' Pride or Ambition, as we may ſuppoſe, falling into a Crime, (whoſe Circumſtances to us are unknown)

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unknown) he thence fell into Miſery, and, together * with his *Accomplices*, was baniſh'd from the Regions of Bliſs; that, * in his State of Exile, having loſt all Hopes, and deſpairing of a Reconciliation with the *Almighty*, he abandon'd himſelf to all kind of Wickedneſs, and, upon the Creation of Man, out of pure Envy to the Happineſs, which God had deſign'd for him, reſolv'd upon a Project to draw him into Diſobedience, and thence into Ruin and Perdition; but how to put his *Scheme* in Execution, was the Queſtion. The Woman he perceiv'd, (as by Nature more ductile and tender) was the properer Subject for his Temptations; but ſome *Form* he was to aſſume, to enable him to enter into Conference with her. (*r*) The Figure of a Man was the fitteſt upon this Occaſion; but then it wou'd have diſcover'd the Impoſture, becauſe *Eve* knew very well, that her Huſband was the only one of that Species upon the Face of the Earth. And therefore conſidering, that the Serpent, which, before the Fall, was a bright and glorious Creature, and, (next to Man) † endu'd with the greateſt Talents of Sagacity and Underſtanding, wou'd be no improper Inſtrument for his Purpoſe, he uſurp'd the Organs of one of theſe, and through them he addreſs'd himſelf to the Woman, the firſt Opportunity, when he found her alone. Gen. Ch. iii.

AFTER * ſome previous Complements (as we may imagine) and Congratulations of her happy State, the Tempter put on an

* That *Profane*, as well as *Sacred* Writers, had the ſame Notion of the Fall of wicked Angels, is manifeſt from a Tradition they had (tho' mixt with Fable) of the *Titans* and *Giants* invading Heaven, fighting againſt *Jupiter*, and attempting to depoſe him from his Throne, for which Reaſon he threw them down headlong into *Hell*, where they are tormented with inceſſant Fire; and therefore *Empedocles*, in the Verſes recited by *Plutarch*, makes mention of the Fate of ſome *Dæmons*, who, for their Rebellion, were, from the Summit of Heaven, plung'd into the Bottom of the great Deep, there to be puniſh'd, as they deſerv'd: To which the Story of *Ate*, who once inhabited the Air, but, being always hurtful to Man, and therefore hateful to God, was caſt down from thence, with a ſolemn Oath and Decree, that ſhe ſhou'd never return again, ſeems not a little to allude. *Huetius, in Alnetan. Quæſt. Lib.* 2.

* Our excellent *Milton* repreſents *Satan*, within Proſpect of *Eden*, and near the Place, where he was to attempt his deſperate Enterprize againſt God and Man, falling into Doubts, and ſundry Paſſions, and then, at laſt, confirming himſelf in his wicked Deſign.

But ſay I cou'd repent, and cou'd obtain,
By Act of Grace, my former State; how ſoon
Wou'd Height recal high Thoughts! how ſoon un-ſay
What feign'd Submiſſion ſwore! Eaſe wou'd recant
Vows made in Pain, as violent and void———
All Hope excluded thus, behold, inſtead
Of us, outcaſt, exil'd, his new Delight,
Mankind, created; and for him this World.
So farewel Hope! and, with Hope, farewel Fear!
Farewel Remorſe! all Good to me is loſt;
Evil be thou my Good! by thee at leaſt
Divided Empire with Heaven's King I hold;
By thee, and more than half perhaps, will reign:
As Man e'er long, and this new World, ſhall know.

BOOK IV.

(*r*) L'Hiſtoire du Vieux et Nouveau Teſtament, par M. *Martin*.

† *Milton*, who is an excellent Commentator upon the whole Hiſtory of the Fall, brings in the Devil, after a long Search to find out a Beaſt proper for his Purpoſe, concluding at laſt to make uſe of the Serpent.

Him, after long Debate (irreſolute
Of Thought revolv'd) his final Sentence choſe
Fit Veſſel, fitteſt Imp of Fraud, in whom
To enter, and his dark Suggeſtions hide
From ſharpeſt Sight: For in the wily Snake
Whatever Sleights, none wou'd Suſpicions mark,
As from his Wit, and native Subtilty
Proceeding; which in other Beaſt obſerv'd,
Doubt might beget of *diabolic* Pow'r
Active within, beyond the Senſe of Brute.

BOOK IX.

The Wiſdom and Subtilty of the Serpent are frequently mention'd in Scripture, as Qualities, which diſtinguiſh it from other Animals, and ſeveral are the Inſtances, wherein it is ſaid to diſcover its Cunning. *1ſt*, When it is old, by ſqueezing itſelf between two Rocks, it can ſtrip off its old Skin, and ſo grows young again. *2dly*, As it grows blind, it has a Secret to recover its Sight by the Juice of *Fennel*. *3dly*, When it is aſſaulted, its chief Care is to ſecure its Head, becauſe its Heart lies under its Throat, and very near its Head. And, *4thly*, When it goes to drink at a Fountain, it firſt vomits up all its Poiſon, for fear of poiſoning itſelf, as it is drinking. With ſome other Qualities of the like Nature. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

But a modern Author of our own has given us this further Reaſon, for the Devil's making uſe of the Serpent in this Affair, *viz.*——That as no infinite Being can actuate any Creature, beyond what the Fitneſs and Capacity of its Organs will admit; ſo, the natural Subtilty of the Serpent, and perhaps the Pliableneſs, and Forkineſs of its Tongue (which we know enables other Creatures to pronounce *articulate* Sounds) added to the Advantages of its Form, made it the fitteſt Inſtrument of Deluſion, that can be imagin'd. *Revelation Examin'd.*

* *Milton* has very curiouſly deſcrib'd the artful and inſinuating Carriage of the Serpent, upon his firſt Approach to ſpeak to *Eve*:

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an Air of great Concern, and ſeem'd to intereſt himſelf not a little in her Behalf, by wondering why God, who had lately been ſo very bountiful to them, ſhou'd deny them the Uſe of a Tree, whoſe Fruit was ſo tempting to the Eye, ſo grateful to the Palate, and of ſuch ſovereign Quality to make them wiſe: And, when *Eve* reply'd, that ſuch was the Divine Prohibition, even under the Penalty of Death itſelf, * he immediately ſubjoins, that ſuch a Penalty was an empty Threat, and what wou'd never be executed upon them; that God wou'd never deſtroy the *Work of his own Hands*, Creatures ſo accompliſh'd, as they were, for ſo ſlight a Tranſgreſſion; and that the ſole Intent of his Prohibition was, to continue them in their preſent State of Dependance and Ignorance, and not admit them to that Extent of Knowledge, and Plenitude of Happineſs, which their eating of this Fruit wou'd confer upon them: For God himſelf knew, that † the proper Uſe Gen. Ch. iii. of this Tree was, to illuminate the Underſtanding, and advance all the other Faculties of the Soul to ſuch a Sublimity, that the brighteſt Angels in Heaven ſhou'd not ſurpaſs them; nay, that they ſhou'd approximate the Deity itſelf, in the Extent of their Intellect, and Independence of their Being. In ſhort, he acquainted *Eve*, that the Jealouſy of the Creator was the ſole Motive of his Prohibition; that the Fruit had a Virtue to impart † an univerſal Knowledge to the Perſon, who taſted it; and that therefore God, who wou'd admit of no Competitor, had reſerv'd this Privilege to himſelf. Above all, he engag'd her to fix her Eyes upon the forbidden Fruit; he remark'd to her its Pleaſantneſs to the Sight, and left her to gueſs at its Deliciouſneſs. *Eve*, in the very midſt of the Temptation, had a Freedom of Choice; but the fond Conceit of *knowing Good and Evil*, of

He bolder now, uncall'd, before her ſtood,
But as in great admiring: Oft he bow'd
His turret Creſt, and ſleek enamell'd Neck,
Fawning; and lick'd the Ground, whereon ſhe trod.
His gentle dumb Expreſſions turn'd at length
The Eye of *Eve*, to mark his Play: He glad
Of her Attention gain'd, with Serpent Tongue
Organic, or Impulſe of vocal Air,
His fraudulent Temptation thus began.

BOOK IX.

* The firſt Words in his Addreſs are, *Yea, hath God ſaid, ye ſhall not eat*, &c. which do not look ſo much like the *Beginning*, as the *Concluſion* of a Diſcourſe, as the *Jews* themſelves have obſerv'd: And therefore it is not improbable, that the Tempter, before he ſpake theſe Words, repreſented himſelf, as one of the heavenly Court, who was come, or rather ſent, to congratulate the Happineſs, which God had beſtow'd on them in Paradiſe; an Happineſs ſo great, that he cou'd not eaſily believe he had deny'd them any of the Fruit of the Garden. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* *Burnet*, in his *Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ*, has given us the whole Dialogue (as he has fram'd it at leaſt) between the Serpent and *Eve*; which, tho' a little too light and ludicrous for ſo ſolemn an Occaſion, yet, becauſe the Book is not in every one's Hands, I have thought fit to ſet down in his own Words. " Serp. *Salve Pulcherrima, quid rerum agis* " *ſub hac umbrâ?* Ev. *Ego hujus arboris Pulchritudinem contemplor.* Serp. *Jucundum quidem Spectaculum, ſed multo ju-* " *cundiores fructus: Guſtaſtin', mea Domina?* Ev. *Minime vero: Deus nobis interdixit eſu hujus Arboris.* Serp. *Quid* " *audio! Quis iſte Deus, qui ſuis invidet innocuas naturæ Delicias? nihil ſuavius, nihil ſalubrius hoc fructu. Quamobrem* " *interdiceret, niſi per legem ludicram?* Ev. *Quinimo ſub pœnâ mortis interdixit.* Serp. *Rem male capis proculdubio:* " *Nihil habet mortiferi hic Arbor, ſed potius Divini aliquid, & ſupra vires communis naturæ.* Ev. *Ego non habeo quid* " *tibi reſpondeam, ſed adibo virum.* Serp. *Quid virum interpellas de re tantillâ?* Ev. *Utarne? Quid pulchrius hoc pomo?* " *Quam ſuave redolet? Sed forſan male ſapit.* Serp. *Eſt eſca, crede mihi, angelis non indigna. Fac Periculum, &, ſi* " *male ſapit, rejicito, & me inſuper habeto pro mendaciſſimo.* Ev. *Experiar; eſt quidem gratiſſimi ſaporis: Non me fefelliſti.* " *Porrige huc alterum, ut viro afferam.* Serp. *Commodum meminiſti. En tibi alterum: Adi virum. Vale, Beatula.*—— " *Ego interea elabar, illa curet cætera.* Lib. 2. Cap. 7."

† It is very well worth our Obſervation, how ambiguous and deceitful the Promiſe, which the Tempter makes our firſt Parent, was: For, by *opening the Eyes*, ſhe underſtood a further Degree of Wiſdom, as the ſame Phraſe imports, *Acts* xxvi. 18. and *Eph.* i. 18; but he meant their perceiving their own own Miſery, and Confuſion of Conſcience, as fell out immediate: By *being like Gods*, ſhe underſtood the Happineſs of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, as appears by the Words of God himſelf, *ver.* 22. but he meant it of Angels (frequently ſtil'd *Elohim*, i. e. Gods) and of ſuch fallen Angels, as himſelf, who are call'd *Principalities and Powers*, Col. ii. 15. And *by knowing Good and Evil*, ſhe underſtood a Kind of Divine Omniſcience, or knowing *all Manner of Things*, (as the Phraſe frequently ſignifies). But he meant it, that thereby ſhe ſhou'd experience the Difference between *Good and Evil*, between Happineſs and Miſery, which ſhe did to her Coſt: A Method this of Cunning and Reſerve, which he has practis'd in his *oracular* Reſponſes ever ſince. *Ainſworth*'s Annotations.

† The Words *Good and Evil*, when apply'd to Knowledge, comprehend every Thing, that is poſſible for Man to know; for ſo the Woman of *Tekoa*, in her Addreſs to King *David*, tells him [2 *Sam.* xiv. 17.] *as an Angel of God is my Lord the King, to diſcern Good and Bad*; and that by the Terms *Good and Bad*, we are to underſtand *all Things*, the 20th Verſe of that Chapter will inform us, where ſhe continues her Complement, and ſays, *my Lord is wiſe, according to the Wiſdom of an Angel, to know all Things, that are on the Earth.* Le Clerc's Commentary.

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of becoming *like God*, and of changing her Felicity (great indeed, but ſubordinate) for an independent State of Happineſs, and, eſpecially, the deceitful Bait of preſent *ſenſual* Pleaſure, blinded her Reaſon by Degrees; and, as ſhe ſtood gazing on the Tree, fill'd all her Thoughts, and the whole Capacity of her Soul. The Sight of the Fruit provok'd her Deſire; the Suggeſtions of the Tempter urg'd it on; her natural Curioſity rais'd her Longing; and the very Prohibition itſelf did ſomething to enflame it: So that, at all Adventures, ſhe put forth her Hand, and pluck'd, and eat.

Earth felt the Wound, and Nature from her Seat
Sighing, thro' all her Works, gave Signs of Woe,
That all was loſt (*s*).

She however had no ſuch Senſe of her Condition; but, fancying herſelf already in the Poſſeſſion of that chimerical Happineſs, wherewith the Devil had deluded her; ſhe invited her Huſband (who not unlikely came upon her while ſhe was eating) to partake with her. (*t*) The moſt abſurd Arguments appear reaſonable, and the moſt unjuſt Deſires equitable, when the Perſon, who propoſes them, is belov'd: The Devil therefore knew very well what he did, when he made his firſt Application to the Woman. Her Charms and Endearments, which gave her the Aſcendency over her Huſband's Affection, wou'd be of more Efficacy (he knew) than all the ſubtile Motives, which he cou'd ſuggeſt, and therefore he made uſe of her to engage him in the like Defection: And, after ſome ſmall Reluctancy (as we may ſuppoſe) he, (*u*) like an *uxorious* Man, was by her Entreaties prevail'd on, (contrary to the Senſe of his Duty, and Convictions of his own Breaſt) to violate the Command, merely becauſe ſhe had done it, and to ſhare whatever Fate God's Indignation for that Tranſgreſſion ſhou'd bring upon her. Thus the Sollicitations of the Woman ruin'd the Man, as the Inchantments of the Tempter ruin'd the Woman. She held forth the fair enticing Fruit to him; and he, rather than ſee her periſh alone, choſe to be involv'd in the ſame common Guilt (*x*).

Gen. Ch. iii.

Earth trembled from her Entrails, as again
In Pangs, and Nature gave a ſecond Groan;
Sky lowr'd, and, murmuring Thunder ſome ſad Drops
Wept, at compleating of the mortal Sin (*y*).

For as ſoon as they had eaten of the forbidden Fruit, † *their Eyes were open'd*, but in a Senſe quite different to what the Tempter had promis'd them, *viz.* to ſee their own Folly, and impendent Miſeries, and make ſad Reflections upon what they had done. They had acquir'd *Knowledge*, indeed, but it was a Knowledge, ariſing from ſorrowful Experience, that the *Serpent* had beguiled them both, and drawn them from *the Good* of Happineſs and Innocence, which they knew before, into *the Evil* of Sin and Miſery, which (until that fatal Moment) they had no Conception of. (*z*) They ſaw a living God provok'd; his Grace and Favour forfeited; his Likeneſs and *Image* defac'd; and their Dominion over other Creatures withdrawn from them. They ſaw, very probably, the Heavens grow angry and ſtormy; the Angel of the Lord ſtanding with his Sword, threatning them with Vengeance; and the Devil himſelf, who before had ſeduc'd them, throwing off the Diſguiſe, and now openly inſulting over them. They

(*s*) *Milton*, Book IX. (*t*) *Saurin*'s Diſſertations. (*u*) *Mede*'s Diſcourſes. (*x*) *Edwards*'s Survey of Religion. (*y*) *Milton*, Book IX.

† *Le Clerc* obſerves, that it is reputed an Elegancy in the ſacred Writing to make uſe of the Figure, which *Rhetoricians* call *Antanaclaſis*, whereby they continue the ſame Word or Phraſe that went before, tho' in a quite different Senſe; as the learned *Grotius* upon *John* i. 16. and *Hammond* on *Matth.* viii. 22. have abundantly ſhewn: And for this Reaſon he ſuppoſes, that *Moſes* repeats *their Eyes were open*, which the Devil had us'd before, tho' he means it in a Senſe quite different to the former.

(*z*) *Miller*'s Hiſtory of the Church.

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ſaw that † *they were naked*; were ſtrip'd of all their *intellectual* and *moral* Ornaments; were ſubjected to irregular Appetites, and inordinate Luſts; and bluſh'd to ſee their external Glory ſo much debas'd, that ‡ they took and platted together Fig-Leaves (which in eaſtern Countries are very large) in order to make themſelves ‡ ſuch Coverings, as might both protect them from the Injuries of the Weather, and conceal their Shame. Nor was their Guilt attended with Shame only, but with Fear likewiſe, and many diſmal Apprehenſions. † Before they ſinn'd, they no ſooner heard *the Voice of the Lord* coming towards them, but they ran out to meet him, and, with an humble Joy welcom'd his gracious Viſits; but now * God was become a Terror to them, and they a Terror to themſelves. Their Conſciences ſet their Sin before them in its blackeſt Aſpect; and, as they had then no Hopes of a future Mediator, ſo there *remained nothing for them but a certain fearful looking for of Judgment, and fiery Indignation, ready to devour them.* And accordingly, no ſooner did they hear the Sound of God's *majeſtic* Preſence drawing nearer and nearer to the Place, where they were (which happen'd towards the Cool of the Evening) but they immediately betook themſelves to the thickeſt and cloſeſt Places they cou'd find

Gen. Ch. iii.

† Thoſe who take the Word *naked* in a *literal* Senſe, ſuppoſe, that, upon the Fall, the Air, and other Elements, immediately became intemperate, and diſorderly; ſo that our firſt Parents ſoon *knew*, or felt, that they were naked, becauſe the Sun ſcorch'd them, the Rain wet them, and the Cold pierc'd them. Vid. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *King* on the Origin of Evil. But others take the Expreſſion rather in a *figurative* Senſe, *viz.* to denote the Commiſſion of ſuch Sins, as a Man in his Senſes may well be aſham'd of: And to this Purpoſe they have obſerv'd, that when *Moſes* return'd from the Mount, and found that the People had made and conſecrated a golden Image, the Expreſſion in Scripture is, *that the People were naked*, i. e. were become vile and reprobate Sinners; (for ſo the Word γυμνὸς ſignifies in the New Teſtament, *Rev.* xvi. 15.) *for* Aaron *had made them naked, unto their Shame, among their Enemies*, Exod. xxxii. 25. Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. Now thoſe who take it in this Senſe, have obſerv'd farther, that by the Word *Nakedneſs* (according to the uſual Modeſty of the *Hebrew* Tongue) are meant all the irregular Appetites to *venereal* Pleaſures, which *Adam* and *Eve* were Strangers to in their State of Innocence, but began now firſt to experience, and which the intoxicating Juice of the forbidden Tree might very probably excite. *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

As with new Wine intoxicated both,
They ſwim in Mirth, and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them, breeding Wings,
Wherewith to ſcorn the Earth: But that falſe Fruit
Far other Operation firſt diſplay'd,
Carnal Deſire inflaming: He on *Eve*
Began to caſt laſcivious Eyes, ſhe him
As wantonly repay'd, in Luſt they burn.

MILTON, BOOK IX.

‡ Our Tranſlation indeed tells us, that our firſt Parents *ſew'd Fig-Leaves together*, which gives Occaſion to the uſual Snear, *What they cou'd do for Needles and Thread?* But the original Word *Tapar*, ſignifies no more, than to put together, apply, or fit, as is plain from *Job* xvi. 15. and *Ezek.* xiii. 18; and the Word *Gneleh*, which we render *Leaves*, ſignifies alſo Branches of Trees, ſuch as were to make Booths, or Bowers, *Neh.* xviii. 15. So that, *to adapt or fit Branches* (which is tranſlated *ſewing Leaves together*) is only to twiſt, and plat the flexible Branches of the Fig-Tree round about their Waiſts, in the Manner of a *Roman* Crown, for which Purpoſe, the Fig-Tree, of all others, was the moſt ſerviceable, becauſe, at *Pliny* tells us [L. 16. C. 24.] it had *folium maximum, & umbroſiſſimum*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‡ The Word, in the Tranſlation, is *Aprons*: But ſince, in the Original, it may ſignify any Thing, that covers or ſurrounds us, it may every whit as properly here be render'd a *Bower*, or Arbor, cover'd with the Branches of the *Fig-Tree*, wherein the fallen *Pair* thought to have hid themſelves from the Sight of God; to which Interpretation, the ſubſequent Verſe ſeems to give ſome Countenance. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. Nor is *Milton*'s Deſcription of the *Fig-Tree* uninclinable to this Senſe:

——Such as at this Day ſpreads her Arms,
Branching ſo broad and long, that in the Ground
The bended Twigs take root, and Daughters grow
About the Mother-Tree; a pillar'd Shade
High over arch'd, and echoing Walks between.
There oft the *Indian* Herdſman, ſhunning Heat,
Shelters in cool, and tends his paſturing Herds
In Loop-holes, cut thro' thickeſt Shade. BOOK IX.

† The Word *Voice* may be equally render'd *Noiſe*: And, ſince God's uſual Way of notifying his Preſence afterwards was either by a *ſmall ſtill Voice*, or Noiſe, 1 *Kings* xix. 12. or by a Noiſe, like *that of great Waters*, Ezek. i. 24. or like the ruſtling of Wind in the Trees, 2 *Sam.* v. 24. we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that it was either a ſoft gentle Noiſe like a Breeze of Wind among the Trees of *Paradiſe*, or a louder one, like the Murmuring of ſome large River, which gave *Adam* Notice of God's Approaching. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

* *Milton* makes *Adam*, upon this Occaſion, expreſs himſelf in this Manner:

——How ſhall I behold the Face
Henceforth of God or Angel, erſt with Joy
And Raptures oft beheld?——O! might I here
In Solitude live ſavage, in ſome Glade
Obſcur'd, where higheſt Woods (impenetrable
To Star or Sun-light) ſpread their Umbrage broad,
And brown as Evening! Cover me, ye Pines,
Ye Cedars, with innumerable Boughs
Hide me, where I may never ſee them more.

BOOK IX.

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find in the Garden, in order to hide themſelves from his Inſpection; for ſo far were they fallen in their Underſtanding, as never to reflect, that *all* Places and *Things are naked and open to the Eyes of him, with whom they had to do.*

OUT of their dark Retreat however God calls the two *Criminals*, who, after a ſhort Examination, acknowledge their Guilt indeed, but lay the Blame of it, the Man, upon the Woman; and the Woman upon the Serpent: Whereupon God proceeds to pronounce Sentence upon them, but firſt of all, upon the Devil, as being the *prime* Offender. The Devil had made the Serpent the Inſtrument of his Deception; and therefore † God firſt degrades it, from the noble Creature it was before this Fact, to a foul creeping Animal, which, inſtead of going *erect*, or flying in the Air, was ſentenc'd to creep upon its Belly, and thereupon become incapable of eating any Food, but what was mingled with Duſt. And to the Devil, who lay hid under the Covert of the Serpent, (and therefore is not expreſsly nam'd) he declares, that, how much ſoever he might glory in his preſent Conqueſt, a Time ſhou'd come, when a *Child*, deſcended from *the Seed* of that very Sex, he had now defeated, *i. e.* the MESSIAS, ſhou'd ruin all his new-erected Empire of Sin and Death; and, (*a*) *having ſpoiled Principalities and Powers, ſhou'd make a Shew of them openly, triumphing over them in his Croſs.* This cou'd not fail of being Matter of great Comfort and Conſolation to *Adam* and *Eve*, to hear of the Conqueſt of their malicious Enemy, before their own Sentences were pronounc'd; * which, to the *Woman*, was Sorrow in Conception, Pain in Child-birth, and conſtant Subjection to her Huſband's Will; to the *Man*, * a Life of perpetual Toil and Slavery; and, to them both, as well as all their Poſterity, a temporal Death, at the Time appointed. Gen. Ch. iii.

NOR was it Mankind only, which felt the ſad Effects of the Induction of Sin, but * even the *inanimate* Part of the Creation ſuffer'd by it. The Fertility of the Earth,

† *Joſephus*, in the Beginning of *his Antiquities*, pretends, that *all Creatures, uſing the ſame Language*, and conſequently being endu'd with Reaſon and Underſtanding, the Serpent, excited by Envy, tempted *Eve* to Sin, and, among other Things, receiv'd this ſignal Puniſhment, *viz.* That it ſhou'd be depriv'd of its Feet, and ever after crawl upon the Ground, which *Aben Ezra*, and ſeveral other Rabbins, confirm: But, what is certain in the Serpent's Puniſhment is this——that it actually eats the dry and duſty Earth (as *Bochart* and *Pliny* tell us) otherwiſe we can hardly conceive, how it cou'd ſubſiſt in dry and ſandy Deſarts, to which God, in a good Meaſure, has condemn'd it. *Revel. Examin'd.*

(*a*) Col. ii. 15.

* 'Tis remarkable, that a Woman is the only Creature, we know of, who has any *Sorrow in Conception.* This *Ariſtotle* expreſsly affirms, and only excepts the Inſtance of a *Mare* conceiving by an Aſs, and, in general, where there is any Thing monſtrous in the *Fœtus.* Other Creatures, we find, are in more perfect Health, and Strength, and Vigour, at that Time, than before; but *Ariſtotle* reckons up ten different Maladies, to which the Woman is then naturally ſubject. And, as ſhe is ſubject to Sickneſs, in the Time of her Conception; ſo it is farther remarkable, that ſhe brings forth her Offspring with more Pain and Agony, than any other Creature upon Earth, even tho' ſhe has ſome Advantages in her Make, above other Creatures, that might promiſe her, in this Caſe, an Alleviation: And therefore we may ſuppoſe, that, upon God's ſaying to the Woman, *In Sorrow thou ſhalt bring forth Children*, a real Effect did immediately accompany the Word ſpoken, and cauſe ſuch a Change in the Woman's Body, as, in the Courſe of Nature, muſt have occaſion'd the extraordinary Pain here ſpoken of: For ſo we find, that in the Sentence, pronounc'd againſt the Serpent, againſt the Earth, and againſt Man, the Word of God was not only *declarative*, but *executive* likewiſe, as producing a real Change by a new Modification of Matter, or Conformation of Parts. *Revelation Examin'd*, and *Bibliotheca Biblica*, Vol. I.

* The Words in the Text are, *in the Sweat of thy Face ſhalt thou eat Bread*, ver. 19. From whence ſome conclude, that the Earth, before the Fall, brought forth ſpontaneouſly, (as ſeveral of the antient Poets have deſcrib'd the *golden Age*) and without any Pains to cultivate it; as indeed there needed none, ſince all Things, at firſt, were, by the Divine Power, created in their full Perfection. What Labour wou'd have been neceſſary in Time, if Man had continu'd innocent, we do not know; only we may obſerve from the Words, that leſs Pains wou'd then have been requir'd, than Men are now forc'd to take for their Suſtenance. The Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Juſtice of God, however, is very conſpicuous, in decreeing, that Toil and Drudgery ſhou'd be the Conſequence of departing from an eaſy and rational Obedience; in making the Earth leſs deſirable to Man, when his Guilt had reduc'd him to the Neceſſity of leaving it; and in keeping in Order thoſe Paſſions and Appetites, which had now broke looſe from the Reſtraint of Reaſon, by ſubduing their Impetuoſity with hard Labour. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Revelation Examin'd.*

* *Milton* brings in God, ſoon after the Fall, appointing his holy Angels to make an Alteration in the *Courſe* of the *celeſtial* Bodies, and to poſſeſs them with noxious Qualities, in order to deſtroy the *Fertility* of the Earth, and thereby puniſh Man for his Tranſgreſſion.

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Earth, and Serenity of the Air, were chang'd; the Elements began to jar; the Seaſons were intemperate, and the Weather grew uncertain: So that to defend themſelves againſt the immoderate Heat, or Cold, or Wind, or Rain, which now began to infeſt the Earth, our firſt Parents were inſtructed by God, * how to make themſelves Veſtments of the Skins of thoſe Beaſts, which, very probably, they were appointed to ſacrifice, either in Confirmation of *the Covenant of Grace*, couch'd in the Sentence pronounc'd againſt the Serpent, or as a Repreſentation of that great *expiatory* Sacrifice, which, *in the Fullneſs of Time*, God might inform them, was to be offer'd, as a *Propitiation* for the Sins of all Mankind: And, upon this Account, it very likely was, that *Adam* chang'd his Wife's Name (who, as ſome think, was call'd *Iſſcha* before) into that of *Eve*, as believing that God wou'd make her *the Mother of all Mankind*, and of the *promis'd Seed* in particular, by whom he hop'd for a Reſtoration both to himſelf and his Poſterity, and to be rais'd from Death to a State of Happineſs, and immortal Life.

Gen. Ch. iii.

Conſidering then, † what a ſad *Cataſtrophe*, this Tranſgreſſion of theirs had brought upon human Nature, and that ſuch

——— The Sun
Had firſt its Precept ſo to move, ſo ſhine,
As might affect the Earth with Cold and Heat
Scarce tolerable; and from the North to call
Decrepid Winter; from the South to bring
Solſtitial Summer's Heat. To the blank Moon
Her Office they preſcrib'd, to th' *other five*
Their planetary Motions and Aſpects
Of noxious Efficacy, and when to joyn
In Synod unbenign; and taught the *fix'd*
Their Influence malign when to ſhower:
Which of them, riſing with the Sun, or falling,
Shou'd prove tempeſtuous. To the Winds they ſet
Their Corners, when with Bluſter to confound
Sea, Air, and Shoar: The Thunder then to roll
With Terror thro' the dark aerial Hall ——
Theſe Changes in the Heavens, tho' ſlow, produce
Like Change on Sea, and Land; ſiderial Blaſt,
Vapour, and Miſt, and Exhalation hot,
Corrupt, and peſtilent. BOOK X.

* It cannot be deny'd, but that the Skins of Beaſts were a very ancient Sort of Cloathing. *Diodorus Siculus* [Lib. 1.] where he introduces *Hercules* in a Lion's Skin, tells us no leſs; and the Author to the *Hebrews* makes Mention of this Kind of Habit: But the *Jewiſh* Doctors have carry'd the Matter ſo far, as to maintain, that, as *Adam* was a Prieſt, this Coat of his was his *prieſtly* Garment, which he left to his Poſterity: So that *Abel*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, and the reſt of the Patriarchs, ſacrific'd in it, until the Time that *Aaron* was made High-prieſt, and had peculiar Veſtments appointed him by God. But all this fine Fiction of theirs falls to the Ground, if we can but ſuppoſe with ſome, that, by the Word, which we render *Coats*, we may not improperly underſtand Tents, or Arbors, to defend our firſt Parents from the Violence of the Heat, and ſuch haſty Showers, as were common in the Countries adjacent to Paradiſe, and where the Winter was not ſo cold, as to require Coats made of Skins, which wou'd certainly be too warm. That they cou'd not be the Skins of ſlain Animals is very manifeſt, becauſe as yet, there were no more than two of each Species, Male and Female, nor had they propagated. And therefore others have imagin'd, that if the original Word muſt mean Coats, they were more probably made of the Bark of Trees, which are called Δέρματα, *the Skins of them*, as well as the Hides of Animals. Vid. *Le Clerc*, and *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I.

† The Words in the Text are theſe, *Behold the Man is become as one of us, to know Good and Evil, and now, leſt he put forth his Hand, and taſte of the Tree of Life, and live for ever*, Gen. iii. 22. The former of theſe Sentences is held, by moſt Interpreters, to be an *Irony*, ſpoken in Alluſion to the Devil's Manner of tempting *Eve*, Ver. 5. but, from the latter Part of the Words, this Queſtion ſeems to ariſe; "Whether *Adam* and *Eve*, if they had taſted of the Tree of "Life, after their Tranſgreſſion, ſhou'd have liv'd for ever?" Now it is very manifeſt, that, by the Violation of God's Command, they had juſtly incurr'd the Penalty, *In the Day thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt ſurely die*, i. e. ſhalt ſurely become Mortal: From whence it follows, that, whether they had, or had not eaten, of the Tree of Life, they were, the Moment they fell, ſubject to the Neceſſity of dying, nor cou'd the Virtue of the Tree, be it what it wou'd, preſerve them from the Execution of the Sentence; and therefore theſe latter Words, *and now, leſt he put forth his Hand, and taſte of the Tree of Life, and live for ever*, are, in like Manner, ſpoken ſarcaſtically, and as if God had ſaid, "Leſt "the Man ſhou'd vainly fancy in himſelf, that, by eating of the Tree of Life, he ſhall be enabled to live for ever, let "us remove this Conceit from him, by removing him from this Place, and for ever debarring him from any Hopes of "coming at that Tree again." *Eſtius* in Diff. Loca.

Examples of God's ſpeaking by way of *Sarcaſm*, or Upbraiding, are not uncommon in Scripture: But conſidering, that, in *the Midſt of Judgment, he here thinketh upon Mercy*; that, before the Sentence againſt our firſt Parents, he promiſes them a Reſtoration, and after Sentence paſt, does nevertheleſs provide them with Cloathing; ſome have thought, that the Words, by taking the original Verb (vid. *Gell*'s Eſſay) to ſignify *the Time paſt* (as it may well enough do) are rather an Expreſſion of Pity, and Compaſſion, and of the ſame Import as if God had ſaid; "The Man *was* "*once*, like one of us, to *know Good*, and to purſue it; to *know Evil*, and to avoid it; (for that is the Perfection of *mo*-"*ral* Knowledge) but behold how is he now degenerated! And therefore, leſt this Degeneracy ſhou'd continue upon "him, and he become obdurate, the beſt Way will be to ſeclude him from the Tree of Life, by expelling him from "Paradiſe." But this Opinion ſeems to aſcribe too much to the Power of the Tree, and is not ſupported with Authority, equal to the former.

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ſuch a *Scene* of complicated Miſery might not be perpetuated, by Means of the *Tree of Life*, God, in his great Mercy, found it convenient to remove them from the Garden of *Paradiſe*, into that Part of the Country lying towards the *Eaſt*, where at firſt he created them; and, that he might prevent their meditating a Return, he ſecur'd every Paſſage, leading to it, with a Guard of Angels, (ſome of which, flying to and fro in the Air, in bright refulgent Bodies, ſeem'd to flaſh out Fire on every Side, or to reſemble the † Vibrations of a *flaming Sword)* that thereby he might deter them from any Thoughts of ever attempting a Re-entrance, until he ſhou'd think fit to deſtroy, and utterly lay waſte, the Beauty of the Place. Thus fell our firſt Parents, and, from the happieſt Condition that can be imagin'd, plung'd themſelves, and their Poſterity, into a State of Wretchedneſs and Corruption: For, as from one common Root, (*b*) *Sin enter'd into the World, and Death by Sin; ſo Death paſſed upon all Men, foraſmuch as all have ſinn'd*, and been defil'd by this original Pollution. Gen. Ch. iii.

The OBJECTION.

The Objection *againſt* Moſes's *Account of the Fall.*

" BUT, upon Suppoſition, that the " State of Perfection, wherein our " firſt Parents were created, was really as " compleat, as is pretended; we cannot " well conceive, how it was poſſible for " them to fall from it at all, or at leaſt in " ſo ſhort a Space, as the Scripture-Ac- " count repreſents it, after their Creation. " Some great and enormous Offence, one " wou'd ſuppoſe, they had committed; " but who cou'd dream, that the bare eat- " ing of a little forbidden Fruit cou'd be " ſo provoking, as to bring upon them " that wretched Depravity of Nature, " which ever ſince we have been com- " plaining of? The *Counſels of God are a* " *great Deep*; but what Reaſon can be " given, why he ſhou'd put their Virtue " upon the Trial, when he cou'd not but " foreſee, that they certainly wou'd be " *foil'd* by the *Wiles of the Tempter?* Or, " if a Probation was thought neceſſary, " why was their Abſtinence from the " Fruit of a certain Tree made the Teſt " of their Obedience, when ſo many more " momentous Precepts might have befit- " ted their Condition as well? We may " account the Serpent as *ſubtle* as we pleaſe, " but how he cou'd over-reach Mankind " in the Perfection of their Knowledge; " or, if the Devil lay conceal'd in the " Serpent's Body, what Inducement he " cou'd have to aſſume the Form of ſo " deteſtable a Creature; and what ſhou'd " hinder *Eve* from not being frighten'd " when ſhe heard him begin to ſpeak, and, " inſtead of ſtaying to talk with him, flee " immediately to her Huſband, we cannot " conceive. If the Devil, in this Diſguiſe, " was like to be an Over-match for her, " why did God admit of ſuch an unequal " Conflict? Or, if the Conflict was to be, " why did not he ſend her Succours from " above? When ſo great a Price, as the " Lives

† What is meant by the flaming Sword, repreſented to be in the Hands of the *Cherubims*, at the Entrance of the Garden of Paradiſe, is variouſly conjectur'd by learned Men: But, of all Eſſays of this Kind, that of *Tertullian*, who thought it was the *Torrid Zone*, is the moſt unhappy. *Tertul. Apol. Cap.* 47. The Words of *Lactantius* are [*Inſtit. Divin.* L. 2. C. 12.] *Ipſam Paradiſum Igne circumvallavit*, he encompaſs'd Paradiſe with a Wall of Fire: From whence a learned Man of our Nation, pretending that the original Word ſignifies a *dividing Flame*, as well as a flaming Sword, ſuppoſes, that this Flame was an Accenſion of ſome combuſtable Matter, round about the Garden, which excluded all Comers to it, till ſuch Time as the Beauty of the Place was defac'd. *Nicholls's* Conference, Vol. I. Some *Rabbins* are of Opinion, that this *flaming Sword* was an Angel, founding their Sentiment on that Paſſage in the *Pſalms*, where 'tis ſaid, that *God maketh his Angels Spirits, and his Miniſters a flaming Fire*, Pſal. civ. 4. And hereupon another learned Man of our Nation has imagin'd, that this flaming Sword (which was accounted by the *Jews* a *ſecond* Angel) was of a different Kind to the *Cherubim*, viz. *a Seraph*, or flaming Angel, in the Form of a flying fiery Serpent, whoſe Body vibrated in the Air with Luſtre, and may fitly be deſcrib'd by the Image of ſuch *a Sword*. *Tenniſon* of Idolatry.

(*b*) Rom. v. 12.

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" Lives of all Mankind, was ſet upon her " Head, why did not he enable her to " overcome the Wiles of the Tempter? " Why did not he order a Guard of An- " gels, or ſome more powerful Influxes of " his holy Spirit, to aſſiſt, and ſecure her " Standing? But if the Thing was ſo, that " God decreed her Fall, 'tis hard Meaſure, " one wou'd think, to condemn her, and " her Poſterity for it; and looks as if he " was angry beyond Bounds, when he " curſes the Earth, and the Serpent, which " were both incapable of Sin, and conſe- " quently no ways culpable; when he " drives the unhappy Pair out of Paradiſe, " with ſuch Precipitancy, and leaves them " to ſhift for themſelves in a naked barren " Land; and (what is worſt of all) when " he entails their Sin, and conſequent De- " pravation, upon their innocent Poſteri- " ty, until the End of the World; and " all this for no greater Crime, than eat- " ing an Apple or two, when robbing an " *Orchard*, now a-days, is accounted a " Crime not worth a whipping: to ſay " nothing of the Oddneſs of that Part of " the Sentence, wherein Serpents were " appointed to *bite Men by the Heel*, and " Men to *bruiſe them on the Head*. This " certainly can never be right in the *Let-* " *ter*, and therefore our ſafeſt Way will " be, to take this whole Account of *Mo-* " *ſes* in a *figurative* and *allegorical* Senſe; " and to ſuppoſe (with ſeveral, both *Jewiſh* " and *Chriſtian* Writers) that the Hiſtory " of the Fall exhibits the Defection of the " Soul; the Serpent repreſents *Concupiſ-* " *cence*; the Man, to whom he durſt not " apply himſelf, is the Picture of *Reaſon*; " and the Woman, whom he ſo eaſily " ſeduc'd and overcame, the Emblem of " *Senſe*, and ſo on."

How long the State of Man's Innocence *laſted.*

How long our firſt Parents continu'd in their State of *Innocence*, and in the Poſſeſſion of the Garden of *Eden*, it is not ſo well agreed. The Account of their *Fall*, in the Series of Hiſtory, follows immediately their Introduction into their bliſsful Abode; whereupon (*c*) moſt of the *Jewiſh* Doctors, and ſome of the *Chriſtian* Fathers, were of Opinion, that they preſerv'd their Integrity but a very ſhort while; that, in the Cloſe of the ſame Day, wherein they were made, they tranſgreſs'd the Covenant, and were, the very ſame Day, caſt out of Paradiſe. But we are to conſider, that many Circumſtances are omitted in the Scriptures concerning the State of our firſt Parents, and the Manner of their Tranſgreſſion; that *Moſes* makes mention of nothing, but what is conducive to his main Deſign, which is to give a brief Account of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions, that had happen'd from the beginning of the World, to his Time; and that there are ſundry good Reaſons which may induce us to believe, that the State of Man's *Innocence* was of a longer Duration, than thoſe, who are for precipitating Matters, are pleas'd to think it.

Gen. Ch. iii.

Longer than is uſually imagin'd.

God indeed can do what he pleaſes in an Inſtant; but Man neceſſarily requires a Succeſſion of Time to tranſact his Affairs in; and therefore when we read of *Adam*, in the ſame Day, that he was created (and that was not until God had made every Beaſt of the Field) (*d*) enquiring into the Nature of every living Creature, and impoſing on them proper Names; falling into a *deep Sleep*, and, with ſome *Formality*, (without Doubt) receiving his Wife from the Hand of God; removing into the Garden of *Paradiſe*, and (as we may well ſuppoſe) walking about, and taking ſome Survey of it; receiving from God both a Promiſe and Prohibition, and thereupon (as we may ſuppoſe again) (*e*) ratifying the firſt great *Covenant* with him: When we read of all theſe Things, I ſay, we cannot but think, that ſome Time muſt be requir'd for the doing of them; and therefore to ſuppoſe, after this, (*f*) that, in the Cloſe of the ſame Day, the Woman wander'd from her Huſband, met with the Serpent, enter'd into a *Parley* with him, was overcome by his Inſinuations, did eat of the forbidden Fruit, did

(*c*) *Edwards*'s Survey, Vol. I. (*d*) *Burnet*'s Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ, (*e*) *Bull*'s State of Man before the Fall. (*f*) *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

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did prevail with her Huſband to do the ſame, and, thereupon perceiving themſelves *naked*, did inſtantly fall to work, and make themſelves *Aprons:* To ſuppoſe that, in the ſame Evening, God comes down, ſummons the *Criminals* before him, hears their Excuſes, decrees their Puniſhments, drives them out of Paradiſe, and places two *Cherubims* to guard all Avenues againſt their Return: This is crouding too long a Series of Buſineſs into too ſhort a Compaſs of Time, and thereby giving an Handle to *Infidelity*, when there is no Manner of Occaſion for it.

WE who are not ignorant of *Satan*'s *Devices*, and how ready he is to wait for a favourable Occaſion to addreſs his Temptations to every Man's Humour and Complexion, can hardly ſuppoſe, *(g)* that he wou'd have ſet upon the Woman immediately after the Prohibition was given; and not rather have waited, until it was in ſome Meaſure forgot, and the happy Opportunity, of finding her alone, ſhou'd chance to preſent itſelf: But ſuch an Opportunity cou'd not well inſtantly have happen'd, becauſe the Love and Endearments between this Couple, at firſt, we may well imagine, was ſo tender and affecting, as not to admit of the leaſt Abſence or Separation: Nor muſt we forget (what the Hiſtory itſelf tells us) that they were ſo much accuſtom'd to *(h) the Voice of God walking in the Garden in the cool of the Day*, as not to account it any new Thing; and ſo well acquainted with the Nature and Plantation of the Garden, as to run directly to the darkeſt Thickets and Umbrages, in order to hide themſelves from his Sight; which muſt have been the Reſult of more than an Hour or two's Experience. And therefore, (if we may be allow'd to follow others in their Conjectures) *(i)* it was either on the *tenth* Day of the World's Age, that our firſt Parents fell, and were expell'd Paradiſe, in Memory of which Calamity, *(k) the great Day of Expiation* (which was the tenth Day of the Year) wherein *all were requir'd to afflict their Souls*, was, in After-ages, inſtituted; or (as others wou'd rather have it) on the *eighth* Day from their Creation; *(l)* that, as the firſt Week in the World ended with the Formation of Man and Woman, the ſecond was probably concluded with their fatal Seduction. Gen. Ch. iii.

How he came to fall.

WHEN Man is ſaid to have been made according to the *Likeneſs* and *Image* of God, it cannot be ſuppos'd, but that he was created in the full Perfection of his Nature; and yet, *(m)* it muſt be remember'd, that * no created Being, can, in its own Nature, be incapable of Sin and Default. Its Perfections, be they what they will, are *finite*, and whatever has Bounds ſet to its Perfections, is, in this Reſpect, *imperfect*, i. e. it wants thoſe Perfections, which a Being of infinite Perfections only can have; and whatever wants any Perfection, is certainly capable of miſcarrying. And, as every *finite* Creature is capable of Default, ſo every *rational* Being muſt neceſſarily have a Liberty of Choice, *i. e.* it muſt have a *Will* to chuſe, as well as an *Underſtanding* to reaſon; becauſe a Faculty of *Underſtanding*, without a *Will* to determine it, if left to itſelf, muſt always think of the ſame Subject, or proceed in a Series, and Connection of Thoughts, without any End or Deſign, which will be a perpetual *Labour in vain*, or a Thoughtfulneſs to no

(g) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (h) Gen. iii. 10. (i) *Uſher*'s Annals. (k) Lev. xvi. 29.
(l) *Edwards*'s Survey, Vol. I. (m) *Clarke*'s Enquiry into the Original of Moral Evil.

* God, tho' he be omnipotent, cannot make any created Being *abſolutely perfect*; for whatever is abſolutely perfect, muſt neceſſarily be *Self-exiſtent:* But it is included in the very Notion of a Creature, as ſuch, not to exiſt of itſelf, but of God. An abſolutely perfect Creature therefore implies a Contradiction; for it wou'd be *of itſelf*, and not of itſelf, at the ſame Time. Abſolute Perfection therefore is peculiar to God; and ſhou'd he communicate his own peculiar Perfection to another, *that other* wou'd be God. Imperfection muſt therefore be tolerated in Creatures, notwithſtanding the Divine Omnipotence and Goodneſs; for Contradictions are no Objects of Power. God indeed might have refrain'd from acting, and continu'd alone Self-ſufficient, and perfect to all Eternity; but infinite Goodneſs wou'd by no Means allow of this, and therefore ſince it oblig'd him to produce external Things, which Things cou'd not poſſibly be perfect, it preferr'd theſe imperfect Things, to none at all; from whence it follows, that Imperfection aroſe from the Infinity of Divine Goodneſs. *King*'s Eſſay on the Origin of Evil.

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no Purpoſe. And, as every rational Being has a Liberty of *Choice*, ſo, to direct that Choice, it muſt of Neceſſity have a preſcrib'd Rule of its Actions.

God indeed, who is infinite in Perfection, is a Rule to himſelf, and acts according to his own *Eſſence*, from whence it is impoſſible for him to vary; but the moſt perfect Creatures muſt act by a Rule, which is not eſſential to them, but preſcrib'd them by God, and is not ſo *intrinſic* in their Natures, but that they may decline from it; for a free Agent may follow, or not follow, the Rule preſcrib'd him, or elſe he wou'd not be *free*.

Now, in order to know how it comes to paſs, that we ſo frequently abuſe our natural Freedom, and tranſgreſs the Rules, which God hath ſet us, we muſt remember, that (*n*) the Soul of Man is ſeated in the midſt, as it were, between thoſe more *excellent* Beings, which live perpetually above, and with whom it partakes in the Sublimity of its Nature and Underſtanding, and thoſe *inferior* terreſtrial Beings, with which it communicates, thro' the vital Union it has with the Body; and that, by Reaſon of its natural Freedom, it is ſometimes aſſimulated to the one, and ſometimes to the other of theſe Extreams. We muſt obſerve farther, that, (*o*) in this compound Nature of ours, there are ſeveral Powers and Faculties, ſeveral Inclinations and Diſpoſitions, ſeveral Paſſions and Affections, differing in their Nature and Tendency, according as they reſult from the Soul and Body; that each of theſe has its proper Object, in a due Application of which it is eaſy and ſatisfy'd; that they are none of them ſinful in themſelves, but may be Inſtruments of much Good, when rightly apply'd, as well as occaſion great Miſchief by a Miſapplication; and therefore a conſiderable Part of Virtue will conſiſt in regulating them, and in keeping our *ſenſitive* Part ſubject to the *rational*. This is the original Conſtitution of our Nature: And ſince our firſt Parents were endu'd with the ſame Powers and Faculties of Mind, and had the ſame Diſpoſitions and Inclinations of Body, it cannot be, but that they muſt have been liable to the ſame Sort of Temptations, and conſequently liable to comply with the Dictates of Senſe and Appetite, contrary to the Direction of Reaſon, or the Precepts of Almighty God. And to this Cauſe the Scripture ſeems to aſcribe the Commiſſion of the firſt Sin, when it tells us, that *the Woman ſaw the Tree, that it was good for Food, and pleaſant to the Eye, and deſirable to make one wiſe*, i. e. it had ſeveral Qualities, which were adapted to her *natural* Appetites; was beautiful to the *Sight*, and delightful to the *Taſte*, and improving to the *Underſtanding*; which both anſwer'd the Deſire of Knowledge, implanted in her *ſpiritual*, and the Love of *ſenſual* Pleaſure, reſulting from her *animal* Part; and theſe, heighten'd by the Suggeſtions of the *Tempter*, abated the Horror of God's *Prohibition*, and induc'd her to act contrary to his expreſs Command.

Gen. Ch. iii.

God indeed all along foreknew that ſhe wou'd fall in this inglorious Manner; but his *Foreknowledge* did not *neceſſitate* her Falling, neither did his Wiſdom ever conceive, that a fallen Creature was worſe than none at all (*p*). The Divine Nature, as it is in itſelf, is incomprehenſible by human Underſtanding; and not only his Nature, but likewiſe his Powers and Faculties, and the Ways and Methods, in which he exerciſes them, are ſo far beyond our Reach, that we are utterly incapable of framing juſt and adequate Notions of them. We attribute to him the Faculties of Wiſdom, Underſtanding, and Foreknowledge; but, at the ſame Time, we cannot but be ſenſible, that they are of a Nature quite different from *ours*, and that we have no direct and proper Conceptions of them. When we indeed foreſee or determine any Thing, wherein there is no poſſible Matter of Obſtruction, we ſuppoſe the Event certain and infallible; and, were the Foreknowledge and Predetermination of God of the ſame Nature with ours, we might

God's Preſcience *no Occaſion of her Sin.*

(*n*) *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr.

(*o*) *Clarke* of the Original of Moral Evil.

(*p*) Biſhop *King*'s Sermon of Predeſtination.

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might be allow'd to make the ſame Concluſion: But why may not it be of ſuch a Perfection in God, as is conſiſtent both with the *Freedom* of Man's Will, and *Contingency* of Events? *As the Heavens are higher than the Earth, ſo are his Ways far above our Ways:* And therefore, tho' it be certain, that he, who made *Eve*, and conſequently knew all the Springs and Weights, wherewith ſhe was mov'd, cou'd not but foreſee, how every poſſible Object, that preſented itſelf, wou'd determine her *Choice*; yet this he might do, without *himſelf* giving any *Biaſs* or Determination to it at all (*q*): Juſt as the Man, who ſees the Setting of the *Chimes*, can tell, ſeveral Hours before, what Tune they will play, without any poſitive Influence, either upon their Setting, or their Playing. So that *Eve*, when ſhe was tempted, cou'd not ſay, *I was tempted by God*, for God *tempteth none*; neither had the *Divine* Preſcience any Influence over her Choice, but (*r*) *by her own Luſt was ſhe drawn away, and entic'd; and when Luſt had conceiv'd, it brought forth Sin, and Sin, when it was finiſh'd, brought forth Death.*

The Reaſonableneſs of God's giving Man a Law.

THAT ſome Command was proper to be laid upon Man in his State of Innocence, is hardly to be deny'd (*s*). *Dependance* is included in the very Notion of a Creature: And, as it is Man's greateſt Happineſs to depend on God, whoſe infinite Wiſdom can contrive, and infinite Power can effect whatever he knows to be moſt expedient for him; ſo was it *Adam*'s Advantage to have a conſtant Senſe of that Dependance kept upon his Mind, and (for that Reaſon) a ſure and permanent *Memorial* of it, placed before his Eyes, in ſuch a Manner, as might make it impoſſible for him to forget it.

AND, as this Dependance on God was *Adam*'s greateſt Happineſs, ſo it ſeems neceſſary on God's Part, and highly comporting with his Character of a *Creator*, that he ſhou'd require of his Creatures, in ſome Acts of Homage and Obedience, (which Homage and Obedience muſt neceſſarily imply ſome Kind of Reſtraint upon their *natural* Liberty) an Acknowledgement and Declaration of it. And, if ſome Reſtraint of natural Liberty was neceſſary in *Adam*'s Caſe, what Reſtraint cou'd be more eaſy, than the Coërtion of his Appetite from the Uſe of one *Tree*, amidſt an infinite Variety of others, no leſs delicious; and, at the ſame Time, what Reſtraint more worthy the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God, than the Prohibition of a Fruit, which he knew wou'd be pernicious to his Creature? Gen. Ch. iii.

The Fitneſs of that, which he gave Adam.

THE Prohibition of ſome enormous Sin, or the Injunction of ſome great Rule of moral Virtue, we perhaps may account a properer Teſt of Man's Obedience: But if we conſider the Nature of Things, as they then ſtood, we may find Reaſon perhaps to alter our Sentiments (*t*). The *Moſaic Tables* are acknowledg'd by all to be a tolerable good *Syſtem*, and to comprize all the general Heads of moral Virtue; and yet, if we run over them, we ſhall find, that they contain nothing ſuitable to Man in the Condition, wherein we are now conſidering him.

HAD God, for Inſtance, forbidden the *Worſhip* of *falſe Gods*, or the Worſhip of *graven Images*; can we ſuppoſe, that *Adam* and *Eve*, juſt come out of the Hand of their Maker, and viſited every Day with the Light of his *glorious Preſence*, cou'd have even been guilty of theſe? Beſides that, the Worſhip of falſe Gods and Images, was a Thing, which came into the World ſeveral hundreds of Years afterwards, either to flatter *living* Princes, or ſupply the Place of *dead* ones, who the ſilly People fanſy'd were become Gods. Had he prohibited *Perjury* and *vain Swearing*; what poſſible Place cou'd theſe have had in the *infant* and innocent State of Mankind? Perjury was never heard of, till the World was better peopled, when *Commerce* and Trade came in Uſe, when Courts of *Judicature* were ſettled, and Men began to cheat one another, and then deny it, and ſo forſwear it:

(*q*) *Young*'s Serm. Vol. I. (*r*) James i. 14, &c. Vol. I. and *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II. (*s*) Revelation Examin'd. (*t*) *Nicholls*'s Conference,

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And Oaths and Imprecations cou'd never have a Being in a State of Innocence: They borrow their *Original* manifeſtly from the *Sinfulneſs* of human Nature.

THE like may be ſaid of all the reſt. How cou'd *Adam* and *Eve* have *honour'd their Father and their Mother*, when they never had any? What poſſible Temptation cou'd they have to be guilty of *Murther*, when they muſt have acted it upon their own Fleſh? How cou'd they *commit Adultery*, when they were the only two upon the Face of the Earth? How be guilty of *Theft*, when they were the ſole Proprietors of all? How *bear falſe Witneſs* againſt their Neighbour, or *covet* his Goods, when there was never a Neighbour in the World for them to be ſo unjuſt to? And ſo (if we proceed to *Chriſtian* Precepts) how cou'd they *love Enemies*, how cou'd they *forgive Treſpaſſes*, when they had no one in the World to offend againſt them? And the Duties of *Mortification* and *Self-denial*, &c. How cou'd they poſſibly exerciſe theſe, when they had no Luſt to conquer, no Paſſion to overcome, but were all ſerene and calm within?

SINCE therefore all the moral Precepts, that we are acquainted with, were improper for the Trial of Man's Obedience in his State of Innocence; it remains, that his *Probation* was moſt properly to be effected, by his doing or forbearing ſome indifferent Action, neither Good or Evil in itſelf, but only ſo far Good or Evil, as it was commanded or forbidden. And, if ſuch a Command was to be choſen, what can we imagine ſo natural and agreeable to the State of our firſt Parents, (conſidering they were to live all their Lives in a *Garden*) as the forbidding them to eat of the Fruit of a *certain Tree* in that Garden, a Tree hard at Hand, and might every Moment be eat of, and wou'd therefore every Moment give them an Opportunity of teſtifying their Obedience to God by their forbearing it? A wiſe Appointment this, had not the great Enemy of Mankind come in, and defeated it. Gen. Ch. iii.

WHO this great Enemy of Mankind was, and by what Method of Inſinuation he drew our firſt Parents into their Defection, *Moſes*, who contents himſelf with relating Facts, as they happen'd *outwardly*, without any Comment, or Expoſition of them, or, who by a *Metonomy* in the *Hebrew* Tongue, uſes the *inſtrumental* for the *efficient* Cauſe, tells us expreſsly, that it was *the Serpent*; and, for this Reaſon, ſome of the antient *Jews* ran into a fond Conceit, that (*u*) this whole Paſſage is to be underſtood of a real Serpent, which Creature (*x*) they ſuppoſe, before the Fall, to have had the Faculty of Speech and Reaſon both. But this is too groſs a Conception to have many Abettors; and therefore the common, and indeed the only probable Opinion is, that it was the *Devil*; ſome wicked and malicious Spirit (probably one of the *Chief* of that Order) who envy'd the Good of Mankind, the Favours God had beſtow'd on them, and the future Happineſs he had ordain'd for them, and was thereupon reſolv'd to tempt them to Diſobedience, thereby to bring them to the ſame forlorn Condition with himſelf, and his other *apoſtate* Brethren; and that, to effect his Purpoſe, he made uſe of a Serpent's Body, wherein to tranſact his Fraud and Impoſture. *Who the* Serpent *was.*

WHY the Devil choſe to aſſume the Form of a Serpent, rather than that of any other Creature, we may, in ſome Meaſure, learn from the Character, which the Scripture gives us of it, *viz.* that *it was more ſubtle than any Beaſt of the Field, that the Lord God had made:* Where the Word *ſubtle* may not ſo much denote the *Craft* and Inſidiouſneſs, as the gentle, familiar, and inſinuating Nature of this Creature. (*y*) That the Serpent, before the Fall, was mild, and gentle, and more familiar with Man, than any other Animal; that * it *Why the* Devil *aſſum'd the Form of a Serpent.*

did

(*u*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary and Eſſays. (*x*) *Joſephus*, and ſeveral others. (*y*) *Mede*'s Diſcourſes.

* The Beauty of the Serpent, which the Devil made Choice of, is thus deſcrib'd by *Milton:*

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did not creep on the Ground, but went with its Head and Breaſt rear'd up, and advanc'd; that by frequently approaching our firſt Parents, and playing, and ſporting before them, it had gain'd their good Liking and Eſteem, is not only the Sentiment both (*z*) of *Jews* and (*a*) *Chriſtians*, but what ſeems likewiſe to have ſome Foundation in Scripture: For when God ſays, *that he will put Enmity between the Serpent and the Woman, and between his Seed and her Seed*, the Implication muſt be, that there was ſome Sort of Kindneſs and Intimacy between them before.

THERE is no Abſurdity then in ſuppoſing, that this Creature was belov'd both by *Adam* and *Eve*. She eſpecially might be highly delighted, and us'd to play and divert herſelf with it (*b*). She laid it perhaps in her Boſom, adorn'd her Neck with its Windings, and made it a Bracelet for her Arms. So that its being thus intimate with the Woman, made it the properer Inſtrument for the Devil's Purpoſe, who, ſliding himſelf into it, might wantonly play before her, until he inſenſibly brought her to the *forbidden* Tree: And then, twiſting about its Branches, might take of the Fruit and eat, to ſhew her by Experience, that there was no deadly Quality in it, before he began his Addreſs; and his Speech might be the leſs frightful or ſurprizing to her, who, in the State of her Innocence, not knowing what Fear was, might probably think (as he might poſitively affirm) * that this new-acquir'd Faculty proceeded from the Virtue of the Tree. Gen. Ch. iii.

BUT there is another Conjecture ſtill more probable, if we will but allow, that the Serpent was not of a common ordinary Species, but one very probably ſomething like that flying fiery Sort, which, we are told, are bred in *Arabia* and *Egypt*. (*c*) They are of a ſhining yelloviſh Colour, like Braſs, and, by the Motion of their Wings, and Vibration of their Tails, reverberating the Sun-Beams, make a glorious Appearance. Now if the Serpent, whoſe Body the Devil abus'd, was of this Kind (tho' perhaps a Species far more glorious) it was a very proper Creature for him to make uſe of. For theſe Serpents we find call'd in Scripture *Seraphs*, or *Seraphim*, which gave the Name to thoſe bright lofty Angels, who were frequently employ'd by God to deliver his Will to Mankind, and, coming upon that Errand, were wont to put on certain *ſplendid* Forms, ſome the Form of *Cherubim*, *i. e.* beautiful flying Oxen, and others the Shape of *Seraphim*, wing'd and ſhining Serpents. Upon this *Hypotheſis*, we may imagine farther, that the Devil, obſerving that good Angels attended the *Divine* Preſence, and ſometimes miniſter'd to *Adam* and *Eve* in this bright Appearance, uſurp'd the Organs of one of theſe ſhining Serpents, which, by his Art and Skill in *natural* Cauſes, he might improve into ſuch a wonderful Brightneſs, as to repreſent to *Eve* the uſual *Shechinah*,

So ſpake the Enemy of Mankind, inclos'd
In Serpent, Inmate bad! and toward *Eve*
Addreſs'd his Way: Not with indented Wave,
Prone on the Ground, as ſince, but on his Rear,
Circular Baſe of riſing Folds, that tower'd,
Fold above Fold, a ſurging Maze! his Head
Creſted aloft, and Carbuncle his Eyes;
With burniſh'd Neck of verdant Gold, erect
Amidſt his circling Spires, that on the Graſs
Floated redundant: Pleaſing was his Shape,
And lovely.——

BOOK IX.

(*z*) *Joſephus*'s Antiq. L. 1. (*a*) *Baſil.* Hom. de Paradiſo. (*b*) *Mede*'s Diſcourſes.

* *Eve*, upon hearing the Serpent ſpeak, enquires by what Means it was, that it came by that Faculty, and is told, that it was by eating of a certain Tree in the Garden:

I was at firſt, as other Beaſts, that graze
The trodden Herb, of abject Thoughts and low——
Till on a Day, roving the Field, I chanc'd
A goodly Tree far diſtant to behold,
Laden with Fruit of various Colours, mixt
Ruddy and Gold——
To ſatisfy the ſharp Deſire I had
Of taſting theſe fair Apples, I reſolv'd
Not to defer——
Sated at length, e'er long, I might perceive
Strange Alteration in me, to Degree
Of Reaſon in my inward Powers; and Speech
Wanted not long, tho' to this Shape retain'd.
Thenceforth to Speculation high or deep
I turn'd my Thoughts, and with capacious Mind
Conſider'd all Things viſible in Heaven,
Or Earth, or Middle.

BOOK IX.

(*c*) *Tenniſon* of Idolatry, *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

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chinah, or angelical Appearance, ſhe was accuſtom'd to; and, under this Diſguiſe, ſhe might ſee him approach her without Fear, and hear him talk to her without Surprize, and comply with his Seduction with leſs Reluctancy; as ſuppoſing him to be an Angel of God's Retinue, and now diſpatch'd from Heaven to inſtruct her in ſome momentous Point, as ſhe had often perhaps experienc'd before, during her Stay in Paradiſe.

How Eve came to be deluded.

A (*d*) learned *Jew* has expounded this Tranſaction in a new and uncommon Way. He ſuppoſes that the Serpent did not ſpeak at all, nor did *Eve* ſay any Thing to it; but that, being a very nimble and active Creature, it got upon the *Tree of Knowledge*, took of the Fruit, and eat it; and that *Eve*, having ſeen it ſeveral Times do ſo, and not die, concluded with herſelf, that the Tree was not of ſuch a deſtructive Quality, as was pretended; that, as it gave Speech and Reaſon to the Serpent, it wou'd much more improve and advance her Nature; and was thereupon embolden'd to eat.

This Opinion is very plauſible, and, in ſome Degree, founded on Scripture: For, tho' the Woman might perceive by her Senſes, that the Fruit was pleaſant *to the Eye*, yet it was impoſſible ſhe cou'd know, either that it *was good for Food*, or *deſirable to make one wiſe*, any other Way, than by the Example and Experiment of the Serpent, which, merely by eating of that Fruit, (as ſhe thought) was chang'd from a *Brute* into a rational and vocal Creature. This, I ſay, is a pretty plauſible Solution; and yet it cannot be deny'd, but that the Text ſeems to expreſs ſomething more, and that there was a real Dialogue between the Woman and the Serpent, wherein the Serpent had the Advantage. And therefore (to perſiſt in our former Expoſition) it is not improbable, that the Tempter, before ever he accoſted *Eve*, transform'd himſelf into the Likeneſs of *an Angel of Light*, and, prefacing his Speech with ſome ſhort Congratulations of her Happineſs, might proceed to enſnare her with ſome ſuch cunning *Harangue*, as this. Gen. Ch. iii.

A Paraphraſe upon the Tempter's Speech.

"And can it poſſibly be, that ſo good "a God, who has ſo lately been ſo boun- "tiful to you, as to give you ſuch an ex- "cellent Being, and inveſt you with Power "and Dominion over all the reſt of his "Creatures, ſhou'd now envy you any of "the innocent Pleaſures of Nature? Has "he indeed deny'd you the Uſe of the "*Tree of Knowledge?* But, why did he "plant it at all? Why did he adorn it "with ſuch beautiful Fruit? Why did he "place it on an *Eminence* in the Garden, "for you to behold daily, unleſs he is "minded to mock and tantalize you? "The true Deſign both of the Prohibition "and Penalty, which you relate, is to keep "you in Ignorance, and thereby oblige "you to live in perpetual Dependance on "him. He knows full well, that the "Virtue of this Tree is to illuminate the "Underſtanding, and thereby to enable "you to judge for yourſelves, without hav- "ing recourſe to him upon every Occa- "ſion. (*e*) To judge for himſelf is the "very Privilege that makes him God; "and for that Reaſon he keeps it to him- "ſelf: But eat but of this Tree, and ye "ſhall be like him; your Beings ſhall be "in your own Hands, and your Happi- "neſs vaſt and inconceivable, and inde- "pendant on any other. What Effect it "has had on me, you cannot but ſee and "hear, ſince it has enabled me to reaſon "and diſcourſe in this wiſe; and, inſtead "of Death, has given a new Kind of Life "to my whole Frame. And, if it has "done this to a Brute Animal, what may "not Creatures of your refin'd Make, "and excellent Perfections, expect from "it? Why ſhou'd you ſhrink back, or be "afraid to do it then? You have here an "Opportunity of making yourſelves for "ever; and the Treſpaſs is nothing. "What Harm in eating an Apple? Why "this *Tree of Knowledge* more ſacred than "all the reſt? Can ſo great a Puniſhment, "as Death, be proportionate to ſo ſmall "a Fault?

I

(*d*) *Iſaac Aberbenel.* (*e*) Biſhop *King*'s Diſcourſe on the Fall, at the End of his Origin of Evil.

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" a Fault? I come to aſſure you, that it " is not; that God has revers'd his De- " cree, and eat you what you will, *ye* " *ſurely ſhall not die.*"

And the Probability of its Succeſs.

(f) THUS the Serpent ſuggeſted to *Eve*, that God had impos'd upon her, and ſhe was willing to diſcover whether he had or no. *Curioſity*, and a Deſire of Independency, to know more, and to be entire Maſter of herſelf, were the Affections which the Tempter promis'd to gratify; and an Argument like this has ſeldom fail- ed, ever ſince, to corrupt the Generality of Mankind: Inſomuch, that few, very few, have been able to reſiſt the Force of this Temptation, eſpecially when it comes (as it did to *Eve*) cloath'd with all the out- ward Advantage of Allurement. For who- ever knows the Humour of *Youth*, and how he himſelf was affected at that Time, cannot but be ſenſible, that, as the Fair- neſs of the Fruit, its ſeeming Fitneſs for Food, the Deſire of being independent, and under her own Management and Go- vernment, were Inducements, that pre- vail'd with our firſt Parent to throw off the Conduct of God; ſo this Curioſity of try- ing the Pleaſures of Senſe, this Itch of be- ing our own Maſters, and chuſing for our- ſelves, together with the charming Face of Sin, and our Ignorance and Inexperience of the Conſequences of it, are generally the firſt Means of our being corrupted, a- gainſt the good Maxims and Principles, we receiv'd from our Parents and Teachers.

That Man's Liberty of Choice was natural, *and not to be re- ſtrain'd.*

'TIS in the eſſential Conſtitution of Man (as we ſaid before) that he ſhou'd be a *free Agent*; and, if we conſider him now as in a State of *Probation*, we ſhall ſoon per- ceive, that God cou'd not lay any *Reſtraint* upon him, nor communicate any *Aſſiſtance* to him, but what was conſiſtent with the *Nature* he had given him, and the *State* he had placed him in. God created Man a *free Agent*, *(g)* that he might make the *Syſtem* of the Univerſe perfect, and ſupply that vaſt *Hiatus*, which muſt otherwiſe have happen'd between *Heaven* and *Earth*, had he not interpos'd ſome other Creature, (endu'd with *Rationality*, Maſter of his own Elections, and conſequently capable of ſerving him voluntarily and freely) be- tween Angels and Brutes. In the very Act of creating him therefore, God intended that he ſhou'd be *rational*, and determin'd, as it were by a Law, that he ſhou'd be *free*; and, having ingrafted *this* in his Make, it wou'd have been a Violation of his own Laws, and Infraction on his own Work, to have interpos'd, and hinder'd the Uſe of that *Faculty*, which, by the Law of Nature, he had eſtabliſh'd. We do not expect, that the Situation of the *Earth*, or the Courſe of the Sun ſhou'd be alter'd on our Account, becauſe theſe ſeem to be Things of great Importance; and we apprehend it unreaſonable, that, for our private Advantage, the *Order* and *Harmony* of Things ſhou'd be chang'd, to the Detriment of ſo many other Beings. But, to alter the *Will*, to ſtop the *Election*, is no leſs a Violation of the Laws of Na- ture, than to interrupt the Courſe of the Sun, becauſe a free Agent is a more noble Being, than the Sun. The Laws of its Nature are to be eſteem'd more ſacred, and cannot be chang'd without a great Miracle: There wou'd then be a Kind of *Shock* and Violence done to Nature, if God ſhou'd interfere, and hinder the Actions of *Free- will*; and perhaps it would prove no leſs pernicious to the *intellectual* Syſtem, than the Sun's ſtanding ſtill wou'd be to the *natural*.

Gen. Ch. iii.

TO apply theſe Reflections to the Mat- ter now before us. Had God, to prevent Man's Sin, taken away the Liberty of his Will, he had thereby deſtroy'd the Foun- dation of all Virtue, and the very Nature of Man himſelf. For Virtue wou'd not have been *ſuch*, had there been no Poſſi- bility of acting contrary, and Man's Na- ture wou'd have been *divine*, had it been made *impeccable*. Had God given our firſt Parents then ſuch powerful *Influences* of his *Holy Spirit*, as to have made it impoſ- ſible for them to ſin, or had he ſent a *Guard* of Angels, to watch and attend

(f) Biſhop *King*'s Sermon of the Fall.

(g) Biſhop *King*'s Eſſay on the Origin of Evil.

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them ſo, as to hinder the Devil from propoſing any Temptation, or them from hearkening to any; had he, I ſay, *ſupernaturally* over-rul'd the Organs of their Bodies, or the inward *Inclinations* of their Minds, upon the leaſt Tendency to Evil; in this Caſe, he had govern'd them not as *free*, but as *neceſſary* Agents, and put it out of his own Power to have made any *Trial* of them at all. All therefore that he cou'd do, and all that, in Reaſon, might be expected from him to do, was, to give them ſuch a ſufficient Meaſure of Power and Aſſiſtance, as might enable them to be a Match for the ſtrongeſt Temptation; and this, there is no Queſtion to be made, but that he did do.

That God gave him ſufficient Abilities *to ſtand.*

(*b*) We indeed, in this degenerate State of ours, find a great deal of Difficulty to encounter with Temptations. We find a great *Blindneſs* in our *Underſtandings*, and a *Crookedneſs* in our *Wills*. We have *Paſſions*, on ſome Occaſions, ſtrong and ungovernable; and oftentimes experience an *Inclination* to do Evil, even before the Temptation comes: But our firſt Parents, in their *primitive* Rectitude, ſtood poſſeſs'd of every Thing, as advantageous the other Way. They had an *Underſtanding*, large, and capacious, and fully illuminated by the Divine Spirit. Their *Will* was naturally inclin'd to the *ſupreme Good*, and cou'd not, without Violence to its Nature, make Choice of any other. Their Paſſions were ſedate, and ſubordinate to their Reaſon; and, when any Difficulties did ariſe, they had God at all Times to have Recourſe to: By which Means it came to paſs, that it was as *hard* for them to ſin, as it is *difficult* for us to abſtain from ſinning; as *eaſy* for them to elude Temptations then, as it is *natural* for us to be led away by Temptations now. And therefore, if, notwithſtanding all theſe mighty Advantages towards a State of *Impeccancy*, they made it their Option to tranſgreſs, their Perverſeneſs only is to be blam'd, and not any Want of ſufficient Aſſiſtance from their bounteous Creator. Gen. Ch. iii.

And that, upon his Fall, he has provided him with an adequate Remedy.

Great indeed is the Diſorder, which their Tranſgreſſion has brought upon human Nature; but there will be no Reaſon to impeach the Goodneſs of God for it, if we take but in this one Conſideration, ——— That what he thought not fit to *prevent* by his Almighty Power, he has, nevertheleſs, thought fit to *repair* by the Covenant of Mercy in his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*. By him he has propounded the ſame Reward, everlaſting Life after Death, which we ſhou'd have had, without Death, before; and has given us a better Eſtabliſhment for our Virtue now, than we cou'd have had, had we not been Sufferers by this firſt Tranſgreſſion.

For let us ſuppoſe, (*i*) that, notwithſtanding our firſt Parents had ſinn'd, yet God had been willing, that *original* Righteouſneſs ſhould have equally deſcended upon their Poſterity; yet we muſt allow, that any one of their Poſterity might have been *foil'd by the Wiles of the Tempter*, and fallen, as well as they did. Now had they ſo fallen (the Covenant of Grace being not yet founded) how cou'd they ever have recovered themſelves to any Degree of Acceptance with God? Their Caſe muſt have been the ſame, as deſperate, as forlorn, as that of fallen Angels was before: Whereas, in the preſent State of Things, our Condition is much ſafer. Sin indeed, by Reaſon of our preſent Infirmity, may more eaſily make its *Breaches* upon us, either through *Ignorance* or *Surprize*; but it cannot get Dominion over us, without our own deliberate Option, becauſe it is an expreſs Goſpel-Promiſe againſt the Power of Sin, that (*k*) it *ſhall not have Dominion over* us; againſt the Power of the Devil, that (*l*) *greater is he, that is in you, than he, that is in the World*; againſt the Power of Temptations, that (*m*) *God is faithful, who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above what we are able*; againſt Diſcouragement

(*b*) *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. (*i*) *Young*'s Sermons. (*k*) Rom. vi. 14. (*l*) 1 John iv. 4. (*m*) 1 Cor. x. 13.

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ment from the Pretence of our Infirmities, that (*n*) *we may do all thro' Chriſt, that ſtrengthens us*; and, in Caſe of failing, that (*o*) *we have an Advocate with the Father, and a Propitiation for our Sins.* Thus plentifully did God provide for Man's *Stability*, in that State of *Integrity*, thus *graciouſly* for his *Reſtoration*, in this State of *Infirmity:* In both Caſes his Goodneſs has been conſpicuous, and has never fail'd!

Why God curſed the Serpent.

IN like Manner, (to abſolve the Divine Nature from any Imputation of Paſſion or Peeviſhneſs, of Injuſtice or hard Uſage, in *curſing the Serpent*, and *the Earth*; in driving our laps'd Parents out of Paradiſe, and in entailing their Guilt and Puniſhment upon the lateſt Poſterity) we ſhou'd do well to remember, that the Serpent, againſt which the firſt Sentence is denounc'd, is to be conſider'd here in a double Capacity; both as an *Animal*, whoſe Organs the Devil employ'd in the Seduction of the Woman; and as the *Devil* himſelf, lying hid and conceal'd under the Figure of the Serpent: For the *Sentence*, we may obſerve, is plainly directed to an *intelligent* Being, and *free Agent*, who had committed a Crime, which a Brute cou'd not be capable of.

NOW if we conſider what a glorious Creature the Serpent was, before the Fall, we cannot but ſuppoſe, that God intended this Debaſement of it, (*p*) not ſo much to expreſs his Indignation againſt it (for it had no bad Intention, neither was it conſcious of what the Devil did with its Body) as to make it a Monument of Man's Apoſtacy, a Teſtimony of his Diſpleaſure againſt Sin, and an inſtructive *Emblem* to deter all future Ages from the Commiſſion of that, which brought ſuch Vengeance along with it. In the *Levitical* Law we find, that, if a Man committed any *Abomination* with a Beaſt, (*q*) the Beaſt was to be ſlain, as well as the Man; and, by Parity of Reaſon, the Serpent is here puniſh'd, if not to humble the Pride, and allay the Triumph of the Devil, by ſeeing the Inſtrument of his Succeſs ſo ſhamefully degraded, at leaſt to remind the *Delinquents* themſelves of the Foulneſs of their Crime, and the Neceſſity of their Repentance, whenever they chanced to behold ſo noble a Creature, as the Serpent was, reduced to ſo vile and abject a Condition, merely for being the Means of their Tranſgreſſion. Gen. Ch. iii.

BUT God might have a farther Deſign in this Degradation of the *Serpent:* He foreſaw, that, in future Ages, *Satan* wou'd take Pride in abuſing this very Creature to the like pernicious Purpoſes, and, under the Semblance of Serpents of all Kinds, wou'd endeavour to eſtabliſh the vileſt Idolatry, even the Idolatry of his own helliſh Worſhip. That therefore the Beauty of the Creature might be no Provocation to ſuch Idolatry, 'twas a kind and beneficent Act in God, to deface the Excellence of the Serpent's Shape, and, at the ſame Time, inſpire Mankind with the ſtrongeſt Horror and Averſion to it. Nor can it be deny'd, but that, (*r*) if we ſuppoſe the Devil poſſeſs'd the Serpent, and was, as it were, *incarnate* in it, the Power of God cou'd *unite* them as cloſely, as our Souls and Bodies are united, and thereby cauſe the Puniſhment inflicted on the *literal* Serpent to affect *Satan* as ſenſibly, as the Injuries done our Bodies do reach our Souls; at leaſt, while that very Serpent was in Being.

The latter Part of the Sentence againſt the Serpent explain'd.

TO conſider *Satan* then under the Form of a Serpent, we ſhall ſee the Propriety of the other Part of the Sentence denounc'd againſt him, and what Comfort and Conſolation our *Criminal* Parents might reaſonably collect from thence. That this Part of the Sentence, *I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed; it ſhall bruiſe thy Head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his Heel*, is not to be underſtood in a *literal* Senſe (becauſe ſuch Senſe is abſurd and ridiculous) every Reader of competent Underſtanding muſt own: And therefore its Meaning muſt be ſuch, as will beſt agree with the Circumſtances of the

(*n*) Phil. iv. 13. (*o*) 1 John. ii. 1. (*p*) *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Mede*'s Diſcourſes. (*q*) Lev. xx. 15.
(*r*) Biſhop *King*'s Sermon on the Fall.

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the Tranſaction. Now the Tranſaction was thus: —— *Adam*, tempted by his Wife, and ſhe by the Serpent, had fallen from their Obedience, and were now in the Preſence of God expecting Judgment. (*s*) They knew full well, at that Juncture, that their Fall was the Victory of the Serpent, whom, by Experience, they found to be an Enemy to God and Man: To Man, whom he had ruin'd by ſeducing him to Sin; and to God, the noble Work of whoſe Creation he had defac'd. It cou'd not therefore but be ſome Comfort to them, to hear the Serpent *firſt* condemn'd, and to ſee that, however he had prevail'd againſt them, he had gain'd no Victory over their Maker, who was able to aſſert his own Honour, and to puniſh this great Author of Iniquity. Nor was it leſs a Conſolation to them, to hear, from the Mouth of God likewiſe, that the Serpent's Victory was not a compleat Victory over *even themſelves*; that they, and their Poſterity, ſhou'd be able to conteſt his Empire; and, tho' they were to ſuffer much in the Struggle, yet, finally they ſhou'd prevail, *bruiſe the Serpent's Head*, and deliver themſelves from his Power and Dominion over them.

This certainly is the loweſt Senſe, wherein our firſt Parents cou'd have underſtood this Part of the Sentence, denounc'd againſt the Serpent; and yet this very Senſe was enough to revive in them comfortable Hopes of a ſpeedy Reſtoration. For, when *Adam* heard, that the *Seed of the Woman* was to deſtroy the evil Spirit, he undoubtedly underſtood *Eve* to be *that Woman*, and ſome Iſſue of his by her to be *that Seed*; and, accordingly, we may obſerve, that when *Eve* was deliver'd of *Cain*, the Form of her Exultation is, (*t*) *I have gotten a Man from the Lord*, i. e. I have gotten a Man thro' the ſignal Favour and Mercy of God. (*u*) Now this extraordinary Exultation cannot be ſuppos'd to ariſe from the bare Privilege of bearing Iſſue, for that Privilege (as ſhe cou'd not but know before this Time) ſhe had in common with the meaneſt Brutes; and therefore her Tranſport muſt ariſe from the Proſpect of ſome extraordinary Advantage from this Iſſue, and that cou'd be no other, than the Deſtruction of her Enemy. Gen. Ch. iii.

Cain indeed prov'd a wicked Man: But, when ſhe had conceiv'd better Expectations from *Abel*, and *Cain* had ſlain him, ſhe, nevertheleſs, recover'd her Hopes upon the Birth of *Seth*; becauſe (*x*) *God*, ſaith ſhe, *hath appointed me another Seed*, or one, who will deſtroy the Power of *Satan*, *inſtead of* Abel, *whom* Cain *ſlew*. Thus we ſee, that the *Obſcurity*, in which it pleas'd God to foretel the Deſtruction of the evil Spirit, gave Riſe to a Succeſſion of happy Hopes in the *Breaſt* of *Adam* and *Eve*; who, (if they had known that this Happineſs was to be poſtpon'd for four thouſand Years) would, in all Probability, have inevitably fallen into an Extremity of Deſpair.

Why God turn'd our Firſt Parents out of Paradiſe.

But how neceſſary ſoever God might think it, to give our Firſt Parents ſome general Hopes and Expectations of a Reſtoration; yet, being now fallen into a State of Sin and Corruption, which muſt of Courſe infect their lateſt Poſterity, he found it expedient to deprive them of that Privilege of *Immortality*, wherewith he had inveſted them, and (as an Act of Juſtice and Mercy both) to turn them out of *Paradiſe*, and debar them from *the Tree of Life*: Of *Juſtice*, in that they had forfeited their Right to Immortality, by tranſgreſſing a Command, which nothing, but a vain criminal Curioſity, cou'd make them diſobey; and of *Mercy*, in that, when Sin had entail'd all Kinds of Calamity upon human Nature, in ſuch Circumſtances, to have perpetuated Life, wou'd have been to perpetuate Miſery.

And curs'd the Ground.

This, I think, can hardly be accounted the Effect of Paſſion or Peeviſhneſs: And in like manner, God's *curſing the Ground*, or (what is all one) his depriving it of its original Fruitfulneſs, by a different Turn given to the Air, Elements, and Seaſons, was

(*s*) Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy.
(*t*) Gen. iv. 1.
(*u*) Revelation Examin'd, Vol. I.
(*x*) Gen. iv. 25.

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was not the Effect of Anger, or any haſty Paſſion (which God is not capable of) but of calm and equitable Juſtice; ſince it was Man (who had done enough to incur the Divine Diſpleaſure) that was to ſuffer by the Curſe, and not the Ground itſelf: For the Ground felt no Harm by *bringing forth Thorns and Thiſtles*, but *Adam*, who, for ſome Time, had experienc'd the *ſpontaneous* Fertility of *Paradiſe*, was a ſufficient Sufferer by the Change, when he found himſelf reduced to hard Labour, and forc'd *to eat his Bread by the Sweat of his Brows.*

The Nature of the Divine Prohibition.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd therefore, (*y*) that there was good Reaſon, why the Penalty of the firſt Tranſgreſſion ſhould be greater, than any ſubſequent one; becauſe it was deſign'd to deter Poſterity, and to let them ſee, by this Example, that whatever Commination God denounces againſt Guilt, will moſt infallibly be executed. We miſtake, however, the Nature of God's Laws, and do in Effect renounce his *Authority*, when we ſuppoſe, that *Good* and *Evil* are in the Nature of Things only, and not in the *Commandments*, and *Prohibitions* of God. (*z*) Whatever God is pleas'd to command or forbid, how *indifferent* ſoever it be in itſelf, is, for that very Reaſon, ſo far as it is commanded or forbidden by him, as truly Good or Evil, as if it were *abſolutely* and *morally* ſo, being enacted by the ſame Divine Authority, which makes all *moral* Precepts obligatory. God, in ſhort, is our *Lawgiver*, and whatever he commands (whether it be a *moral* Precept, or *poſitive* Injunction) ſo far as he enacts it, is of the ſame neceſſary and indiſpenſible Obligation. Upon this it follows, that all Sin is a *Tranſgreſſion of the Law*, and a Contempt of God's Authority: But then the Aggravations of a Sin do ariſe from the Meaſure of its Guilt, and the Parties Advantages to have avoided it; under which Conſideration, nothing can be more heinous, than the Sin of our Firſt Parents.

Gen. Ch. iii.

The Heinouſneſs of tranſgreſſing it.

It was not only a bare *Diſobedience* to God's Commands, by a perfect *Infidelity* to his Promiſes and Threats. It was a Sort of *Idolatry* in believing the Devil, and putting a greater Truſt in him, than in God. It was an horrible *Pride* in them to deſire to be like God, and ſuch a *diabolical* Pride, as made the evil Angels fall from Heaven. *Covetouſneſs*, and a greedy *Theft* it was, to deſire, and purloin what was none of their own; and one of the moſt cruel and unparallell'd *Murthers*, that ever was committed, to kill and deſtroy ſo many thouſands of their *Offſpring*. (*a*) Add to this, that it was a *Diſobedience* againſt God, an infinite Being, and of infinite Dignity; a God, who had given them Exiſtence, and that ſo very lately, that the Impreſſes of it could not be worn out of their Memory; that had beſtow'd ſo much Happineſs upon them, more than on all the Creation beſides; that had made them *Lords* over all, and reſtrain'd nothing from them, but only the Fruit of this one Tree. Add again, that they committed this Sin againſt the cleareſt Conviction of Conſcience, with Minds fully illuminated by the Divine Spirit, with all poſſible Aſſiſtance of Grace to keep them from it, and no untoward Bent of Nature, or unruly Paſſion, to provoke them to it: And, putting all this together, it will appear, that this was a Sin of the deepeſt Dye, and that no Man, now-a-days, can poſſibly commit a Crime of ſuch a complicated Nature, and attended with ſuch horrid Aggravations.

And the Juſtice of imputing it to Adam's Poſterity.

IT is the Opinion of ſome, (*b*) that the Fruit of the *Forbidden Tree* might be impregnated with ſome *fermenting Juice*, which put the Blood and Spirits into a great Diſorder, and thereby diveſted the Soul of that Power and Dominion, it had before over the Body; which, by its Operation, clouded the *Intellect*, and deprav'd the *Will*, and reduced every Faculty of the Mind to a miſerable Depravity, which, along with human Nature, has been propagated

(*y*) Revelation Examin'd. (*z*) *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II. (*a*) *Nicholl*'s Conference, Vol. I.
(*b*) *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II.

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pagated down to Poſterity: (*c*) As ſome Poiſons (we know) will ſtrangely affect the Nerves and Spirits, without cauſing immediate Death; and, (*d*) as the *Indians*, (we are told) are acquainted with a *Juice*, which will immediately turn the Perſon, who drinks it, into an *Idiot*, and yet leave him, at the ſame Time, the Enjoyment of his Health, and all the Powers and Faculties of his Body. But, whatever the Effect of the Fruit might be, and whether the Corruption of our Nature, and Death, (with all the Train of Evils, which have deſcended to us) lay in *the Tree*, or in the *Will of God*, there is no Queſtion to be made, but that our wiſe Creator might very juſtly decree, that human Nature in general ſhould be affected with it, and our Happineſs or Unhappineſs depend upon the Obedience or Diſobedience of our Firſt Parents. We daily ſee, that Children, very often, inherit the Diſeaſes of their Parents, and that a vicious and extravagant Father leaves commonly his Son Heir to nothing elſe, but the Name and Shadow of a great Family, with an infirm and ſickly Conſtitution. And, if Men generally now partake of the bad Habits and Diſpoſitions of their immediate Parents, why might not the *Corruption* of human Nature, in *the firſt*, have equally deſcended upon all the reſt of Mankind? (*e*) The *Rebellion* of a Parent, in all *civil* Governments, reduces his Children to Poverty and Diſgrace, who had a Title before to Riches and Honours: And, for the ſame Reaſon, why might not *Adam* forfeit for himſelf, and all his Deſcendants, the Gift of *Immortality*, and the Promiſe of eternal Life? God might certainly beſtow his own Favours upon his own Terms: And therefore, ſince the Condition was Obedience, he might juſtly inflict Death, *i. e.* with-hold Immortality from us; and he might juſtly deny us Heaven (for the Promiſe of Heaven was an Act of his free Bounty) upon the Tranſgreſſion, and Diſobedience of our Firſt Parents. We were *in their Loins*, and from thence our Infection came: They were our *Repreſentatives*, and in them we fell: But then, amidſt all this Scene of Calamity, we have one comfortable, one ſaving Proſpect to revive us, *viz. that* (*f*) Adam *was the Figure of him, that was to come; and therefore, as by the Offence of One, Judgment came upon all Mankind to Condemnation, even ſo by the Righteouſneſs of One, the free Gift came upon all Men unto Juſtification of Life.*

Gen. Ch. iii.

This is the Account we have of the *Fall*: And tho' we pretend not to deny, that, in ſome Places, there are *figurative* Expreſſions in it, as beſt comporting with the Nature of antient Prophecy, and the *oriental* Manner of Writing; yet this can be no Argument, why we ſhould immediately run to an *allegorical* Interpretation of the Whole.

Moſes *no allegorical Writer.*

That not only the *Poets*, but ſome of the greateſt *Philoſophers* likewiſe, had a ſtrange Affectation for ſuch *figurative* Documents, in order to conceal their true Notions from the Vulgar, and to keep their Learning within the Bounds of their own *Schools*, we pretend not to deny: And yet, ſince it is apparent, that *Moſes* could have no ſuch Deſign; (*g*) ſince he had no Reaſon to fear any other Philoſopher's ſetting up againſt him, or running away with his Notions; ſince he affects no other Character, but that of a plain *Hiſtorian*, and pretends to relate Matters juſt as they happen'd, without any Diſguiſe or Embelliſhment of Art; ſince he orders his Books (which he endeavours to ſuit to the Vulgar Capacity) to be *read in the Ears of all the People*, and commands *Parents to teach them to their Children*; it cannot be ſuppoſed, but that the Hiſtory of the *Fall*, as well as the reſt of the Book of *Geneſis*, is to be taken in a *literal* Senſe. All the reſt of the Book is allow'd to be *literal*, and why ſhould this Part of it only be a Piece of *Egyptian* Hieroglyphic? *Fable* and *Allegory*, we know,

are

(*c*) *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II. (*d*) Revelation examin'd, Vol. I. (*e*) *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II.
(*f*) Rom. v. 14, 18. (*g*) *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

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are directly oppoſite to *Hiſtory*: The one pretends to deliver Truth undiſguiſed; the other to deliver Truth indeed, but under the Veil and Cover of *Fiction*: So that, if this Book of *Moſes* be allow'd to be *hiſtorical*, we may as well ſay, that what *Thucydides* relates of the Plague of *Athens*, or *Livy* of the Battle of *Cannæ*, is to be underſtood *allegorically*, as that what *Moſes* tells us of the Prohibition of the Fruit of the *Tree of Knowledge*, or of *Adam* and *Eve*'s Expulſion from the Garden of *Paradiſe* for breaking it, is to be interpreted in a *myſtical* Senſe.

NAY, we'll put the Caſe, that it were conſiſtent with the Character of *Moſes* to have amuſed the People with Fables and *Allegories*; (*k*) yet we can hardly believe, but that the People retain'd ſome *Tradition* among them, concerning the Formation of our Firſt Parents, and the Manner of their Defection. This they might eaſily have had from their illuſtrious Anceſtor *Abraham*, who might have deduced it from *Noah*, and thence, in a few Succeſſions, from *Adam* himſelf: And if there was any ſuch Tradition preſerved among them, *Moſes* muſt neceſſarily have loſt all his Credit and Authority, had he pretended to foiſt in a Tale of his own Invention, inſtead of a true Narration. For the ſhort Queſtion is, —— (*i*) Did the Children of *Iſrael* know the hiſtorical Truth of the *Fall*, or did they not? If they did know it, why ſhould *Moſes* diſguiſe it under an *Allegory*, rather than any of the reſt of the Book of *Geneſis*? If they did not know it, how came it to be forgotten in ſo few Generations of Men, ſuppoſing it had ever been known to *Adam*'s Poſterity? If *Adam*'s Poſterity never rightly knew it, but had the Relation thereof always convey'd down in *Metaphor* and *Allegory*, then muſt *Adam*, in the firſt Place, impoſe upon his Sons, and they upon ſucceeding Generations; but for what Reaſon we cannot conceive, unleſs, that the moſt remarkable Event, that ever befel Mankind (except the Redemption of the World by *Chriſt*) ſo came to paſs, that it was impoſſible to tell it to Poſterity any other Way, than in *Allegory*.

Gen. Ch. iii.

The Hiſtory of the Fall prov'd to be literal from the Scripture.

IT can ſcarce be imagin'd, but that ſome of the ancient Writers of the *Jewiſh* Church, as well as the inſpir'd Writers of the *New Teſtament*, had as true a Knowledge of theſe diſtant *Traditions*, as any modern Eſpouſer of *Allegories* can pretend to; and therefore, (*k*) when we read in the *Book of Wiſdom*, that (*l*) *God created Man to be immortal, and made him to be the Image of his own Eternity; but that, through the Envy of the Devil, Death came into the World:* When the Son of *Sirach* tells us, that (*m*) *God*, at the firſt, *filled Man with the Knowledge of Underſtanding, and ſhew'd him Good and Evil*, but (*n*) that *Error and Darkneſs had their Beginning with Sinners*; that (*o*) *Death is the Sentence of the Lord over all Fleſh*; (*p*) that *the Covenant, from the Beginning, was, Thou ſhalt die the Death*; and that (*q*) *of Woman came the Beginning of Sin, and through her we all die:* When we read, and compare all theſe Paſſages together, I ſay, can there be any reaſonable Foundation to doubt in what Senſe the ancient *Jewiſh* Church underſtood the Hiſtory of the Fall?

NAY more: When not only we find the Wicked, and the Enemies of God repreſented under the Image (*r*) of a Serpent, of a *Dragon*; of a *Leviathan, the crooked Serpent*, &c. and the Prophet telling us expreſsly, that (*s*) *Duſt ſhall be the Serpent's Meat*; but our bleſſed *Saviour* likewiſe declaring, that (*t*) *the Devil was a Murtherer from the Beginning, a Lyar, and a Father of Lies*; St *Paul* aſſerting, that (*u*) the *Woman, being deceiv'd, was firſt in the Tranſgreſſion*, and that (*x*) the *Serpent beguiled her through his Subtilty*; and St *John*, in his *Revelation*, (*y*) calling that wicked and malicious Spirit, *the Devil*,

or

(*b*) *Moſes* Vindicatus. (*i*) *Jenkins*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II. (*k*) *Vid.* Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Diſſert. II. annext to his *Uſe and Intent of Prophecy*. (*l*) Wiſd. ii. 23, 24. (*m*) Eccluſ. xvii. 7. (*n*) Ibid. xi. 16. (*o*) Ibid. xli. 3. (*p*) Ibid. xiv. 17. (*q*) Ibid. xxv. 24. (*r*) Iſa. xiv. 29.—xxvii. 1. Micah vii. 17. (*s*) Iſa. lxv. 25. (*t*) John viii. 44. (*u*) 1 Tim. ii. 14. (*x*) 2 Cor. xi. 3. (*y*) Rev. xii. 9. — xx. 2.

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or the *Dragon*, *Satan*, or the *old Serpent*, indifferently; we cannot but perceive, that theſe Paſſages are not only plain References to the firſt Deception of Mankind under the Form of that Creature, but that they virtually comprize the Sum and Subſtance of the *Moſaic* Account. (z) So that, if we have any Regard either to the *Tradition* of the *Jewiſh* Church, or the *Teſtimony* of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, we cannot but believe, that the Hiſtory of Man's *Fall*, and the Conſequences thereupon, were really ſuch, as *Moſes* has repreſented them.

Confirm'd by Foreign Teſtimonies.

AND to confirm us in this Belief, we may obſerve farther, that the Tradition of almoſt every Nation is conformable to his Relation of Things: (a) That not only the State of Man's Innocence, in all Probability, gave riſe to the Poets Fiction of the *Golden Age*; but that the Story of *Adam* and *Eve*, of the Tree, and of the Serpent, was extant among the *Indians* long ago, and (as Travellers tell us) is ſtill preſerv'd among the *Brachmans*, and the Inhabitants of *Peru*: (b) That, in the old *Greek* Myſteries, the People us'd to carry about a Serpent, and were inſtructed to cry Εὖα, whereby the Devil ſeem'd to exult, as it were, over the unhappy Fall of our firſt Mother; and, that (c) in his Worſhip, in idolatrous Nations, even now,* there are frequent Inſtances of his diſplaying this his Conqueſt under the Figure of a Serpent: Strong Evidences of the Truth of the *Moſaic* Account! to ſay nothing of the *Rationale*, which it gives us of our innate *Pudor circa Res venerias*, of the Pains of Child-birth, of the preſent Sterility of the Earth, of the Slowneſs of Children's Education, of their Imbecility above all other Creatures, of the Woman's Subjection to her Huſband, of our natural Antipathy to viperous Animals, and (what has puzzled the wiſeſt of the Heathen Sages to diſcover) of the Depravation of our Wills, and our ſtrong Propenſity to what is Evil.

Gen. Ch. iii.

And is the moſt ſatisfactory of any.

THIS Origin of Evil is a Queſtion, which none of them could reſolve. They ſaw the Effect, but were ignorant of the Cauſe; and therefore their Conjectures were abſurd. (d) Some of them laid the whole Blame on *Matter*, as if its Union with the Mind gave it a pernicious Tincture. Others imagin'd a *pre-exiſtent State*, and that the bad Inclinations, which exerted themſelves in this World, were firſt of all contracted in another. (e) Several eſtabliſh'd *two Principles*, the one the Author of all the Good, and the other the Author of all the Evil, (whether *natural* or *moral*) that is found in human Nature: And, in Prejudice to this Abſurdity, many betook themſelves to *Atheiſm*, and deny'd any firſt Principle at all; accounting it better to have no God in the World, than ſuch an unaccountable Mixture of Good and Evil. But now, had but theſe wiſe Men had the Advantage of reading the *Moſaic* Account, they would never have taken up with ſuch wild *Hypotheſes*, but immediately concluded with our Saviour's Argument, that *(f) a corrupt Tree cannot bring forth good Fruit*; becauſe the Explication of the Riſe of Sin, by an *Original Lapſe*, is not only freed from theſe *Abſurdities*, wherewith other Explications abound, but, according to the Senſe, which the Author of the *Book of Wiſdom* has of it, ſets the Goodneſs of God, in the Creation of the World, in its proper Light; *viz.* (g) that *God made not Death, neither hath he Pleaſure in the Deſtruction of the Living.*

(z) *Moſes* Vindicatus. (a) *Grotius* de Veritate. (b) *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. (c) Vid. *Heideggeri* Hiſtoria Patriarcharum, Vol. I.

* *Philip Melanchon* tells a Story, to this Purpoſe, of ſome Prieſts (ſomewhere in *Aſia*) who carry about a Serpent, in a Brazen Veſſel, and, as they attend it with a great deal of Muſick and Charms in Verſe, the Serpent liſts up itſelf, opens its Mouth, and thruſts out the Head of a beautiful Virgin; the Devil, in this Manner, glorying in this Miſcarriage of *Eve* among theſe poor Idolators. And an Account much of the like Nature is given us in Books of *Travels* into the *Weſt-Indies*. *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I.

(d) *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. (e) Biſhop *King* on the Origin of Evil. (f) Matth. vii. 18. (g) Wiſd. i. 13, &c.

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Living. He created all Things, that they might have their Being, and the Generations of the World were healthful. There was no Poiſon of Deſtruction in them, nor the Kingdom of Death upon the Earth, until that ungodly Men call'd it to them; (*b*) *and ſo Error and Darkneſs had their Beginning together with Sinners.* Gen. Ch. iii.

DISSERTATION III.

Of ORIGINAL SIN.

ORIGINAL SIN indeed is a Phraſe, which does not occur in the whole Compaſs of the Bible; but the Nature of the Thing itſelf, and in what Manner it came to be committed, are ſufficiently related: So that thoſe, who admit of the Authority of the Scriptures, make no queſtion of the Fact. The great Matter in Diſpute is, what the Effect of this Tranſgreſſion was; what Guilt it contained; what Puniſhment it merited; and in what Degree its Guilt and Puniſhment both may be ſaid to affect us.

Different Opinions concerning it.

SOME have not ſtuck to affirm (*i*) that, in the Beginning of the World, there was no ſuch Thing, as any expreſs Covenant between God and Man; that the Prohibition of the *Tree of Knowledge* was given to our firſt Parents only, and they alone conſequently were culpable by its Tranſgreſſion; that *Adam*, in ſhort, was mortal, like one of us; he, no Repreſentative for his Poſterity; his Sin purely *perſonal*; and that the Imputation of Guilt, down to this Time, for an Offence, ſo many thouſand Years ago, committed, is a ſad Reflection upon the Goodneſs and Juſtice of God.

IN Oppoſition to this, others think proper to affirm, that, at the firſt Creation of Things, there was a Covenant made with all Mankind in *Adam*, their common Head, and Proxy, who ſtipulated for them all; that, by a Tranſgreſſion of this Covenant, our firſt Parents fell from their *original* Righteouſneſs, and thence became *dead in Sin*, and actually defiled in all their Faculties of Soul and Body; and that this Corruption is not only the Parent of all *actual* Tranſgreſſions, but, (even in its own Nature) brings Guilt upon every one, that is born into the World, whereby he is bound over to the Wrath of God, and the Curſe of the Law, and ſo made ſubject to Death, with all the Miſeries that attend it, *Spiritual*, *Temporal*, and *Eternal*.

THERE is another Opinion, which concerns itſelf not with the Imputation of the Guilt, but only with the Puniſhment of this Tranſgreſſion, and thereupon ſuppoſes, that tho' *Adam*, as to the Compoſition of his Body, was naturally mortal, yet, by the ſupernatural Gift of God, (whereof the *Tree of Life* was a *Symbol* or Sacrament) he was to be preſerved immortal: From whence it is inferred, (*k*) that the Denunciation of the Sentence, *in the Day thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt ſurely die*, is to be underſtood *literally* indeed, but then extended no farther than *natural Death*; which, conſidering the Fears, and Terrors, and ſundry Kinds of Miſery, which it occaſions, may be reputed Puniſhment ſevere enough, though fairly conſiſtent with our Notions of God's Goodneſs and Juſtice, becauſe it is but a *temporal* Puniſhment, and abundantly recompenc'd by that eternal Redemption, which all Mankind ſhall have in Chriſt Jeſus.

OTHERS again do ſo far approve of this, as to think it in Part the Puniſhment of *Original Sin*; but then they ſuppoſe, that, beſides this *natural Mortality*, there is a certain Weakneſs and Corruption ſpread thro' the whole Race of Mankind, which diſcovers itſelf in their Inclination to Evil, and Inſufficiency to what is Good. This, ſay

(*b*) Eccluſ. xi. 16. (*i*) *Burnet* on the Articles, and *Taylor*'s Polemical Diſcourſes. (*k*) *Locke*'s Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity; and *Tractatus de Imputatione divinâ peccati* Adami, *per* Dan. Whitby.

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ſay they, † the very Heathens complain of; this † the Scriptures every where teſtify; and therefore they conclude, that, ſince Man was not *originally* made in this Condition (for God created him *after his own Image*) he muſt have contracted all this from his Fall, and that therefore the threatening of Death had an higher Signification, than the Diſſolution of the Soul and Body, *viz.* the Loſs of the Divine Favour, of all ſupernatural Gifts and Graces, and a total Defection of the Mind from God, which immediately enſu'd upon the Tranſgreſſion.

A proper State of the Queſtion.

THESE are ſome of the principal Opinions, (for the little *Singularities* are innumerable) and, in the midſt of ſo many Intricacies, to find out a proper Path for us to purſue, we may reſolve the whole Controverſy into this one Queſtion: —— "Whether human Nature be ſo far cor- "rupted, and the Guilt of our Firſt Pa- "rents Tranſgreſſion ſo far imputed to "their Poſterity, that every Perſon, from "the Mother's Womb, muſt neceſſarily "go aſtray, and muſt certainly fall into "everlaſting Perdition, without the Means "appointed in the *new Covenant* for his "Preſervation?" And in ſearching into this, the Sentiments of the *Fathers*, much more the Altercations of the *Schoolmen*, will help us very little. † The former are ſo *divided* in their Opinions, and the latter ſo *abſtruſe* in their Arguments upon this Subject, that an honeſt Enquirer will find himſelf *bewilder'd*, rather than *inſtructed*; and therefore our ſafeſt Recourſe will be to the *Declarations* of God's Will, explain'd in a Manner comporting with his Attributes. Gen. Ch. iii.

And the moſt probable Explication of it.

THAT God, who is the Fountain of our Being, is infinitely pure and holy, and can therefore be neither the Author, or Promoter of any Sin in us, is obvious to our firſt Conceptions of him; and therefore, if the Corruption of our Nature be ſuppoſed to be ſuch, as *neceſſarily* and *unavoidably* determines us to Wickedneſs, without the leaſt Tendency to Good, to give it a Counterpoiſe, thoſe, who maintain the *Negative* of the Queſtion, are in the Right ſo far, as they ſtand in Defence of God's immaculate Purity, and are known to be Aſſerters of the Freedom of human *Choice*, without which, the common Diſtinctions of Virtue and Vice, and the certain Proſpects of Rewards and Puniſhments, are entirely loſt. But, when they carry the Point ſo far, as to deny any *Alteration* in human Nature *now*, from what it was at its firſt Creation; as to deny, that *Adam*, in his State of Uprightneſs, had

† St *Auſtin*, in his Fourth Book againſt *Julian*, brings in *Cicero* [de Repub. l. 3.] complaining, *Non à matre, ſed à Novercâ Naturâ editum eſſe Hominem in vitam; corpore nudo, fragili, & infirmo, animo anxio ad moleſtias, humili ad timores, molli ad labores; in quo tamen velut obrutus ineſt ignis quidam Divinus Mentis.* Whereupon the holy Father makes this Remark. Rem vidit Author iſte, Cauſam neſcivit: Latebat enim eum, cur eſſet grave jugum ſuper filios *Adam*, quia, ſacris literis non eruditus, ignorabat *Originale* peccatum.

† The Scriptures ſtate the Corruption of human Nature in ſuch Terms, as theſe, *viz.* that *by one Man Sin entered into the World*, by whoſe *Diſobedience many were made Sinners*, Rom. v. 19. that *by Nature* therefore *we are the Children of Wrath*, Eph. ii. 3. and *unable to receive the Things of the Spirit, or to know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned*, 1 Cor. ii. 14. for *what is born of Fleſh is Fleſh*, John iii. 6. and *who can bring a clean Thing out of an unclean?* Job xiv. 4. The Royal Pſalmiſt therefore makes, in his own Perſon, this Confeſſion of our natural Depravity; *Behold I was ſhapen in Wickedneſs, and in Sin has my Mother conceived me*, Pſal. li. 5. and St *Paul*, this publick Declaration of our Inability to do Good; *I know that in me* (i. e. *in my Fleſh*) *dwelleth no good Thing; for to will is preſent with me, but to perform that which is Good, I find not; for, tho' I delight in the Law of God after the inward Man, yet I ſee another Law in my Members, warring againſt the Law in my Mind, and bringing me into Captivity to the Law of Sin, which is in my Members. O wretched Man that I am! who ſhall deliver me from the Body of this Death?* Rom. vii. 18, &c.

† *Voſſius*, in his Hiſtory of *Pelagianiſm*, aſſures us, that the whole *Catholick* Church was always of Opinion, that *the Guilt of* Adam's *Sin was imputed to his Poſterity to their Condemnation; ſo that Children, dying therein, were conſigned to everlaſting Puniſhment, at leaſt, to an everlaſting Separation from God:* And, to confirm this Aſſertion, he quotes a Multitude of Paſſages out of almoſt all the Doctors of the *Greek* Church. *Taylor*, and *Whitby*, and ſome other Writers upon this Argument, produce the Teſtimony of the ſame Fathers to evince the very contrary Poſition; ſo that there is no depending upon any Thing, where Authors are ſo inconſiſtent with themſelves, and ſo repugnant to one another. The Truth is, before *Pelagius* appear'd in the World, moſt of the ancient Writers of the Church were very inaccurate, both in what they thought, and wrote, concerning *Original Sin*, and *Free Will*; and it ſeems, as if the Providence of God permitted that *Heretick* to ariſe, that thereby he might engage the Maintainers of *Orthodoxy* to ſtudy thoſe Points more maturely. *Whitaker* de Peccato Orig. l. 2.

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had any Gifts and Graces *ſupernatural*, any Clearneſs in his *Underſtanding*, any Strength in his *Will*, any Regularity in his *Affections*, more than every Man of Maturity, and competent Faculties, has at this Day; when they adventure to affirm, that there is no Neceſſity of *Grace*, in our preſent Condition, to *aſſiſt* our hereditary Weakneſs, to *enlighten* our Minds, and *incline* our Wills, and *conduct* our Affections to the Purpoſes of Holineſs, but that every Man may do what is good and acceptable to God by the Power of his own natural Abilities; they then run counter to the common Experience of human Infirmity; they overlook the Declarations of God's Word, concerning his gracious Aſſiſtance; and ſeem to deſpiſe the kind Overture of that bleſſed Agent, whereby we are *renewed, and ſanctify'd in the Spirit of our Minds.*

IN like Manner, when the Maintainers of *abſolute Depravation* contend, that Man, in his preſent Condition, is far departed from *original* Righteouſneſs, and, of his own Accord, very much inclined to Evil; that the Order of his Faculties is deſtroy'd, and thoſe *Graces*, which conſtituted the *Image of God*, departed from him; that, in this State, he is *now* unable to raiſe himſelf from the Level of common Impotence, but requires the Intervention of ſome ſuperior Principle, to aid and aſſiſt him in his Progreſs towards Heaven; They ſay no more, than what Experience teaches us, and what the ſacred Records, which acquaint us with the Diſpenſation of Grace, are known to authorize. But, when they carry their Poſitions to a greater Extent, than they will juſtly bear; when they affirm, that, ever ſince the firſt Defection, the Mind of Man is not only much impair'd, but grievouſly vitiated in all its Faculties, having a ſtrong Averſion to every Thing that is good, and an invincible Propenſity to what is evil; not one Thought, Word, or Wiſh, that tends towards God, but the Seeds and Principles of every Vice, that bears the Image and Lineaments of the Devil, inherent in it: When they advance ſuch Doctrines as theſe, I ſay, they debaſe human Nature too low, and ſeem to impute ſuch Iniquity to its Maker, as can hardly be wip'd off, if every human Soul be naturally inclin'd to all Kind of Wickedneſs, when it comes from the Hand of his creating Power. Gen. Ch. iii.

THERE is certainly therefore another Way of accounting for theſe Difficulties, without any Prejudice to the Divine Attributes, and that is this: —— Not by aſcribing any *poſitive Malignity* to human Nature, but only *the Loſs* of the Image of God; becauſe a mere Privation of *Rectitude*, in an *active* Subject, will ſufficiently anſwer all the Purpoſes, for which a *poſitive* Corruption is pleaded. (*l*) The Soul of Man, we know, is a buſy Creature: By the Force of its own Nature it muſt be in Action; but then, without *Grace*, and the *Image of God*, aſſiſting and adorning it, it cannot act regularly and well. So that, the Difference between *Adam* and us, is, not that we have violent Inclinations to all Manner of Wickedneſs implanted in our Nature, any more than he, in his Innocence, had in his; but that we, in our preſent Condition, want ſundry Advantages, which he, in the Height of his Perfection, was not without. He had the free Power of Obedience; he had the perfect Image of his Maker, in all the Divine Qualities of *Knowledge* and *Holineſs*, which we have not; and therefore, when we ſay, that he communicated to his Poſterity a *corrupted Nature*, it muſt not be underſtood, as if that Nature, which we receive, was infected with any vicious Inclinations, or Habits, to ſway, and determine our Will to what is evil; but the Meaning is, that he communicated to us a Nature, which has indeed a Power to incline, and act *variouſly*, but that he did not, withal, communicate to us the *Image of God*, nor that Fullneſs of Knowledge, and Power of Obedience, which were requiſite to make all its

(*l*) *Hopkins* on the Two Covenants.

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its Actions and Inclinations holy and regular: And our Nature is therefore ſaid to be *corrupted*, becauſe it is *comparatively* bad; becauſe it is reduced to its mere natural State, which, at the beſt, is a State of Imperfection, and depriv'd of that *Grace*, which ſhould have reſtrain'd it from Sin, and of thoſe other high Endowments, wherewith *at firſt* it was inveſted.

This is a fair Account of our original Corruption: It ſtands clear of the Difficulties, that attend the other Opinions, and is not inconſiſtent with the Notions, we have of the Divine Attributes. For barely to *withdraw* thoſe extraordinary Gifts, which were not eſſential to Man's Nature, but ſuch as God *additionally* had beſtow'd upon him, and he, by his Tranſgreſſion, unworthily forfeited, is what agrees very well with the Wiſdom, and Juſtice, and Holineſs of God to do; tho' to infuſe a *poſitive Malignity*, or ſuch a ſtrong Inclination to Wickedneſs in us, as induces a *Neceſſity* of ſinning, moſt certainly does not.

That *the Judge of all the World cannot but do right*, and he, *who keepeth Mercy from Generation to Generation*, can have no Hand in any cruel Action, is a certain Truth, and what our firſt Reflections on the Divine Nature teach us. Thoſe therefore, who maintain, that *Adam*'s Sin is not imputed to us to our Damnation, or, that Children *unbaptiz'd* are not the Objects of Divine Vengeance, nor ſhall be condemn'd to Hell, or an eternal Expulſion from God's Preſence, for what was done many thouſand Years before they were born, are ſo far in the right, as they oppoſe an Opinion, which clouds the amiable Attributes of God, and repreſents him in a Dreſs of Horror, and engaged in Acts of extreme Severity at leaſt, if not unrelenting Cruelty. *Hell* certainly is not ſo eaſy a Pain, nor are the *Souls* of Children of ſo cheap and ſo contemptible a Price, as that God ſhould ſnatch them from their Mother's Womb, and throw them into Perdition without any Manner of Concern; and therefore, when Men argue againſt ſuch *Poſitions*, as theſe, they are certainly to be commended, becauſe therein they vindicate the ſacred Attributes of God: But, when they carry their Oppoſition to a greater Length, than it will juſtly go, ſo as to affirm —— that there was no ſuch Thing as a *Covenant* between *God* and *Adam*, or, if there was, that *Adam* contracted for himſelf only; that his Guilt conſequently was *perſonal*, and cannot, in Juſtice, be imputed to us; that, ſince we had no Share in the Tranſgreſſion, there is no Reaſon why we ſhould bear any Part in the Puniſhment; that we are all born, in ſhort, in the ſame State of Innocence, and are under the ſame Favour and Acceptance with Almighty God, that *Adam*, before the firſt Tranſgreſſion, was: When they advance ſuch Poſitions as theſe, in Maintenance of their Oppoſition, they ſadly forget, that while they would ſeem Advocates for the Mercy and Goodneſs of God, they are taking away the Foundation of the *ſecond Covenant*; deſtroying the Neceſſity of a Divine *Mediator*; and overlooking thoſe Declarations in Scripture, which affirm, that (*m*) *all the World is become guilty before God*; that *all Men, both* Jews *and* Gentiles, *are under Sin*; *have come ſhort of the Glory of God*, (*n*) *and are by Nature the Children of Wrath.* Gen. Ch. iii.

To make an Agreement then between the Word of God, and his Attributes in this Particular, we may fairly allow, that there really was a Covenant between *God* and *Adam* at the firſt Creation; that, in making that Covenant, *Adam*, as their Head and common Repreſentative, ſtipulated for all Mankind, as well as for himſelf; and that, in his Tranſgreſſion of it, the Guilt and the Puniſhment, due thereupon, was imputed to all his Poſterity. This we may allow was the State and Condition, wherein *Adam* left us: But then we muſt remember, that (*o*) the whole Scheme of Man's Salvation was laid in the Divine Counſel and Decree

(*m*) Rom. iii. 9, 19, 23. (*n*) Eph. ii. 3. (*o*) *Jenkin*'s Reaſonableneſs, Vol. II.

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from all Eternity; that God, foreſeeing Man would fall, determined to ſend his Son to redeem him, and determined to do this, long before the Tranſgreſſion happened: So that, the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God had effectually provided before-hand againſt all the ill Conſequences of the *Fall*, and made it impoſſible, that *Adam*'s Poſterity ſhould become eternally miſerable, and be condemned to the Flames and Pains of *Hell*, any other Way, than through their own *perſonal* Guilt and Tranſgreſſions. The Redemption of the World was decreed, I ſay, from Eternity, and was actually promiſed before any Child of *Adam* was born, even before the Sentence was pronounced upon our Firſt Parents; and as ſoon as it was pronounced, its Benefits, without all Controverſy, did commence. So that, upon this *Hypotheſis*, every *Infant*, that comes into the World, as it brings along with it the Guilt of *Adam*'s Sin, brings along with it likewiſe the Benefits of *Chriſt*'s meritorious Death, *which God hath ſet forth, as a* ſtanding *Propitiation for the Sins of the whole World.* Nor can the Want of *Baptiſm* be any Obſtruction to this Remedy, ſince the Remedy was exhibited long before the *Rite* was inſtituted; and ſince that Rite, when inſtituted (according to the Senſe of ſome learned Fathers) was more a Pledge of *good Things to come*, * a Type of our future Reſurrection, a Form of Adoption into the heavenly Family, and of Admiſſion to thoſe *rich Promiſes of God, which are hid in Jeſus Chriſt*, than any Ordinance appointed for the *myſtical Waſhing away of Sin.* Gen. Ch. iii.

The Whole ſumm'd up.

In ſhort, as long as St *Paul*'s Epiſtles are read, the original Compact between God and Man, the Depravation of human Nature, and the Imputation of *Adam*'s Guilt, muſt be received as ſtanding Doctrines of the Church of Chriſt: But then we are to take great Care, in our Manner of explaining them, to preſerve the Divine Attributes ſacred and inviolate: And this may happily be effected, if we will but ſuppoſe, that our hereditary Corruption is occaſion'd, not by the *Infuſion* of any poſitive Malignity into us, but by the *Subduction* of ſupernatural Gifts from us; that the Covenant of *Grace* commenced immediately after the Covenant of *Works* was broken, and has included all Mankind ever ſince; that the Blood of Chriſt ſhields his Children from the Wrath of God; and that the Imputation of *Adam*'s Guilt and Obnoxiouſneſs to Puniſhment is effectually taken away, by the meritorious Oblation of that *Lamb of God, which was ſlain from the Foundation of the World.*

* Baptizantur Infantes (juxta *Chryſoſtomum* & *Theodoretum*) ut Baptiſmus ipſis *ſit arca futurorum bonorum, typus futuræ reſurrectionis, Dominicæ paſſionis communicatio, atque ut ſuperne regenerati, ſanctificati, in adoptionis jus adducti, & unigeniti cohæredes, per ſacrorum myſteriorum participationem, ſint.* *Whitby* de Imputatione Peccati *Adami*.

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Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Murther of Abel, *and the Baniſhment of* Cain.

The HISTORY.

Cain *and* Abel's *Birth.*

OUR firſt Parents, we may ſuppoſe, * after a Courſe of Penance and Humiliation for their Tranſgreſſion, obtained the Pardon and Forgiveneſs of God; and yet the Corruption, which their Sin introduced, remain'd upon human Nature, and began to diſcover itſelf in that impious Fact, which *Cain* committed upon his Brother *Abel*. *Cain* was the firſt Child, that was ever born into the World; and his Mother *Eve* was ſo fully perſuaded, that *the promis'd Seed* would immediately deſcend from her, that ſhe ſuppoſed him to be the Perſon, who was to ſubdue the Power of the great Enemy of Mankind; and therefore, upon her Delivery, ſhe cried out, in a Tranſport of Joy, † *I have gotten a Man from the Lord*, and accordingly gave him the Name of *Cain*, which ſignifies *Poſſeſſion*, or *Acquiſition*; never ſuſpecting, that, as ſoon as he grew up, he wou'd occaſion her no ſmall Sorrow and Diſconſolation.

THE next Son, that ſhe bore, (which was the Year following) was called † *Abel*, denoting *Sorrow* and *Mourning*; but very probably he might not receive that Name, until his *tragical* End, which cauſed great Grief to his Parents, verify'd the Meaning of it. Other Children, we may preſume, were all along born to our firſt Parents; but theſe are the two, who, for ſome Time, made the principal Figure; and, as they had the whole World before them, there was ſmall Reaſon (one wou'd think) for thoſe Feuds and Contentions, which, in after Ages, embroil'd Mankind. But the Misfortune was, they were Perſons of quite different Tempers, and accordingly, when they grew up, betook themſelves to different

* The *Oriental* Writers are very full of *Adam*'s Sorrows and Lamentations upon this Occaſion. They have recorded the ſeveral Forms of Prayer, wherein he addreſſed God for Pardon and Forgiveneſs; and ſome of the *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion, that the thirty-ſecond Pſalm, wherein we meet with theſe Expreſſions, *I acknowledge my Sin unto thee, and mine Iniquity have I not hid; I ſaid I will confeſs my Tranſgreſſions unto the Lord, and thou forgaveſt the Iniquity of my Sin*, was of his compoſing.

Our excellent *Milton*, to the ſame Purpoſe, introduces *Adam*, after a melancholy Soliloquy with himſelf, and ſome haſty Altercations with *Eve*, propoſing at length this wholeſome Advice to her:

What better can we do, than to the Place
Repairing, where he judg'd us, proſtrate fall
Before him reverent; and there confeſs
Humbly our Faults, and Pardon beg; with Tears
Wat'ring the Ground, and with our Sighs the Air
Frequenting, ſent from Hearts contrite, in Sign
Of Sorrow unfeign'd, and Humiliation meek?
Undoubtedly he will relent, and turn
From his Diſpleaſure: In whoſe Looks ſerene,
When angry moſt he ſeem'd, and moſt ſevere,
What elſe but Favour, Grace, and Mercy, ſhone?

BOOK X.

† *Iſh eth Jehovah*, which our Tranſlation makes, *a Man from the Lord*, ſhould rather be render'd *the Man, the Lord*. *Helvicus* has ſhewn, in ſo many Inſtances in Scripture, that *eth* is an Article of the *Accuſative Caſe*, that it ſeems indeed to be the *Hebrew* Idiom; beſides, that it is a *demonſtrative*, or *emphatick* Particle, which points at ſome Thing or Perſon, in a particular Manner; and therefore ſeveral, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Doctors, have taken the Words in this Senſe:——That our Grandmother *Eve*, when delivered of *Cain*, thought ſhe had brought forth the *Meſſias*, this *God-man*, who was to *bruiſe the Serpent's Head*, or deſtroy *Satan*'s Power and Dominion, according to the Promiſe, which God had made her. *Edwards*'s Survey of Religion, Vol. I.

† Others derive the Name from a Word, which ſignifies *Vanity*, and are of Opinion, that *Eve* intended thereby, either to declare the little Eſteem ſhe had of him, in Compariſon of her Firſt-born; or to ſhew the Vanity of her Hopes, in taking *Cain* for the *Meſſiah*; or to denote that all Things in the World, into which he was now come, were mere *Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Saurin*'s Diſſertation.

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different Employments; *Cain*, who was of a ſurly, ſordid, and avaritious Temper, to the Tilling of the Ground; and *Abel*, who was more gentle and ingenuous in his Diſpoſition, to the Keeping of Sheep.

Their Oblations.

IT was a cuſtomary Thing, even in the Infancy of the World, to make Acknowledgments to God, by Way of Oblation, for the bountiful Supply of all his Creatures; and accordingly ‖ theſe two Brothers were wont to bring Offerings, ſuitable to their reſpective Callings: *Cain*, as an Huſbandman, the *Fruits of the Ground*; and *Abel*, as a Shepherd, the *Firſtlings*, or (as ſome will have it) the ‡ Milk *of his Flock*. Upon ſome ſet and ſolemn Occaſion then, *(p)* (and not improbably at the End of Harveſt) as they were preſenting their reſpective Offerings, God, who eſtimates the Sincerity of the Heart, more than the Value of the Oblation, † gave a viſible Token of his Acceptance of *Abel*'s Sacrifice, preferable to that of *Cain*, which ſo enraged, and tranſported him with Envy againſt his Brother, that he could not help ſhewing it in his Countenance. Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

God's Expoſtulation with Cain.

GOD however, in great Kindneſs, condeſcended to expoſtulate the Matter with him, telling him, "(*q*) That his Reſpect "to true Goodneſs was impartial, where-"ever he found it, and that ‡ therefore, "it was purely his own Fault, that his "Offering was not equally accepted; that "Piety was the proper Diſpoſition for a "Sacrificer; and that, if herein he "would emulate his Brother, the ſame "Tokens of Divine Approbation ſhould "attend his Oblations; (*r*) that it was "Folly

‖ In the laſt Verſe of this Chapter we read, that it was in the Days of *Enos*, when *Men firſt began to call on the Name of the Lord*; and yet, in the third and fourth Verſes thereof, we find that *Cain* and *Abel* brought their reſpective Offering to the Place (as we may ſuppoſe) of Divine Worſhip. Now, if the Beginning of Divine Worſhip was in the Days of *Enos*, what Worſhip was this in the Days of *Cain* and *Abel*? To have two Beginnings for the ſame Worſhip, is a Thing incongruous, unleſs we can ſuppoſe, that the two Brothers, when they came with their Oblations, did not worſhip at all; neither opening their Lips in the Divine Benefactor's Praiſe, nor invocating a Bleſſing upon what his Bounty had ſent them, which is highly inconſiſtent with the Character of Worſhippers. But, in Anſwer to this, we muſt obſerve, that the Worſhip of God is of two Kinds, *publick* and *private*; that the Worſhip, wherein theſe Brothers were concern'd, was of the *latter* Sort, for *Cain* is mentioned by himſelf, and *Abel* by himſelf. They came to the Place of Worſhip ſeverally; their Sacrifices were not the ſame; neither were the Offerers of the ſame Mind. But the Worſhip, which was inſtituted in the Time of *Enos*, was of a *publick* Nature, when ſeveral Families, under their reſpective Heads, met together in the ſame Place, and joined in one common Service, whether of Prayers, Praiſes, or Sacrifices. Tho' the Phraſe of *Mens beginning to call upon the Name of the Lord*, may poſſibly bear another Conſtruction, as we ſhall ſhew, when we come to examine the Place itſelf. *Strat*'s Dividing of the Hoof.

‡ It is a pretty common Opinion, that the *Eating of Fleſh* was not permitted before the Flood; and 'tis the Poſition of *Grotius*, that no *carnal* Sacrifices were, at that Time, offered, becauſe nothing, but what was of Uſe to Man, was to be conſecrated to God. The Scarcity of Cattle might very well excuſe their being ſlain in the Worſhip of God; and therefore ſince the ſame Word in *Hebrew* [*Hhalab*, or *Hheleb*] according to its different Punctuation, ſignifies both *Fat* and *Milk*, and accordingly is render'd both Ways by the LXX, many learned Men ſeem rather to favour the latter, as finding it a Cuſtom, among the ancient *Egyptians*, to ſacrifice Milk to their Deities, as a Token and Acknowledgment of the Fecundity of their Cattle. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Saurin*'s Diſſertation. But the learned *Heidegger* is of an Opinion quite the contrary. *Vid. Exercit.* 15. *de Cibo Antediluviano.*

(*p*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſtoria Patriarcharum.

† The *Jews* are generally of Opinion, that this *viſible Token* of God's accepting *Abel*'s Sacrifice, was a Fire, or Lightning, which came from Heaven, and conſum'd it. The Footſteps of this we meet with in a ſhort Time after, *Gen.* xv. 17. and the Examples of it were many in future Ages, *viz.* when *Moſes* offered the firſt Burnt-Offering according to the Law, *Lev.* ix. 24. when *Gideon* offered upon the Rock, *Jud.* vi. 21. when *David* ſtayed the Plague, 1 *Chron.* xxi. 26. when *Solomon* conſecrated the Temple, 2 *Chron.* vii. 1. and when *Elijah* contended with the *Baalites*, 1 *Kings* xviii. 38, &c. And, accordingly, we find the *Iſraelites*, (when they wiſh all Proſperity to their King) praying, that God would be pleaſed *to accept* (in the *Hebrew*, *turn into Aſhes*) *his burnt Sacrifice*, Pſal. xx. 3. *Patrick* and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

(*q*) *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation are, *If thou doeſt well, ſhalt thou not be accepted?* ver. 7. which ſome render, *ſhalt thou not receive*, viz. a Reward; others, *ſhalt thou not be pardon'd?* and others again, *thou ſhalt be elevated to Dignity.* But, if we conſider, what God ſays to *Cain* in the two foregoing Verſes, *that his Countenance was fallen*, we cannot but perceive, that in *this* he promiſes him, that, if he did well, he ſhould have his Face *liſted up*, and that he ſhould have no more Reaſon to be ſad; for ſo the Scripture frequently expreſſes a fearleſs and chearful State. *If Iniquity be in thine Hand*, ſays one of *Job*'s Friends, *put it away from thee, and let not Wickedneſs dwell in thy Tabernacles; for then thou ſhalt lift up thy Face without Spot*, Job xi. 15. Eſſay for a new Tranſlation.

(*r*) *Poole*'s Annotations.

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" Folly and Madneſs in him to harbour " any revengeful Thoughts againſt his Bro- " ther; becauſe, if he proceeded to put " them in Execution, ‡ a dreadful Puniſh- " ment would immediately overtake him; " and that leaſt of all had he Reaſon to " be angry with him, whoſe Preference " was only a Token of his ſuperior Vir- " tue, and not intended to ſupplant him of " his Birthright, (*s*) which ſhould al- " ways be inviolate, and his Brother be " obliged to † pay him the Reſpect and " Homage, that was due to his *Primogeni-* " *ture*; which, if he was minded to pre- " ſerve, his wiſeſt Way would be to be " quiet, and not proceed one Step farther " in any wicked Deſign."

THIS was a kind Admonition from God: But ſo little Effect had it upon *Cain*, that, inſtead of being ſenſible of his Fault, and endeavouring to amend, he grew more and more incens'd againſt his Brother; inſomuch, that at laſt he took a Reſolution to kill him; but diſſembled his Deſign, until he ſhould find a proper Opportunity. Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

AND, to this Purpoſe, coming to his Brother one Day, and pretending great Kindneſs to him, he aſked him very friendly to take a Walk with him in the Fields, where, having got him alone, * upon ſome Pretence or other, he pick'd a Quarrel with him, and ſo fell upon him, and ſlew him, and afterwards (*t*) bury'd him in the Ground, to prevent all Diſcovery: But it was not long, before he was called to an Account for this horrid Fact. God appeared to him, and, having queſtion'd him about his Brother, and receiv'd ſome ſullen and evaſive Anſwers from him, directly charged him with his Murther; and then repreſenting it in its proper Aggravations, as a Crime unpardonable, and what

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation are, *Sin lieth at thy Door:* Where, by *Sin*, the Generality of Interpreters mean, the *Puniſhment* of Sin, which is hard at Hand, and ready to overtake the Wicked. But our learned *Lightfoot* obſerves, that God does not here preſent himſelf to *Cain*, in order to threaten, but to encourage him, as the firſt Words of his Speech to him do import; and that therefore the bare Deſcription of *lying at the Door*, does plainly enough inſinuate, that the Text does not ſpeak either of *Errors* or *Puniſhment*, but of a *Sacrifice for Sin*, which the Scripture often calls by the *Hebrew* Word here, and which was commonly plac'd before the Door of the *Sanctuary*, as may be ſeen in ſeveral Paſſages in Scripture. So that, according to this Senſe, God is here comforting *Cain*, even tho' he did amiſs in maligning his Brother, and referring him to the *Propitiation* of Chriſt, which, even then, was of ſtanding Force for the Remiſſion of Sin. *Eſſay for a new Tranſlation.* But this Senſe of the Words ſeem a little too far fetch'd.

(*s*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† The Words in the Text are, *unto thee ſhall be his Deſire*, Gen. iii. 16. which (however ſome Expoſitors have clouded them) will appear to be plain and eaſy enough, if we do but conſider, that there are two Expreſſions, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, to ſignify the Readineſs of one Perſon to ſerve and reſpect another. The one is [*aine el yad*] or *our Eyes are to his Hand*; the other [*Teſhukah el*] or *our Deſire is to him.* The former expreſſes our *outward* Attendance, and the latter the *inward* Temper and Readineſs of our Mind to pay reſpect. Of the former we have an Inſtance in *Pſal.* cxxxiii. *The Eyes of Servants are to the Hand of their Maſters, and the Eyes of a Maiden are to the Hand of her Miſtreſs*, i. e. they ſtand ready with a vigilant Obſervance to execute their Orders. We meet the other Expreſſion in the Place before us, and it imports an *inward* Temper and Diſpoſition of Mind to pay Reſpect and Honour. *His Deſire will be unto thee*, i. e. he will be heartily devoted (as we ſay in *Engliſh*) to honour and reſpect you. And *thou ſhalt* [or mayeſt] *rule over him*, i. e. you may have any Service from him, you can deſire. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I.

* According to the *Engliſh* Tranſlation, *Moſes* tells us, *ver.* 8. that *Cain talked with Abel his Brother.* The Words ſtrictly ſignify, *Cain ſaid unto Abel his Brother*; after which there is a *blank Space* left in the *Hebrew* Copies, as if ſomething was wanting. The *Samaritan* Pentateuch, and the LXX Verſion ſupply this, by adding the Words,——*Let us go into the Fields*; but the *Jeruſalem Targum*, and that of *Jonathan*, have ſupply'd us with their whole Converſation.—As they went along, " I know, ſays *Cain*, that the World was created by the Mercy of God, but it is not govern'd " according to the Fruit of our good Works, and there is Reſpect of Perſons in Judgment. Why was thy Obla- " tion favourably accepted, when mine was rejected? Abel *anſwer'd, and ſaid unto* Cain, The World was created in " Mercy, and is govern'd according to the Fruits of our good Works. There is no Reſpect of Perſons in Judgment; " for my Oblation was more favourably receiv'd, becauſe the Fruit of my Works was better, and more precious, than " thine. *Hereupon* Cain *in a Fury breaks out*, There is no Judgment, nor Judge, nor any other World; neither ſhall " good Men receive any Reward, nor wicked Men be puniſh'd. *To which* Abel *reply'd*, There is a Judgment, and " a Judge, and another World, in which good Men ſhall receive a Reward, and wicked Men be puniſh'd." Upon which there enſu'd a Quarrel, which ended in *Abel*'s Death. So that, according to this Account, *Abel* ſuffer'd for the Vindication of the Truth, and was, in Reality, the firſt *Martyr*. *Eſthius* in Difficiliora Loca.

(*t*) *Joſephus*'s Antiq. l. 1. c. 3.

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what cried aloud to Heaven for Vengeance, he proceeded immediately to paſs Sentence upon him.

And Sentence againſt him.

Cain's chief (*u*) Deſign and Ambition was, to make himſelf great and powerful, in Favour with God, and in Credit with Men, without any one to ſtand in Competition with him; but in every Thing he intended, he found himſelf diſappointed, for attempting to accompliſh his Ends in ſo wicked a Manner. Inſtead of growing great and opulent, the Ground was ſentenced *not to yield him her Strength*, i. e. he was to be unproſperous in his Huſbandry and Tillage: Inſtead of enjoying God's Favour without a Rival, he was baniſhed *from his Preſence*, and for ever excluded from that happy Converſe with the Deity, which, in the firſt Ages of the World, 'twas cuſtomary for good Men to enjoy: And, inſtead of being a Man of Renown among his Family, he became a *Fugitive and Vagabond*; was baniſhed from his native Country, and compelled to withdraw into ſome *diſtant* and *deſolate* Part of the Earth, as an abominable Perſon, not worthy to live, nor fit to be endur'd in any *civil* Community.

THE ſame Principle, which leads wicked Men to the Commiſſion of Crimes, in Hopes of Impunity, throws them into Deſpair, upon the Denunciation of Puniſhment. This Sentence of *Cain*, though infinitely ſhort of the Heinouſneſs of his Guilt, made him believe, † that he was to undergo much greater Evils, than it really imported; and that, not only the Miſeries of Baniſhment, but the Danger likewiſe of being ſlain by every one, that came near him, was enſuant upon it. But, to ſatisfy him in this Reſpect, God was pleaſed to declare, that his Providence ſhould protect him from all outward Violence; and, to remove the uneaſy Apprehenſion from his Mind, vouchſafed to give him a Sign (very (*x*) probably by ſome ſenſible Miracle) that no Creature whatever ſhould be permitted to take away his Life, but, that whoever attempted it, ſhould incur a very ſevere Puniſhment; becauſe, God (*y*) was minded to prolong his Days, in this wretched Eſtate, as a Monument of his Vengeance, to deter future Ages from committing the like Murther.

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

THUS, by the Force of the Divine Sentence, *Cain* left his Parents and Relations, and went into a ſtrange Country. He was baniſhed from that ſacred Place, where God vouchſafed † frequent Manifeſtations of his *glorious Preſence*; and tho', by the Divine Decree, no Perſon was permitted to hurt him, yet, being conſcious of his own Guilt, he was fearful of every Thing he ſaw or heard: Till having wander'd about, a long while, in many different Countries, he ſettled, at Length,

Cain's *Baniſhment.*

(*u*) *Shuckford*'s Introduction, Vol. I.

† The Words in our Tranſlation are, *My Puniſhment is greater than I can bear*; but as the *Hebrew* Word [*Avon*] ſignifies *Iniquity*, rather than Puniſhment, and the Verb [*Naſha*] ſignifies *to be forgiven*, as well as to *bear*, it ſeems to agree better with the Context, if the Verſe be render'd either *poſitively*, *My Iniquity is too great to be forgiven*, or (as the *Hebrew* Expoſitors take it) by way of Interrogation, *Is my Iniquity too great to be forgiven?* which ſeems to be the better of the two. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. A learned Annotator has obſerv'd, that, as *there are ſeven Abominations in* the Heart of him, that loveth not his Brother, *Prov.* xxvi. 25. there were the like Number of Tranſgreſſions in *Cain*'s whole Conduct; for, 1*ſt*, he ſacrificed without Faith; 2*dly*, was diſpleas'd that God reſpected him not; 3*dly*, hearken'd not to God's Admonition; 4*thly*, ſpake diſſemblingly to his Brother; 5*thly*, killed him in the Field; 6*thly*, deny'd, that he knew where he was; and, 7*thly*, neither aſk'd, nor hop'd for Mercy from God, but deſpair'd, and ſo *fell into the Condemnation of the Devil*. *Ainſworth*'s Annotations.

(*x*) Univerſal Hiſtory, Numb. 2. (*y*) *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Both *Lightfoot*, *Heidegger*, and *Le Clerc*, ſeem to be of Opinion, that what we render the *Preſence of the Lord*, was the proper Name of that particular Place, where *Adam*, after his Expulſion from Paradiſe, dwelt; and accordingly we find that Part of the Country, which lies contiguous to the ſuppoſed Situation of Paradiſe, called by *Strabo*, [lib. 16.] πρόσωπον Θεῦ. However this be, 'tis agreed by all Interpreters, that there was *a Divine Glory*, called by the *Jews* SCHECHINAH, which appear'd from the Beginning, (as we ſaid before, Page 23, in the Notes) and from which *Cain*, being now baniſh'd, never enjoy'd the Sight of it again. If, after this, *Cain* turned a downright Idolater (as many think) 'tis very probable, that he introduced the Worſhip of the Sun (which was the moſt ancient Idolatry) as the beſt Reſemblance, he could find, of the *Glory of the Lord*, which was wont to appear in a flaming Light. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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with his Wife and Family, in the Land of *Nod*; where, in ſome Tract of Time, and, after his Deſcendants were ſufficiently multiply'd, he built a City, that they might live together, and be united, the better to defend themſelves againſt Incurſions, and * to ſecure their unjuſt Poſſeſſions; and this Place he called after the Name of his Son *Enoch*, which, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, ſignifies a *Dedication*.

His Deſcendants.

THIS *Enoch* begat *Jarad*; *Jarad* begat *Mehujael*; *Mehujael* begat *Methuſael*; and *Methuſael* begat *Lamech*, who was † the firſt Introducer of *Polygamy*. For he married two Wives, *Adah* and *Zillah*, by the *former* of which he had two Children; *Jabal*, † who made great Improvements in the Management of Cattle, and found out the Uſe of Tents, (*z*) or moveable Houſes, to be carried about to Places of freſh Paſturage; and *Jubal*, who was the firſt Inventor of all *muſical* Inſtruments, and himſelf a great *Maſter* and Performer. By *the latter*, he had *Tubal-Cain*, the firſt, who diſcovered (*a*) the Art of forging and poliſhing Metals, and thereupon deviſed the making all Sorts of Armour, both *defenſive* and *offenſive*; and whoſe Siſter *Naamah* (a Name denoting *fair* and *beautiful*) is ſuppoſed to have firſt found out the Art of *Spinning* and *Weaving*.

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

(*b*) This is the Regiſter of *Cain*'s Poſterity for ſeven Generations: And *Moſes*, perhaps, might the rather enumerate them, to ſhew who were the real Authors and Inventors of certain Arts and Handycrafts, (*c*) which the *Egyptians* too vainly aſſumed to themſelves: But then he barely enumerates them, without ever remarking how long any of them lived (a Practice, contrary to what he obſerves in the *Genealogy* of the *Sethites*) as if he eſteemed them a Generation ſo reprobate, as (*d*) not to deſerve a Place in *the Book of the Living*.

Lamech's *Diſcourſe to his Wife.*

THE Murther of *Abel* had, for a long Time, occaſion'd a great Animoſity between the Family of *Seth*, and the Deſcendants of *Cain*, who, though at ſome Diſtance, lived in perpetual Apprehenſions, that the other Family might come upon them unawares, and revenge *Abel*'s untimely Death: But *Lamech*, when he came to be Head of a People, endeavour'd to reaſon

* The Words of *Joſephus* are theſe. "So far was *Cain* from mending his Life, after his Afflictions, that he rather grew worſe and worſe, abandoning himſelf to his Luſts, and all Manner of Outrage, without any Regard to common Juſtice. He enrich'd himſelf by Rapine and Violence, and made Choice of the moſt profligate of Monſters for his Companions, inſtructing them in the very Myſtery of their own Profeſſion. He corrupted the Simplicity, and plain Dealing of former Times, with a *novel* Invention of Weights and Meaſures, and exchanged the Innocency of that primitive Generoſity, and Candour, for the new Tricks of Policy and Craft. He was the firſt, who invaded the common Rights of Mankind by Bounds and Incloſures, and the firſt, who built a City, fortified, and peopled it." *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 3. and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† *Le Clerc*, ſuppoſing that the Increaſe of *Females*, at the Beginning of the World, was much greater, than that of *Males*, is of Opinion, that there might poſſibly want a Man to eſpouſe one of the Women, which *Lamech* marry'd; nor can he think that *Moſes* intended to blame him, for what was the conſtant Practice of ſome of the moſt eminent of the poſt-diluvian Patriarchs. Biſhop *Patrick* likewiſe makes this *Apology* for him. "His earneſt Deſire of ſeeing that bleſſed Seed, *ſays he*, which was promiſed to *Eve*, might perhaps induce him to take more Wives than one, hoping that, by multiplying his Poſterity, ſome or other of them might prove ſo happy, as to produce that *Seed*. And this he might poſſibly perſuade himſelf to be more likely, becauſe the Right, which was in *Cain*, the *Firſt-born*, he might now conclude was reviv'd in himſelf; and that the Curſe laid upon *Cain*, was, by this Time, expired, and his Poſterity reſtored to the Right of fulfilling the Promiſe." Both *Selden* and *Grotius* plead for the Lawfulneſs of *Polygamy* before the *Levitical* Diſpenſation; but the learned *Heidegger*, (who has a whole *Diſſertation* upon the Subject) has ſufficiently anſwered them, and proved at large, that this Cuſtom of multiplying Wives is contrary both to the Law of God, and the Law of Nature. *Hiſtoria Patriar. Exercit.* 7.

† The Words in the Text are,——*He was the Father of ſuch as dwell in Tents*; for the *Hebrews* call him *the Father* of any Thing, who was the firſt Inventor of it, or a moſt excellent Maſter of that Art: And from the Affinity of their Names, as well as the Similitude of their Inventions, learned Men have ſuppoſed, that *Jabal* was the *Pales*; *Jubal*, the *Apollo*; *Tubal-Cain* (which in the *Arabick* Tongue ſtill ſignifies a *Plate of Iron* or *Braſs*) the *Vulcan*; and his Siſter *Naamah*, the *Venus*, or (as ſome will have it) the *Minerva* of the *Gentiles*. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. and *Stillingfleet*'s Origines, l. 3. c. 5.

(*z*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*a*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſtoria Patriar. (*b*) *Howell*'s Hiſtory of the Bible.
(*c*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*d*) *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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reaſon them out of this Fear. For, (*e*) calling his Family together, † he argued with them to this Purpoſe. "Why ſhould "we make our Lives uneaſy with theſe "groundleſs Suſpicions? What have we "done, that we ſhould be afraid? We "have not killed any Man, nor offered "any Violence to *our Brethren* of the o-"ther Family; and ſurely Reaſon muſt "teach them, that they can have no Right "to hurt, or invade us. *Cain*, indeed, "our Anceſtor, killed *Abel*; but God "was pleaſed ſo far to forgive his Sin, as "to threaten to take the ſevereſt Ven-"geance on any one, that ſhould kill "him: And if ſo, ſurely they muſt expect "a much greater Puniſhment, who ſhall "preſume to kill any of us. For *if Cain "ſhall be avenged ſeven-fold, ſurely La-"mech*, or any of his innocent Family, "*ſeventy-ſeven-fold.*" And 'tis not improbable, that, by frequent Diſcourſes of this Kind, as well as by his own Example, he overcame the Fears and Shyneſs of the People, and (as we ſhall find it hereafter) encouraged them to commence an Acquaintance with their Brethren, the Children of *Seth*. This is the Sum of what the Scripture teaches us of the Deeds of *Cain*, and his wicked Offspring, who were all ſwept away in the general Deluge.

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

The OBJECTION.

That there were other Men before Adam.

"BUT how little ſoever the Scrip-"ture teaches us of *Cain* and his "Adventures, yet it certainly teaches us "too much, ever to believe that *Adam* "and *Eve* were the *primogenial* Parents of "Mankind. (*f*) According to the *Mo-"ſaic* Account, *Cain* and *Abel* were, at "this Time, the only two Perſons (ex-"cepting their Parents) upon the Face of "the Earth; and yet, when we read "that *Abel* was *a Keeper of Sheep*, we "cannot but ſuppoſe, that he kept them "for this Reaſon, — that none of his "Neighbours might come, and ſteal them "away; and that *Cain* was *a Tiller of "Ground*, we cannot but infer, that "there were, at that Time, all ſuch Ar-"tificers, as were requiſite to carry on ſuch "an

(*e*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I.

† This Speech of *Lamech*, as it ſtands inconnected with any Thing before it, is ſuppoſed by many to be a Fragment of ſome old Record, which *Moſes* was willing to preſerve; and, becauſe it ſeems to fall into a Kind of *Metre*, ſome have thought it a ſhort Sketch of *Lamech*'s *Poetry*, which he was deſirous to add to his Son's Invention of *Muſick*, and other Arts. Many ſuppoſe, that *Lamech*, being plagued with the daily Contentions of his two Wives, here bluſters, and boaſts of what he had done, and what he would do, if they gave him any farther Moleſtation. Others imagine, that, as the Uſe of Weapons was found out by one of his Sons, and now become common, his Wives were fearful, leſt ſomebody or other might make Uſe of them to ſlay him; but that, in this Regard, he deſires them to be eaſy, becauſe, as he was not guilty of ſlaying any Body himſelf, there was no Reaſon to fear that any Body would hurt him. The *Targum* of *Onkelos*, which reads the Words *interrogatively*, favours this Interpretation much; *Have I ſlain a Man to my wounding, or a young Man to my Hurt?* i. e. I have done no Violence or Offence to any one, either great or ſmall, and have therefore no Cauſe to be apprehenſive of any to myſelf. But the *Rabbins* tell us a *traditional* Story, which, if true, would explain the Paſſage at once. The Tradition is,——"That *Lamech*, when he was blind, "took his Son *Tubal-Cain* to hunt with him in the Woods, where they happened on *Cain*, who, being afraid of the "Society and Converſe of Men, was wont to lie lurking up and down in the Woods; that the Lad miſtook him "for ſome Beaſt ſtirring in the Buſhes, and directed his Father, how, with a Dart, or an Arrow, he might kill him; "and this (they ſay) was the *Man*, whom *he killed by his wounding him*; and that afterwards, when he came to per-"ceive what he had done, he beat *Tubal-Cain* to death, for miſinforming him; and this was *the young Man whom he "killed by hurting*, or beating, *him*." But, beſides the Incongruity of a blind Man's going a Hunting, this Story is directly contrary to the Promiſe of God, which aſſured *Cain*, that no Perſon ſhould kill him, and ſeems indeed to be deviſed for no other Purpoſe, but merely to ſolve the Difficulty of the Paſſage. Among the many Interpretations, which have been made of it, that, which I have offered, ſeems to be the moſt natural and eaſy, and is not a little countenanced by the Authority of *Joſephus*. *As for* Lamech, ſays he, *who ſaw, as far as any Man, into the Courſe, and Methods of Divine Juſtice, he could not but find himſelf concerned in the Proſpect of that dreadful Judgment, which threatened his whole Family, for the Murther of* Abel, *and, under this Apprehenſion, he brake the Matter to his two Wives.* Antiq. lib. 1. c. 3.

(*f*) Vid. *La Peirere*'s Syſteme Theolog. P. 1. L. 3. and *Blunt*'s Oracles of Reaſon.

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" an Occupation, Smiths and Carpenters,
" Millers and Bakers, &c.

" WHEN *Cain* intended to murther
" his Brother, he entic'd him to go with
" him into the *Field:* Now the Field,
" we know, is uſually oppoſed to a *Town*,
" and therefore he decoy'd him thither,
" that he might avoid the Eyes of his
" *Fellow-Citizens*, who would otherwiſe
" have ſeen him, and immediately drag-
" ged him away to Puniſhment. With
" ſome Weapon or other *Cain* muſt have
" kill'd his Brother, becauſe we read of
" (*g*) a large Effuſion of Blood; and yet
" who was the Cutler, that made him
" the Sword? Or, from what Band of
" Robbers was it, that he had it?

" AFTER Sentence was denounced a-
" gainſt him, *every one, that findeth me,*
" *ſhall ſlay me*, ſays he: But, if his Father
" and Mother were the only Perſons,
" beſides himſelf, what Reaſon had he for
" ſuch an Apprehenſion? Or for what
" Purpoſe ſhould God ſet a *Mark* upon
" this *Murderer*, for fear that any one
" ſhould *ſlay him*, if there were not Mul-
" titudes of Men in the World, that ei-
" ther *deſignedly*, or *accidentally* might do
" it?

" BUT allowing that *Adam* and *Eve*
" had ſome few Children beſides in the
" Province of *Eden*; yet how came *Cain*,
" when baniſh'd from his native Country,
" to find the Land of *Nod* (a Land which,
" by the Bye, no one can tell where it
" lies) ſo well peopled, in thoſe early
" Days, as there to meet with Women
" enough, out of whom to chuſe a *Wife*,
" and Men in Abundance, *to build him a*
" *City*; which, to diſtinguiſh it from o-
" ther Cities (as then there might be ma-
" ny) he called by the Name of his Son
" *Enoch?* Theſe Things are inconſiſtent,
" and can never be reconcil'd; unleſs we
" ſuppoſe, that there was really a Race
" of Mankind before *Adam*, and that
" *Moſes* never intended to write of the
" *primitive* Parents of all the World (ſince,
" within the Compaſs of a few Lines, he
" lets fall ſo many Expreſſions denoting
" the contrary) but only to give us an Ac-
" count of the *Origin* of the *Jewiſh* Na-
" tion, which we fondly imagine to be the
" Hiſtory of the *univerſal* Creation."

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

Now though it cannot be deny'd, but that *Moſes* might principally deſign to give us a Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* Nation; yet, in the Beginning of his Account, and till they came to be diſtinguiſh'd from other Nations in the Patriarch *Abraham*, he cou'd not have *that* under his peculiar Conſideration. He acquaints us, we find, with the Origination of the *firſt* of other Animals, whence they aroſe, and in what Manner they were perfected; and, when he came to treat of the Formation of human Creatures, 'tis but reaſonable to imagine, that he intended likewiſe to be underſtood of the *firſt* of their Kind. Now, that *Adam* and *Eve* were the firſt of their Kind, the Words of our Saviour, (*h*) *from the Beginning of the Creation God made them Male and Female*, are a full Confirmation; becauſe he produces the very ſame Precept, that was apply'd to *Adam* and *Eve* at their Creation, *therefore ſhall a Man leave his Father and his Mother, and cleave to his Wife:* And that there cou'd be none before them, the Reaſon why (*i*) *Adam call'd his Wife's Name* Eve, *becauſe ſhe was the Mother of all Living*, i. e. the Perſon, who was to be the *Root*, and Source of all Mankind, that were to be upon the Earth, is a plain Demonſtration: For if ſhe was *the Mother of all Living*, there certainly was no Race of Men or Women before her.

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing that Moſes *intended to treat of the* firſt *Man.*

St *PAUL*, while he was at *Athens*, endeavour'd to convince the People of the Vanity of that *Idolatry*, into which he perceiv'd them fallen, by this Argument, among others——that (*k*) *God had made of one Blood all Nations of Men, for to dwell on all the Face of the Earth.* (*l*) Some *Greek* Copies read it ἐξ ἑνός, *of one Man*, leaving out αἵματος, wherein they are follow'd

(*g*) Ver. 10, 11. Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4. (*h*) Mark x. 6. (*i*) Gen. iii. 20. (*k*) Acts xvii. 26. (*l*) *Stilling fleet's*

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follow'd by the *vulgar Latin*: But allowing the common Reading to be juſt, yet ſtill the Word αἷμα, or *Blood*, muſt be taken in the † Senſe, wherein it occurs in the beſt *Greek* Authors, namely, for the *Stock* or *Root*, out of which Mankind came; and ſo the Apoſtle's reaſoning will be—— "That, however Men are now "diſpers'd in their Habitations, and differ "ſo much in Language and Cuſtoms from "each other, yet they all were originally "of the ſame Stock, and deriv'd their "Succeſſion from the firſt Man that God "created." Neither can it be conceiv'd, on what Account (*m*) *Adam* is call'd in Scripture *the firſt Man*, and that *he was made a living Soul of the Earth earthly*, unleſs it were to denote, that he was abſolutely the firſt of his Kind, and ſo was to be the Standard and Meaſure of all that follow'd.

How Cain *might* till *his Ground, and why* Abel *might* keep *his* Cattle.

THE Deſign of *Moſes* is, not to give us a particular Account of the whole Race of Mankind, deſcended from *Adam*, (*n*) but only of thoſe Perſons, who were moſt remarkable, and whoſe Story was neceſſary to be known, for the Underſtanding of the Succeſſion down to his Time. Beſides thoſe, that are particularly mention'd in Scripture, we are told in general, that *Adam* (*o*) *begat Sons and Daughters*; and if we will give Credit to an antient eaſtern Tradition, he had, in all, thirty-three Sons and twenty-ſeven Daughters, which, conſidering the primitive *Fecundity*, wou'd, in a ſhort Time, be ſufficient to ſtock that Part of the World at leaſt, where *Adam* dwelt; and produce a Race of *Mechanicks*, able enough to ſupply others with ſuch Inſtruments of Huſbandry, as might *then* be requiſite for the Cultivation of the Ground. (*p*) For, in the Infancy of the World, the Art of Tillage was not come to ſuch a Perfection, but that *Cain* might make uſe of wooden Ploughs and Spades, and, inſtead of Knives and Hatchets, form his Tools with ſharp Flints or Shells, which were certainly the firſt Inſtruments of cutting. And though, in thoſe early Days, there was no great Danger of *Abel*'s loſing his Cattle by Theft; yet, to provide them with cool Shades in hot Climates, to remove them from Place to Place as their Paſture decay'd, to take care of their Young, and guard them from the Incurſions of Beaſts of Prey (with many more incidental Offices) was *then* the Shepherd's Province, as well as now.

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

That there might be vaſt Numbers of People then in the World.

ACCORDING to the Computation of moſt *Chronologers*, it was in the hundred and twenty-ninth Year of *Adam*'s Age, that *Abel* was ſlain; for the Scripture ſays expreſsly, that *Seth* (*q*) (who was given in the Lieu of *Abel*) was *born in the hundred and thirtieth Year* (very likely the Year after the Murther was committed) to be a *Comfort* to his diſconſolate Parents. So that *Cain* muſt be an hundred and twenty-nine Years old, when he *abdicated* his own Country; at which Time, there might be a ſufficient Quantity of Mankind upon the Face of the Earth, to the Number, it may be, of an hundred thouſand Souls. For if the Children of *Iſrael*, from ſeventy Perſons, in the Space of a hundred and ten Years, became ſix hundred thouſand fighting Men (though great Numbers of them were dead, during this Increaſe) we may very well ſuppoſe, that the Children of *Adam*, whoſe Lives were ſo very long, might amount, at leaſt, to a hundred thouſand, in a hundred and thirty Years, which are almoſt five Generations.

† *Homer* employs it in this Acceptation:

Ἐι ἐτεόν γ' ἐμὸς ἐσσὶ, καὶ αἵματος ἡμετέροιο.

Thence thoſe, that are near Relations, are call'd, by *Sophocles*, οἱ πρὸς αἵματος: And accordingly *Virgil* uſes *Sanguis* in the ſame Senſe:

Trojano à ſanguine duci. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4.

(*m*) 1 Cor. xv. 45. (*n*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*o*) Gen. v. 4. (*p*) *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. (*q*) Gen. v. 3.

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What the Wife, the City,

Upon this Suppoſition, it will be no hard Matter to find *Cain* a Wife in another Country; † though it is much more probable that he was married before his Baniſhment, becauſe we may well think, that all the World wou'd abhor the Thoughts of Marriage with ſuch an impious *Vagabond* and *Murtherer*. Upon this Suppoſition, we may likewiſe find him Men enough to build, and inhabit a City; eſpecially (*r*) conſidering that the Word [*Hir*] which we render City, may denote no more than a certain Number of Cottages, with ſome little Hedge, or Ditch about them: And this Cluſter of Cottages (as was afterwards cuſtomary) he might call by his Son's Name, rather than his own, which he was conſcious was now become odious every where. Upon this Suppoſition, laſtly, we may account for *Cain*'s Fear, leſt every one, that lighted on him, wou'd *kill him*; for, by this Time, Mankind was greatly multiply'd, and, (*s*) tho' no Mention is made of *Abel*'s Marriage, (as, in ſo ſhort a Compendium, many Things muſt neceſſarily be omitted) yet he perhaps might have Sons, who were ready to purſue the *Fugitive*, in order to revenge their Father's Death, or ſome of his own Siſters, enrag'd againſt him for the Loſs of their Brother, might poſſibly come upon him unawares, or when they found him aſleep, and ſo diſpatch him.

Various are the Conjectures of learned Men ‡, concerning the *Mark*, which God ſet upon *Cain*, to prevent his being kill'd. Some think, that God ſtigmatiz'd him on his Forehead with a Letter of his own Name, or rather ſet ſuch a Brand upon him, as ſignify'd him to be *accurs'd*. Others fanſy that God made him a peculiar *Garment*, to diſtinguiſh him from the reſt of Mankind, who were cloath'd with Skins. Some imagine, that his Head continually ſhak'd; others, that his Face was blaſted with Lightning; others, that his Body trembled all over; and others again, that the Ground ſhook under him, and made every one flee from him: Whereas the plain Senſe of the Words is nothing more, than that God gave *Cain* a Sign, or wrought a Miracle before his Face, thereby to convince him, that tho' he was baniſh'd into a ſtrange Land, yet no one ſhou'd be permitted to hurt him: And, to find out the Land, into which he was baniſh'd, is not ſo hard a Matter as ſome may imagine.

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And Mark *ſet upon* Cain.

The Deſcription which *Moſes* gives us of it is this. —— (*t*) *And* Cain *went out from the Preſence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of* Nod, *on the Eaſt of* Eden; *and there he built a City, and call'd the Name of it, after the Name of his Son,* Enoch. Hereupon (*u*) the learned *Huetius* obſerves, that *Ptolemy*, in his Deſcription

The Land of Nod, where, *or* what *it was.*

† There is an oriental Tradition, that *Eve*, at her two firſt Births, brought *Twins*, a Son and a Daughter; *Cain*, with his Siſter *Azron*, and *Abel*, with his Siſter *Awin*; that, when they came to Years of Maturity, *Adam* propos'd to *Eve*, that *Cain* ſhou'd marry *Abel*'s Twin-Siſter, and *Abel Cain*'s, becauſe that was ſome ſmall Remove from the neareſt Degree of Conſanguinity, which, even in thoſe Days, was not eſteem'd entirely lawful: that *Cain* refus'd to agree to this, inſiſting to have his own Siſter, who was the handſomer of the two; whereupon *Adam* order'd them both to make their Offerings, before they took their Wives, and ſo referr'd the Diſpute to the Determination of God; that while they went up to the Mountain for that Purpoſe, the Devil put it into *Cain*'s Head to murder his Brother, for which wicked Intent, his Sacrifice was not accepted; and that they were no ſooner come down from the Mountain, than he fell upon *Abel*, and kill'd him with a Stone. *Patrick*'s Comment. and Univerſal Hiſtory, No. 2.

(*r*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*s*) *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‡ Almoſt all the Verſions have committed a Miſtake, in tranſlating Ver. 15. that *God had put a Mark upon* Cain, *leſt any finding him, ſhould kill him.* The Original ſays no ſuch Thing, and the LXX have very well render'd it thus—— *God ſet a Sign before* Cain, *to perſuade him, that whoever ſhou'd find him, ſhou'd not kill him.* This is almoſt the ſame with what is ſaid in *Exod.* x. 1. that *God did Signs before the* Egyptians; and *Iſa.* lxvi. 19. that *he wou'd ſet a Sign before the Heathen*; where it is evident, that God did not mean any particular *Mark*, which ſhou'd be ſet on their Bodies, but only thoſe Signs and Wonders, which he wrought in *Egypt*, to oblige *Pharaoh* to let his People go; and the miraculous Manner, wherein he deliver'd them from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. This Expoſition is natural, and agreeable to the Methods of Divine Providence, which is wont to convince *the Incredulous* by Signs and Wonders; nor cou'd any Thing elſe aſſure *Cain*, in the Fear he was under, *that the firſt, who met him, ſhou'd not kill him*, after what God had ſaid to him, in Exprobation of his Crime. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Saurin*'s Diſſertation.

(*t*) Gen. iv. 16, 17. (*u*) De la Situ. du Paradis.

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Deſcription of *Suſiana*, places there a City call'd *Anuchtha*; and that the Syllable *tha*, which ends the Word, is, in the *Chaldee* Language, a Termination pretty common to Nouns *Feminine*, and conſequently no Part of the Name itſelf: From whence he infers, that this *Anuchtha*, mention'd by *Ptolemy*, is the ſame with the City *Enoch* mention'd by *Moſes*; eſpecially ſince *Ptolemy* places it on the *Eaſt Side* of *Eden*, which agrees very well with what *Moſes* ſays of the Land of *Nod*. (*x*) But tho' it be allow'd, that *Anuchtha* and *Enoch* be the ſame Name, yet it will not therefore follow, that there was no other City ſo call'd, but that which was built by *Cain*. 'Tis certain, that there was another *Enoch*, the Son of *Jared*, and Father of *Methuſelah*, a Perſon of remarkable Piety, in the *Ante-diluvian* Age; and why might not the City, mention'd by *Ptolemy*, be call'd after him, in reſpect to his illuſtrious Character, and miraculous Exemption from Death? Or rather, why might it not take its Name from ſome other *Enoch*, different from both the former, and living ſome Generations after the Flood? For it is ſcarce imaginable, how the City of *Enoch*, built before the *Flood*, ſhould either *ſtand*, or *retain* its ancient *Name*, after ſo violent a Concuſſion, and total Alteration of the Face of Nature.

NOR ſhou'd it be forgot, that the Province of *Suſiana*, where *Huetius* places the Land of *Nod*, is one of the moſt fruitful and pleaſant Countries in the World: Whereas, conſidering that *Cain*'s Baniſhment was intended by God to be Part of his Puniſhment, it ſeems more reaſonable to think, that he ſhou'd, upon this Account, be ſent into ſome barren and deſolate Country, remote from the Place of his Nativity, and ſeparated by Mountains, and other natural Obſtructions, from the Commerce of his Relations. For which Reaſon, the learned *Grotius* is clearly of Opinion, that the Country, into which *Cain* was ſentenc'd to withdraw, was *Arabia Deſerta*; to the Barrenneſs of which, the Curſe, that God pronounces againſt him, ſeems not improperly to belong. *(y) And now thou art curs'd from the Earth, and when thou tilleſt the Ground, it ſhall not, henceforth, yield unto thee her Strength.* But, after all, their Opinion is not to be found fault with, who ſuppoſe, that the Word *Nod*, which ſignifies an *Exile*, or *Fugitive*, is not a *proper*, but only an *appellative* Name; and that therefore, where-ever the Country was, where *Cain* took up his Abode, that, in After-Ages, was call'd the *Land of Nod*, or the Land of *the baniſh'd Man*.

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A Recapitulation of the Anſwer.

THUS the Account, which *Moſes* gives us of the Murther of *Abel*, ſtands clear of the Imputation of all Abſurdity, or Contradiction, wherewith the Lovers of *Infidelity* would gladly charge it. *The Time*, when his Brother murther'd him, was in the 129th Year of the World's Creation, when, † according to a moderate Computation, *their*, and their Parents Deſcendants, cou'd not but be very numerous. *The Manner* in which he murther'd him, might not be with a Sword or Spear, (which perhaps then were not in Uſe) * ſince a Club, or Stone, or any rural

(*x*) *Wells*'s Geography. (*y*) Gen. iv. 11.

† Though we ſhou'd ſuppoſe, that *Adam* and *Eve* had no other Children than *Cain* and *Abel* in the Year of the World 128, which (as the beſt Chronologers agree) was the Time of *Abel*'s Murther; yet, as it muſt be allow'd, that they had Daughters, married with theſe two Sons, we require no more, than the Deſcendants of theſe two Children, to make a conſiderable Number of Men upon the Earth in the ſaid Year 128. For, ſuppoſing them to have been married in the 19th Year of the World, they might eaſily have had each of them eight Children, ſome Males, ſome Females, in the 25th Year. In the 50th Year there might proceed from them, in a direct Line, 64 Perſons; in the 74th Year, there wou'd be 572; in the 98th, 4096; and in the 122d Year, they wou'd amount to 32,768. If to theſe we add, the other Children, deſcended from *Cain* and *Abel*, their Children, and the Children of their Children, we ſhall have in the aforeſaid 122d Year, 421,164 Men, capable of Generation, without ever reckoning the Women, both old and young, or ſuch Children, as are under the Age of 17 Years. *Vid.* Diſſert. Chronol. Geogr. Critique ſur la Bible, Diſſert. 1. in the Journal of *Paris*, *Jan.* 1712. Vol. LI. p. 6.

* There is an *oriental* Tradition, that, when *Cain* was confirm'd in the Deſign of deſtroying his Brother, and knew not how to go about it, the Devil appear'd to him in the Shape of a Man, holding a Bird in his Hand; and that, placing

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rural Inſtrument, in the Hand of *Rage* and *Revenge*, was ſufficient to do the Work. *The Place*, where he murther'd him, is ſaid to be *in the Field* (z) not in Contradiſtinction to any large and populous *City* then in Being, but rather to the Tents, or Cottages, where their Parents and Offſpring might then live. *The Cauſe* of his murthering him, was (a) a Spirit of Emulation, which, not duly manag'd, and made a Spur to Virtue, took an unhappy Turn, and degenerated into Malice: And the true Reaſon of all (as the Apoſtle has ſtated it) was (b) *Cain was of that wicked one, and ſlew his Brother, becauſe his own Works were wicked, and his Brother's righteous.*

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DISSERTATION IV.

Of the Inſtitution of Sacrifices.

Sacrifices, when they firſt began.

THE firſt plain Account, that we meet with of Sacrifices, is here in the Examples of *Cain* and *Abel*. Mention is made indeed of the *Skins* of ſome Beaſts, wherewith God directed our firſt Parents to be cloathed; but Expoſitors are not agreed, whether what we render *Skins* might not denote ſome other Sort of Covering, or Shelter from the Weather; or, if they were the real Skins of Beaſts, whether theſe Beaſts were offer'd unto God in Sacrifice or no; whereas, in the Scripture before us, we have Oblations of both Kinds, *bloody* and *unbloody Sacrifices* (as they are commonly diſtinguiſh'd); the *Fruits of the Field*, offer'd by *Cain*; and the *Firſtlings* of the *Flock*, by *Abel*. So that from hence we may very properly take an Occaſion, to enquire a little into the Original of Sacrifices; for what Ends and Purpoſes they were at firſt appointed; and by what Means they became an *acceptable* Service unto God.

Of Divine Inſtitution at firſt.

THE Scriptures indeed make no Mention of the firſt Inſtitution of Sacrifices; and, from their Silence in this Reſpect, ſome have imagin'd, that they proceeded *originally* from a Dictate of Nature, or a grateful Inclination to return unto God ſome of his own Bleſſings. But in ſo ſhort an Account of ſo large a Compaſs of Time (as we have ſaid before) it may well be expected, that ſeveral Things ſhou'd be omitted. To this Purpoſe therefore others have obſerv'd, that *Moſes* ſays nothing (c) of *Enoch*'s Prophecy; nothing (d) of *Noah*'s Preaching; nothing (e) of the *Peopling of the World*; tho' theſe be referr'd to in other Parts of Scripture: (f) Nor does he here introduce the Sacrifices of *Cain* and *Abel*, with an Intent to inform us of the Origin of that *Rite*, but merely to let us know what was the unhappy Occaſion of the firſt Murther, that was ever committed in the World.

THE (g) *Jews* indeed, to whom he *primarily* wrote, knew very well, that their own Sacrifices were of Divine Inſtitution, and that God had manifeſted his Acceptance of them, at the very firſt ſolemn Oblation after that Inſtitution, by a miraculous Fire from *the Divine Preſence*; nor had they any Reaſon to doubt, but that they were ſo *inſtituted*, and ſo *accepted* from the Beginning: And therefore there was leſs Reaſon for *Moſes* to expatiate upon a Matter, which had doubtleſs deſcended to them in a clear and uninterrupted *Tradition*.

A GRATE-

placing the Bird upon a Rock, he took up a Stone, and with it ſqueez'd its Head in Pieces. *Cain*, inſtructed by this Example, reſolv'd to ſerve his Brother in the ſame Way; and therefore, waiting till *Abel* was aſleep, he lifted up a large Stone, and let it fall, with all its Weight, upon his Head, and ſo kill'd him; whereupon God cauſed him to hear a Voice from Heaven, to this Purpoſe, *The reſt of thy Days ſhalt thou paſs in perpetual Fear*. Calmet's Dictionary on the Word *Abel*.

(z) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (a) *Shuckford*'s Connection. (b) 1 John iii. 12. (c) Jude 14. (d) 2 Pet. ii. 5. (e) *Vid.* Gen. iv. (f) *Outram* de Sacrificiis. (g) Revelation Examin'd.

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A GRATEFUL Senſe of God's Bleſſings, will, at any Time, engage us to offer him the *Calves of our Lips* (as the Scripture terms them) or the warmeſt Expreſſions of our Praiſe and Thanksgiving; but what Dictate of Nature, or Deduction of Reaſon, cou'd ever have taught us, that, to deſtroy the beſt of our Fruits, or the beſt of our Cattle, wou'd have been a Service acceptable to God? Goodneſs, and Mercy, and Lenity, and Compaſſion, are the Ideas we have of that *infinite Being*; and who wou'd then have thought, that putting an innocent and inoffenſive Creature to Torture, ſpilling its Blood upon the Earth, and burning its Fleſh upon an Altar, wou'd have been either a grateful Sight, or *an Offering of a ſweet-ſmelling Savour* to the Moſt High?

No (*b*) Being, we know, can have a Right to the Lives of other Creatures, but their Creator only, and thoſe, on whom he ſhall think proper to confer it: But it is evident, that God, at this Time, had not given Man a Right to the Creatures, even for neceſſary Food, much leſs for unneceſſary Cruelty; and therefore to have taken away their Lives, without God's poſitive Injunction, wou'd have been an abominable Act, and enough to diſſecrate all their Oblations. When therefore we read, that his *Acceptance* of Sacrifices of old was uſually teſtify'd by Way of *Inflammation*, or ſetting them on Fire, by a *Ray* of Light, which iſſu'd from his *glorious Preſence*; we muſt allow, that this was a Proof of his previous Inſtitution of them; otherwiſe we cannot poſſibly think, why he ſhou'd ſo far concern himſelf about them, as even to be at the Expence of a Miracle, to denote his Approbation of them. (*i*) *Who hath known the Mind of the Lord* (is the Apoſtle's Way of arguing) *or who hath been his Counſellor?* And, in like Manner, without a divine Revelation, it wou'd have been the Height of Vanity and Preſumption, to have pretended to determine the Way of Reconciliation with him, and (without his Order and Appointment) to have enter'd upon a *Form of Worſhip*, entirely new, and ſtrange, by killing of Beaſts, and burning their Fat. (*k*) *No Man* (ſays another Apoſtle) *taketh this Honour to himſelf, but he that is called of God, as was* Aaron; nor can any one lay hold on the Promiſe of Forgiveneſs of Sins (which is the great Deſign of all ſacrificing) any other Way, than by *Symbols* of God's own Inſtitution.

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IN (*l*) moſt Nations indeed the Cuſtom of ſacrificing did prevail: But that it did not ariſe from any Principle of Nature or Reaſon, is manifeſt from hence —— (*m*) that the graveſt and wiſeſt of the Heathen Philoſophers, always * condemn'd *bloody* Sacrifices, as impious, and unacceptable to their Gods; but this they wou'd not have done, had they look'd upon them as any Branch of natural Religion, which none were more warm in extolling than they. It is no improbable Conjecture therefore, that other Nations might take the Rite of ſacrificing from the *Jews*, to (*n*) which the Devil, in *heathen* Countries, might inſtigate his Votaries, purely to *ape* God, and imitate his Ordinances: Or, if this Commencement of ſacrificing among them, is thought to be too late, why may not

(*b*) Revelation Examin'd. (*i*) Rom. xi. 34. (*k*) Heb. v. 4. (*l*) *Heidegger's* Hiſtor. Patriar. Exercit. 1. (*m*) *Edwards's* Survey of Religion, Vol. I.

* It is the Opinion of *Tertullian* [Apol. Ch. 46.] that none of the antient Philoſophers ever compell'd the People to ſacrifice living Creatures. *Theophraſtus* is quoted by *Porphyry* in *Euſebius* [Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 9.] as aſſerting, that the firſt Men offer'd Handfuls of Graſs; that, in Time, they came to ſacrifice the Fruits of the Trees, and in After-Ages, to kill and offer Cattle upon Altars. Many other Authors are cited for this Opinion. *Pauſanias* [de Cerere Phrygialenſi] ſeems to intimate, that the antient Sacrifice was only Fruits of Trees (of the Vine eſpecially) and of Honey-Combs and Wool. *Empedocles* [de Antiquiſſimis Temporibus] affirms, that the firſt Altars were not ſtained with the Blood of Creatures; and *Plato* [de Legibus, l. 6.] was of Opinion, that living Creatures were not antiently offer'd in Sacrifice, but Cakes of Bread, and Fruits, and Honey pour'd upon them; for

Non Bove mactato cœleſtia Numina gaudent.

was an old Poſition of more Writers than *Ovid*. Vide *Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. I. l. 2.

(*n*) *Heidegger's* Hiſtor. Patriar. Exercit. 8.

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not we ſuppoſe, that they receiv'd it by Tradition from their Fore-fathers, who had it originally from *Adam*, as he had it from God by a particular Revelation? Now, that there was ſome Warrant and Precept of God for it, ſeems to be intimated by the Author to the *Hebrews*, when he tells us, that (*o*) *by Faith* Abel *offer'd unto God a more acceptable Sacrifice, than* Cain: For (*p*) if *Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God*, Faith is founded on ſome *Word*, and relieth on a divine Command or Promiſe; and therefore, when *Abel* offer'd the beſt of his Flock in Sacrifice, he did what was enjoin'd him by God, and his Practice was founded upon a divine Command, which was given to *Adam*, and his Sons, tho' *Moſes*, in his ſhort Account of Things, makes no mention of it.

In fine, if it appears from Hiſtory, that Sacrifices have been us'd all over the World, have ſpread as far, as *univerſally* among Men, as the very Notions of a *Deity*; if we find them almoſt as early in the World, as Mankind upon the Earth, and, at the ſame Time, cannot perceive that Mankind ever cou'd, by the Light of Reaſon, invent ſuch Notions of a Deity, as might induce them to think, that this Way of Worſhip wou'd be an acceptable Service to him; if Mankind indeed cou'd have no Right to the Lives of the Brute-Creation, without the Conceſſion of God; and yet it is evident that they exercis'd ſuch Right, and God approv'd of their Proceeding, by viſible Indications of his accepting the Sacrifices; then muſt we neceſſarily ſuppoſe, that Sacrifices were of his own Inſtitution at firſt; and that they were inſtituted for Purpoſes, well becoming his infinite Wiſdom, and Goodneſs.

The Ends *and* Deſigns *of God's inſtituting them.*

For we muſt remember, that *Adam* and *Eve* were, at this Time, become Sinners, and, tho' receiv'd into Mercy, in conſtant Danger of relapſing; that, by their Tranſgreſſion, they had forfeited their Lives, but, as yet, cou'd have no adequate Senſe either of the Nature of the Puniſhment, or the Heinouſneſs of the Sin, which procur'd it; and that now they were to beget Children, who were ſure to inherit their Parents Corruption and Infirmity. Since Man, therefore, had forfeited his Life by his Tranſgreſſions, and God, notwithſtanding, decreed to receive him into Mercy; nothing certainly cou'd better become the divine Wiſdom and Goodneſs, than the Eſtabliſhment of ſome *Inſtitution*, which might at once be a Monition both of the Mercy of God, and the Puniſhment due to Sin. And, becauſe God foreſaw that Man wou'd often ſin, and ſhou'd often receive Mercy, it was neceſſary, that the Inſtitution ſhou'd be ſuch, as might frequently be repeated, and, in ſuch Repetition; frequently remind Man of his own endleſs Demerit, and of God's infinite Goodneſs to him; to which Purpoſe the Inſtitution of Sacrifices for Sin was of excellent Uſe and Service.

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

Both from the Commandment, which, at firſt, was given to *Adam*, and the Sentence, which was afterwards denounc'd againſt him, we learn, that Death was the Penalty of his Diſobedience; and ſince it was ſo, certainly it was highly proper, that he ſhou'd know what he was to ſuffer, and, conſequently, that he ſhou'd ſee Death in all its Horror and Deformity, in order to judge rightly of the Evil of Diſobedience. And what cou'd exhibit this *Evil* more ſtrongly, than the Groans and Struggles of innocent Creatures, bleeding to Death for his Guilt, before his Eyes, and by his own Hands? Sights of this Kind are ſhocking to human Nature, even yet, tho' Cuſtom hath long made them familiar: With what Horror then, may we imagine that they pierced the Hearts of our firſt Parents, and how was that Horror aggravated, when they conſider'd themſelves as the guilty Authors of ſo much Cruelty to the Creatures, which were about them? Nay, when the Groans of theſe dying Animals were over, what a ſad, a ghaſtly Spectacle muſt their cold Carcaſſes yield? and, even after their

(*o*) Heb. xi. 4. (*p*) Rom. x. 17.

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their Oblation, how diſmal a Meditation muſt it be, to conſider the Beauty and Excellency of theſe animate Beings reduc'd to an Handful of Duſt? eſpecially, when they cou'd not ſee them in that Condition, but under ſad Conviction, that they themſelves muſt follow the ſame odious Steps to Deſtruction.

WE can hardly conceive, how God cou'd ſtrike the human Soul with a deeper Senſe of Miſery from Guilt, or with more Abhorrence of the ſad Cauſe of that Miſery, than by this Method of appointing Sacrifices; nor can we imagine, how our firſt Parents cou'd have ever ſuſtain'd themſelves under ſuch afflicting Thoughts, had not God, in his infinite Goodneſs, cauſed ſome *Ray* of Hope to ſhine thro' this *Scene* of Mortality and Miſery, and made Sacrifices (at the ſame time that they were ſuch lively *Emblems* of the Horror of Guilt) the *Means* of its Expiation, and the *Seals* of his Covenant of Grace.

(*q*) THAT God enter'd into a *Covenant* of Mercy with Man, immediately after the *Fall*, is evident from the Sentence paſs'd upon the *Serpent*, wherein that Covenant is compriz'd: And therefore, as we find that, in After-Ages, his uſual Way of ratifying Covenants of this Kind was by Sacrifices; ſo we cannot imagine, that he fail'd to do ſo at this Time, when ſuch Mercy was more wanted, than ever it was ſince the Foundation of the World. Sacrifices indeed have no *natural* Aptitude to expiate Guilt; in which Senſe, the Apoſtle affirms it (*r*) *to be impoſſible for the Blood of Bulls, and of Goats to take away Sins.* The Death of a Beaſt is far from being equivalent to the Death of a Man, but infinitely ſhort of that *eternal* Death, to which the Man's Sinfulneſs does conſign him: But ſtill, as Sacrifices are *federal* Rites, and one of thoſe external *Means*, which God had inſtituted, under the *antediluvian* Diſpenſation, for Man's Recovery from Sin; we cannot ſuppoſe, but that, when piouſly and devoutly offer'd, they were accepted by him, for the Expiation of Tranſgreſſions; tho' it muſt be own'd, that they did not, *of themſelves*, or by their own Worthineſs, atone for any Thing, but only in Virtue of the *Expiatory* Sacrifice of the *Meſſias* to come, whereof they were no more than *Types* and *Shadows.* To ſpeak ſtrictly and properly therefore, theſe Sacrifices did not *really* and *formally*, but *typically* and *myſtically*, expiate, *i. e.* they did not pacify God's Anger, and ſatisfy his Juſtice, and take away Sin, by their own Force and Efficacy, but as they were *Figures* and Repreſentations of that *univerſal* Sacrifice, which (in the divine Intention) *was ſlain from the Foundation of the World*, and, *in the Fulneſs of Time*, was to come down from Heaven, in order to fulfil the great Undertaking of *making Atonement for the Sins of all Mankind.*

Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

The Means *of making them* acceptable *to God.*

THUS to repreſent the horrid Nature of Sin, and to ſeal the eternal Covenant of Mercy; to be Types of the great expiatory Sacrifice of *Chriſt*'s Death, and a ſtanding Means of obtaining Pardon and Reconciliation with God, ſeem to be ſome of the principal Ends of God's inſtituting Sacrifices at firſt: And, what was of Uſe to gain them a favourable Acceptance in his Sight, we may, in ſome Meaſure, learn from the Reaſons, that are uſually alledged, for his Rejection of *Cain's*, and Approbation of *Abel*'s Sacrifice.

MOST of the *Jewiſh* Interpreters have plac'd the different Events of theſe two Sacrifices in the external *Quantity* or *Quality* of them. They tell us, that *Cain brought of the Fruits of the Ground* indeed, but not of the *firſt Fruits* (as he ſhou'd have done) nor the fulleſt Ears of Corn (which he kept for himſelf) but the lankeſt and lateſt; and, even what he brought, 'twas with a niggardly Hand and grudging Mind; ſo that he rais'd God's Averſion (*s*) *by offering to him of that, which coſt him nothing:* Whereas *Abel* found a kind Acceptance, becauſe (*t*) *he honour'd the Lord with his Subſtance:* He brought of the *Firſtlings* of his Flock, and the very beſt and

(*q*) Revelation Examin'd. (*r*) Heb. x. 4. (*s*) 2 Sam. xxiv. 24. (*t*) Prov. iii. 9.

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and fatteſt of them, as thinking nothing too good to be offer'd in Devotion and Gratitude to him, from whom he receiv'd all.

(*u*) ALLOWING the Maxim of the *Jewiſh* Church, viz. *that without Blood there is no Remiſſion*, to have been good, from the firſt Inſtitution of Sacrifice; a very learned Writer ſuppoſes, that *Abel* came, as a Petitioner for Grace and Pardon, and brought the Atonement appointed for Sin; but *Cain* appear'd before God as *a juſt Perſon, wanting no Repentance*, and brought an Offering in Acknowledgment of God's Goodneſs and Bounty, but no Atonement in Acknowledgment of his own Wretchedneſs; and that upon this Account his Oblation was rejected, as God's Expoſtulation with him ſeems to imply: *If thou doſt well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doſt not well, Sin lieth at thy Door*, i. e. if thou art righteous, thy Righteouſneſs ſhall ſave thee; but if thou art not, by what Expiation is thy Sin purg'd? it *lieth ſtill at thy Door*.

THE Author to the (*x*) *Hebrews*, has given us, I think, a Key to this Difficulty, when he tells us, that *by Faith* Abel *offer'd unto God a more excellent Sacrifice, than* Cain. (*y*) The *Faith* (of which the Apoſtle gives us ſeveral Inſtances in this Chapter) is the Belief of ſomething declar'd, and, in Conſequence of ſuch Belief, the Performance of ſome Action enjoin'd by God: *By Faith* Noah, *being warn'd by God, prepar'd an Ark*, i. e. he believ'd the Warning, which God gave him, and obediently made the Ark, which he had appointed him to make: *By Faith* Abraham, *when call'd* to go into a ſtrange Land, *which God promis'd to give him for an Inheritance, obey'd*, i. e. he believ'd that God wou'd give him what he had promis'd, and, in Conſequence of ſuch Belief, did what God commanded him: And thus it was, that *Abel, by Faith, offer'd a better Sacrifice than* Cain, becauſe he believ'd what God had promiſed, that *the Seed of the Woman ſhould bruiſe the Serpent's Head*, and, in Conſequence of ſuch Belief, offered ſuch a Sacrifice for his Sins, as God had appointed to be offered, *until the Seed ſhould come*. Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

(*z*) IN order *to offer a Sacrifice by Faith then*, there are three Things requiſite. 1ſt, That the Perſon, who offers, ſhou'd do it upon the previous Appointment, and Direction of God. 2dly, That he ſhou'd conſider it, as a *Sign* and *Token* of the Promiſe of God made in *Chriſt*, and of Remiſſion of Sins thro' his Blood; and 3dly, That, while he is offering, he ſhou'd be mindful withal (in the Phraſe of St *Paul*) *to preſent himſelf, a living Sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto God*. In the firſt of theſe Qualifications *Cain* was right enough, becauſe he had learn'd from his Father, that, as God had appointed Sacrifices, it was his Duty to offer them: But herein was his great Defect, that while he was offering, he gave no Attention to what he was about; not once reflected on the Promiſe of God, made in Paradiſe, nor plac'd any Confidence in the Merits of a Saviour, to recommend his Services; but, vainly imagining that his bare Oblation was all, that was required to his Juſtification, he took no Care to preſerve his Soul pure and unpolluted, or to conſtitute his Members as *Inſtruments of Righteouſneſs unto God*. In ſhort, his Oblation was the Service of an Hypocrite, lying unto God, and uſing the external Symbols of Grace *for a Cloak of Maliciouſneſs*; whereas *Abel*'s Sacrifice was attended with awful Meditations on *that Seed of the Woman*, which was to become the World's Redeemer, with warm Applications to him for Mercy and Forgiveneſs, and with holy Reſolutions of better Obedience, of abandoning all Sin, *and always abounding in the Work of the Lord*; and therefore there is no Wonder, that their Services met with ſo different a Reception. For, however ſacrificing was an external Rite, yet the *Opus Operatum* wou'd by no means do. Unleſs the Attention of the Mind, and the Integrity of

(*u*) Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe of Prophecy, Diſ. 3. (*x*) Chap. xi. Ver. 4. (*y*) *Shuckford*'s Connect. Vol. I. l. 2.
(*z*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Exercit. 5.

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of the Heart went along with it, (*a*) *he, that killed an Ox, was, as if he ſlew a Man; and he, that ſacrificed a Lamb, as if he cut off a Dog's Neck:* So deteſtable in the Sight of God was * the richeſt Oblation, when the Sacrificer was not a good Man; nay, ſo ready was he to paſs by all Obſervances of this Kind, if the Worſhipper came but, in other Reſpects, qualified: (*b*) *For he, that keepeth the Law, bringeth Offerings enough; he, that taketh heed to the Law, offereth a Peace-offering; he, that requiteth a good Turn, offereth fine Flour; and he, that giveth Alms, ſacrificeth Praiſe. To depart from Wickedneſs is a Thing pleaſing to the Lord; and to forſake Unrighteouſneſs is a Propitiation.* Gen. Ch. iv. to Ver. 25.

(*a*) Iſa. lxvi. 3.

* That it is not the *Quality* of the *Sacrifice*, but the *Mind* and Diſpoſition of the *Sacrificer*, which God regards, was the general Sentiment of the wiſeſt Heathens, as appears by that excellent Paſſage in *Perſius*:

Compoſitum Jus, Faſque Animo, ſanctoſque Receſſus
Mentis, & incoctum generoſo Pectus honeſto,
Hæc cedo, ut admoveam Templis, & Farre litabo.
SAT. II.

And that other in *Seneca*:

Non in Victimis, licet optimæ ſint, auroque præfulgent, Deorum eſt honos, ſed piâ & rectâ Voluntate venerandum, *De Senect. l.* 1. *c.* 6.

(*b*) Ecclus. xxxv. 1, *&c.*

CHAP. V.

Of the general Corruption of Mankind.

The HISTORY.

A. M. 130. Ant. Chriſ. 3874.

The Birth of Seth.

GREAT * was the Grief, no doubt, which our firſt Parents felt, upon the Loſs of the *righteous Abel*, and the Expulſion of their wicked Son *Cain*; but, to alleviate, in ſome Meaſure, this heavy Load of Sorrow, God was pleaſed to promiſe them another Son, whoſe Fate ſhould be different, and himſelf a laſting Comfort and Conſolation to them: And therefore, as ſoon as *Eve* was delivered of the Child, ſhe called his Name *Seth*, which ſignifies *Subſtitute*, becauſe God had been ſo good, as to ſend him in the Room of his Brother *Abel, whom Cain ſlew*. *Adam*, when he had *Seth*, was 130 Years old: He lived after that 800 Years, and begat ſeveral other Children (tho' *Moſes* makes no Mention of them). So that ‖ the whole of his Life was 930 Years. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

A Catalogue of Adam's *Poſterity in the Line of* Seth.

* The *Jewiſh*, and ſome *Chriſtian*, Doctors ſay, that *Adam* and *Eve* mourn'd for *Abel* one hundred Years, during which Time, they lived ſeparate, *Adam* particularly, in a Valley near *Hebron*, thence named *the Valley of Tears*. And the Inhabitants of *Ceylon* pretend, that the *Salt Lake*, on the Mountain of *Columbo*, was formed by the Tears, which *Eve* ſhed on this Occaſion. All Fiction. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

‖ If it be aſk'd, how it came to paſs, that *Adam*, who was immediately created by God, and, conſequently, more perfect than any of his Kind, did not out-live *Methuſelah*, who was the *eighth* from him? The Anſwer, which ſome have given, *viz.* That his Grief and Affliction of Mind for the Loſs of Paradiſe, and the Miſery, which, by his Tranſgreſſion, he had entailed upon his Offspring, might affect his Conſtitution, and, by Degrees, impair his Strength, is not much amiſs: But there is another Reaſon, which ſeems to me better founded, *viz.* That, whereas *Adam* was created in the full Perfection of his Nature, and all his Deſcendants, being born Infants, did gradually proceed to Maturity; ſubducting the Time from their Infancy to their Manhood, we ſhall find, that *Adam* out-liv'd them all: For we muſt not compute, as we do now, (when the Extent of Man's Life is uſually no more than 70) that his compleat Manhood was at 30, or thereabouts. In the very *Catalogue*, now before us, we read of none (except *Enoch*, and two others)

A. M. 130. Ant. Chrif. 3874. SETH, when he was 105 Years old, had a Son named *Enos:* After which Time he lived 807 Years; ſo that the Whole of his Life was 912.

A. M. 235. ENOS, when 90, had a Son named *Cainan:* After which he lived 815 Years; in the Whole 905.

A. M. 325. CAINAN, when 70, had a Son named *Mahalaleel:* After which he lived 840 Years; in all 910.

A. M. 395. MAHALALEEL, when 65, had a Son named *Jared:* After which he lived 800 Years; in all 895.

A. M. 460. JARED, when 162, had a Son named *Enoch:* After which he lived 800 Years; in all 962.

A. M. 622. ENOCH, when 65, had a Son named *Methuſelah:* After which he lived 300; in all 365.

A. M. 687. METHUSELAH, when 187, had a Son named *Lamech:* After which he lived 782; in all 969.

A. M. 874. LAMECH, when 182, had a Son named *Noah:* After which he lived 595; in all 777. And

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

A. M. 1056. NOAH, when he was 500 Years old, had three Sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, † from whom the World, after the Deluge, was repleniſhed.

A. M. 1556.

† THIS is the *Genealogy*, which *Moſes* gives us of the Poſterity of *Adam*, in the Line of *Seth*, until the Time of the Deluge; but we muſt obſerve, that theſe are far from being all his Progeny. In the Caſe of our great Progenitor *Adam*, he informs us, that, after the Birth of *Seth*, (*a*) *he had* ſeveral *Sons and Daughters*, tho' he does not ſo much as record their Names; and the like we may ſuppoſe of the reſt of the *Antediluvian* Patriarchs. For it is incongruous to think, that *Lamech* was 181, and *Methuſelah* 187, before they ever had a Child, when it ſo plainly appears, that his Father *Enoch* had one

But far from being all.

others) who begat Children, before they were 90 or upwards; and therefore, ſubtracting thoſe Years (which we may ſuppoſe interfer'd between his Birth and his Manhood) from the Age of *Methuſelah*, we may perceive, that *Adam* ſurpaſſed him to the Number of almoſt ſixty. *Eſtius* in Diffic. Loca.

† Of theſe three Sons, the eldeſt was *Japhet*, as appears from *Gen.* x. 21; the ſecond was *Shem*, from *Gen.* x. 21. and the youngeſt *Ham*, from *Gen.* ix. 24. Nevertheleſs, both here, and a little lower, *Shem* is named firſt; whether it was, that the Rights of *Primogeniture* were transferred to him (tho' the ſacred Hiſtorian ſays nothing of it); or God was minded, thus early, to ſhew, that he would not be confined to the Order of Nature, in the Diſpoſal of his Favours, which he frequently beſtowed upon the younger Children; or (what I think the moſt likely) becauſe the Nation of the *Jews* were to deſcend from him, and he, and his Poſterity, were to be the principal Subject of this whole Hiſtory. *Patrick* and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

† From this *Catalogue* we may further obſerve, that the Cuſtom in thoſe Times was, to give Children their Names, according to the Occurrences in Life, or Expectations of their Parents. Thus *Seth*, being a good Man, was grieved to ſee the great Degeneracy in other Parts, though he endeavour'd to preſerve his own Family from the Contagion; and therefore called his Son *Enos*, which ſignifies *ſorrowful*. *Enos*, perceiving the Poſterity of *Cain* to grow every Day worſe and worſe, was concerned for their Iniquity, and began to dread the Conſequences of it; and therefore called his Son *Cainan*, which denotes *Lamentation*. Though *Cainan* had his Name from the Wickedneſs of *Cain*'s Family, yet he himſelf was reſolved to maintain the true Worſhip of God in his own; and therefore called his Son *Mahalaleel*, i. e. *a Praiſer and Worſhipper of God*. In the Days of *Mahalaleel* (as the Tradition tells us) a Defection happened among the Sons of *Seth*, who went down from the Mountains, where they inhabited, and adjoined themſelves to the Daughters of *Cain*; and therefore he called his Son's Name *Jared*, which ſignifies *deſcending*. *Jared*, to guard againſt the general Corruption, devoted himſelf, and his Deſcendants, more zealouſly to the Service of God; and, accordingly, called his Son *Enoch*, which means a *Dedication*. *Enoch*, by the Spirit of Prophecy, foreſeeing the Deſtruction, which would come upon the Earth, immediately after the Death of his Son, called his Name *Methuſelah*, which imports as much; for the firſt Part of the Word [*Methu*] ſignifies *he dies*, and [*Selah*] the *ſending forth of Water*. *Methuſelah*, perceiving the Wickedneſs of the World, in the Family of *Seth*, as well as that of *Cain*, to grow every Day worſe and worſe, called his Son *Lamech*, which intimates *a poor Man*, *humbled*, and *afflicted* with Grief, for the preſent Corruption, and Fear of future Puniſhment: And *Lamech*, conceiving better Hopes of his Son (as ſome imagine) that he ſhould be the *promiſed Seed*, the Reſtorer of Mankind after the Deluge, or a notable Improver of the Art of Agriculture, call'd his Name *Noah*, which denotes a *Comforter*. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology. We may obſerve from this Catalogue however, that the Patriarchs, in thoſe Days, were not ſo ſuperſtitious, as to think any Thing *ominous* in Names; and therefore we find, that *Jared* feared not to call his Son *Enoch*, by the very Name of *Cain*'s eldeſt Son, *Gen.* iv. 17. even as *Methuſelah* called his Son *Lamech*, by the Name of one of *Cain*'s Grand-children, *Ch.* iv. *ver.* 18. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

(*a*) Gen. v. 4.

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one at 65. The true Reaſon then of this Omiſſion is —— that the Hiſtorian never intended to give us a Catalogue of the *Collateral* Branches (which doubtleſs were many) but only of the principal Perſons, by whom, in a right Line, the Succeſſion was continued down to *Noah*, and thence to *Abraham*, the Founder of the *Jewiſh* Nation.

The Diviſion of the World into the Families of Cain *and* Seth.

NOT long after the Departure of *Cain*, the whole World was divided into two Families, or oppoſite Nations: The Family of *Seth*, which adher'd to the Service of God, † became more frequent in religious Offices; and, as their Number increas'd, met in larger Aſſemblies, and in Communion, to perform Divine Worſhip by Way of publick Liturgy; and, (*b*) for this their Piety and Zeal, were ſtil'd the *Sons* or Servants *of God*; in Diſtinction to the Family of *Cain*, which now became profligate and profane, renouncing the Service of God, and addicting themſelves to all Manner of Impiety and Laſciviouſneſs; from whence they had the Name of the *Sons* and *Daughters of Men*. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

Enoch's *Tranſlation.*

IN this Period of Time, *Enoch*, one of the Family of *Seth*, and the Seventh, in a direct Line, from *Adam*, a Perſon of ſingular Piety and Sanctity of Life, not only took care of his own Conduct, * as conſidering himſelf always under the Eye and

† The Words in our Tranſlation are, — *then*, i. e. *in the Days of* Enos, *began Men to call upon the Name of the Lord*, Ch. iv. 26. but, it being very probable, that *publick Aſſemblies*, for religious Offices, were held long before this Time, and that even when *Cain* and *Abel* offer'd their Sacrifices, their Families join'd with them in the Worſhip of God; ſome Men of great Note, ſuch as *Bertram*, *Hackſpan*, and *Heidegger*, take them in the ſame Senſe with our *marginal* Tranſlation; *then began Men* (*i. e.* the Children of *Seth*) *to call themſelves by the Name of the Lord*, i. e. the Servants and Worſhippers of the Lord, in Contradiſtinction to the *Cainites*, and ſuch profane Perſons, as had forſaken him. It muſt not be diſſembled however, that the Word *Hochal*, which we tranſlate *began*, in ſeveral Places of Scriptures, ſignifies to *profane*; and, upon this Preſumption, many of the *Jewiſh* Writers, and ſome of no obſcure Fame among us, have taken the Words ſo, as if *Moſes* intended to intimate to us, that Men began now to apoſtatize from the Worſhip of God, to fall into Idolatry, and to apply the moſt holy Name, which alone belongs to the great Creator of Heaven and Earth, to created Beings, and eſpecially to the Sun. But, conſidering that *Moſes* is here ſpeaking of the pious Family of *Seth*, and not of that of *Cain*; that when the *Hebrew* Word ſignifies to *profane*, it has always a Noun following it; but when an affirmative Mood follows (as in the Paſſage before us) it always ſignifies to *begin*; and withal, that the *Eaſtern* Writers repreſent this *Enos* as an excellent Governor, who, while he liv'd, preſerv'd his Family in good Order, and, when he died, call'd them all together, and gave them a Charge to keep all God's Commandments, and not to aſſociate themſelves with the Children of *Cain*: Conſidering all this, I ſay, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that *Moſes* is here pointing out the *Origin* of Idolatry, but rather the Invention of ſome religious *Rites* and *Ceremonies* in the external Worſhip of God at this Time, or the Diſtinction, which good Men began to put between themſelves, and ſuch as were openly wicked and profane. For, that the true Meaning of the Expreſſion *Karabeſhem*, according to our *marginal Tranſlation*, is to *call* or *nominate by*, or *after* the Name of any one, is manifeſt from ſeveral Inſtances in Scripture. Thus *Gen.* iv. 17. *Jikra, he call'd* the Name of the City *Beſhem, by*, or *after* the Name of his Son. *Numb.* xxxii. 42. *Jikra, he call'd* it *Nobahbeſhem, by*, or *after* his own Name; and in *Pſal.* xlix. 11. *Kareau, they call* their Lands *Biſhmotham, by*, or *after their* own *Names:* And the Name here intimated, is afterwards expreſsly given them by *Moſes* himſelf, *Gen.* vi. when he tells us, that *the Sons of God ſaw the Daughters of Men. Patrick's* Commentary, and *Calmet's* Dictionary on the Word *Enos*, and *Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. I. l. 1.

(*b*) *Heidegger's* Hiſtor. Patriarch.

* This ſeems to be the natural Senſe of the Expreſſion of *walking with God*; and excellent, to this Purpoſe, is this Paſſage of *Seneca*, if we take what he tells us of *the Preſence of God* in a Chriſtian Senſe: *Sic certè vivendum*, ſays he, *tanquam in conſpectu vivamus; ſic cogitandum, tanquam aliquis in pectus intimum inſpicere poſſit, & poteſt. Quid enim prodeſt ab homine aliquid eſſe ſecretum? nihil Deo clauſum eſt. Ineſt Animis noſtris, & Cogitationibus mediis intervenit*, Lib. 1. Ep. 83. *Le Clerc's* Commentary. But, conſidering how uſual a Thing it was, in theſe early Ages of the World, for Angels to be converſant with good Men, it may not improperly be ſaid of *Enoch*, and of *Noah* both, that *they walked with God* in this Senſe, *viz.* that they had oftentimes familiar Converſe with theſe Meſſengers, who might be ſent with Inſtructions from him, how they were to behave upon ſeveral Occaſions: For this anſwers the Tradition of the Heathens, *viz.* that in the *Golden Age* their Gods had frequent Intercourſe with Men:

> Ille Deûm vitam accipiet, Diviſque videbit
> Permiſtos Heroas, & ipſe videbitur illis. *Virg. Ecl.* IV.

And to the ſame Purpoſe,

> Sæpius & ſeſe mortali oſtendere cœtu
> Cœlicolæ, nondùm ſpretâ Pietate, ſolebant. *Catul. in Nup. Thet. & Pelei.*

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and Obſervation of a righteous God, but, by his good Advices and Admonitions, endeavour'd likewiſe to put a Stop to the Torrent of Impiety, and reform the Vices of the Age; for which Reaſon God was pleas'd to ſhew a ſignal Token of his Kindneſs to him; for he exempted him from the common Fate of Mankind, and, without ſuffering Death to paſs upon him, tranſlated him into the Regions of Bliſs.

Adam's *Death.*

In this Period of Time, *Adam*, who, (according to the Sentence denounc'd againſt him at the Fall) was to *return* to his Native *Duſt*, * departed this Life, and (as the Tradition is) having called his Son *Seth*, and the other Branches of his numerous Family about him, he gave them ſtrict Charge, that they ſhou'd always live ſeparate, and have no Manner of Intercourſe with the impious Family of the Murtherer *Cain*. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

Noah's *Birth and Name.*

In this Period of Time, *Noah*, the Great-Grandſon of *Enoch*, and a Perſon of equal Virtue and Piety, was born: And as it was diſcover'd to *Enoch* at the Birth of *Methuſelah*, that, ſoon after that Child's Death, the whole Race of Mankind ſhou'd be deſtroyed for their Wickedneſs; ſo was it revealed to *Lamech*, at the Birth of his Son, (*c*) that he, and his Family, ſhou'd be preſerv'd from the common Deſtruction, and ſo become the Father of the *new* World; and for this Reaſon, † he call'd him *Noah*, which ſignifies

* Where *Adam* was buried cannot be collected from Scripture. St *Jerom* [in Matt. xxvii.] ſeems to approve of the Opinion of thoſe, who imagine that he was buried at *Hebron*, in the Cave of *Machpelah*, or the double Cave, which *Abraham*, many Ages after, bought for a Burying-Place for himſelf and Family, *Gen.* xxiii. 3. *&c.* The *Oriental* Chriſtians ſay, that when *Adam* ſaw Death approaching, he call'd his Son *Seth*, and the reſt of his Family to him, and order'd them to embalm his Body with Myrrh, Frankincenſe, and Caſſia, and depoſit it in a certain Cave, on the Top of a Mountain, which he had choſen for the Repoſitory of his Remains, and was thence call'd the Cave of *Al-Konuz*, a Word deriv'd from the *Arabian Kanaza*, which ſignifies *to lay up privately*. And this Precaution (as the *Jews* will have it) was order'd by *Adam* to be taken, leſt his Poſterity ſhould make his Relicts the Object of Idolatry. Several of the *primitive* Fathers believe, that he died in the Place where *Jeruſalem* was afterwards built, and that he was interr'd on Mount *Calvary*, in the very Spot where *Chriſt* was crucified; but others are of Opinion, that (tho' he did not die at *Jeruſalem*) yet *Noah*, at the Time of the Deluge, put his Body into the *Ark*, and took care to have it buried there by *Melchiſedeck*, the Son of *Shem*, his Grandſon. The *Mahometans* will have his Sepulchre to have been on a Mountain near *Mecca*, and the antient *Perſians*, in *Serendil*, or *Ceylon*: So ambitious is every Nation to have the Father of all Mankind repoſited with them. When *Eve*, the Mother of all Living, died, is no where expreſs'd in Scripture; but there are ſome, who venture to tell us, that ſhe outliv'd her Huſband ten Years. Vide the Univerſal Hiſtory, and *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Adam*.

(*c*) *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology.

† The Subſtance of *Lamech*'s Prophecy, according to our Tranſlation, is this: ——— *He called his Son* Noah, *ſaying, This ſame ſhall comfort us concerning the Work and Toil of our Hands, becauſe of the Ground, which the Lord hath curſed*; and the Senſe of learned Men upon it hath been very different. Some are of Opinion, that there is nothing prophetical in this Declaration of *Lamech*'s, and that the only Cauſe of his rejoicing was, to ſee a Son born, who might, in Time, be aſſiſting to him in the Toil of cultivating the Ground. But in this there is nothing particular: In this Senſe *Lamech*'s Words may be apply'd by every Father, at the Birth of every Son; nor can we conceive, why a peculiar Name ſhould be given *Noah*, if there was no particular Reaſon for it. The *Jewiſh* Interpreters generally expound it thus, *He ſhall make our Labour in tilling the Ground more eaſy to us*, in that he ſhall be the *Inventor* of ſeveral proper Tools, and Inſtruments of Huſbandry, to abate the Toil and Labour of Tillage: And ſome will tell us, that he therefore receiv'd his Name, becauſe he firſt invented the Art of making *Wine*, a Liquor that chears the Heart, and makes Man forget Sorrow and Trouble. But the Invention of the fit Tools for Tillage, after that *Tubal-Cain* had become ſo great an *Artificer in Braſs and Silver*, ſeems to belong to one of his Deſcendants, rather than *Noah*; and as *Noah* was not the firſt *Huſbandman* in the World, ſo neither can it be concluded, from his *having planted a Vineyard*, that he was the firſt *Vine-Dreſſer*. Another Opinion, not altogether unlike this, is, ——— that *Lamech*, being probably inform'd by God, that his Son *Noah* ſhou'd obtain a Grant of the Creatures for Food, *Gen.* ix. 3. and knowing the Labour and Inconveniences they were then under, rejoic'd in foreſeeing what Eaſe and Comfort they ſhou'd have, when they had obtain'd a large Supply of Food from the Creatures, beſides what they cou'd produce from the Ground by Tillage. TheReſtoration of Mankind by *Noah*, and his Son's ſurviving the Flood, is thought by many to anſwer the Comfort which *Lamech* promis'd himſelf and his Poſterity: But the learned *Heidegger*, after an Examination of all theſe, and ſome other Opinions, ſuppoſes that *Lamech*, having in Mind the Promiſe of God, expected that his Son ſhou'd prove the *bleſſed Seed*, the Saviour of the World, who was to *bruiſe the Serpent's Head*, and, by his Atonement, expiate our Sins, which are the Works of our own Hands, and remove the Curſe which lay upon Sinners. But this, in my Opinion, is too forc'd an Expoſition. *Lamech*, 'tis certain, in Virtue of God's Promiſe, expected a Deliverance from the Curſe of the Earth, and foreſaw that that Deliverance wou'd come through his Son: But how came it thro' his Son, unleſs it came in his Son's Days? And in what Inſtance cou'd it appear, unleſs it were in ſomething ſubſe-

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A. M. 130. Ant. Chrif. 3874.

ſignifies *a Comforter*: Though others imagine, that the Name was therefore given him, becauſe his Father, by the Spirit of Prophecy, foreknew, that God, in his Days, wou'd remove the Curſe of Barrenneſs from off the Face of the Earth, and, after the Time of the Deluge, reſtore it to its *original* Fertility.

A. M. 930. Ant. Chrif. 3074.

The Wickedneſs of the Cainites.

AFTER the Death of *Adam*, the Family of *Seth* (to fulfil their Father's Will) remov'd from the Plain, where they had liv'd, to the Mountains over-againſt *Paradiſe*, where *Adam* is ſaid to have been buried; and, for ſome Time, liv'd there in the Fear of God, and in the ſtricteſt Rules of Piety and Virtue. But as the Family of *Cain* daily increas'd, they came at length to ſpread themſelves over all the Plain, which *Seth* had left, even to the Confines of the Hill Country, where he had fix'd his Abode, and there they * liv'd in all Kind of Riot, Luxury, and Licentiouſneſs.

A. M. 1042. Ant. Chrif. 2962.

The Defection of the Sethites.

THE Noiſe of their Revellings might poſſibly reach the holy Mountain, where the *Sethites* dwelt; whereupon ſome of them might be tempted to go down, merely to gratify their Curioſity perhaps at firſt, but, being taken with their deluding Pleaſures, and * intoxicated with the Charms of their Women (who were extreamly beautiful) they forgot the Charge, which their Forefathers had given them, and ſo took to themſelves Wives of the Daughters of *Cain*; from which criminal Mixture were born Men of a vaſt *gigantick* Stature, who, for ſome Time, infeſted the Earth: And, in a few Generations after, the whole Family of *Seth* (very probably after the Death of their pious Anceſtor) follow'd the like Example, and, forgetting their Obligations to the contrary, enter'd into Society with the *Cainites*, and made *Intermarriages* with them; from whence aroſe another Race of Men, no leſs remarkable for their daring Wickedneſs, than for their bold Undertakings and adventurous Actions.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

The general Corruption of the World.

EVIL *Communications* naturally *corrupt good Manners*: And ſo the Example of the wicked Family prevail'd, and, by Degrees, eat out all Remains of Religion in the Poſterity of *Seth*. *Noah*, indeed, who was a good and pious Man, endeavour'd what he cou'd, (*e*) both by his Counſel and Authority, to bring them to a Reformation of their Manners, and to reſtore the true Religion among

quent to the Flood? And what cou'd that poſſibly be, unleſs the Removal of the *Sterility* of the Earth, and reſtoring it to its original Fruitfulneſs? For which Reaſon we find God, after the Flood, declaring, that he *will not again curſe the Earth for Man's Sake*; and ſolemnly promiſing, that *while the Earth remaineth, Seed Time and Harveſt ſhall not ceaſe*, Gen. viii. 22. Vid. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. *Patrick* and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *Pool*'s Annotations. *Shuckford*'s Connection; and Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, Diſſertation IV.

* Some of the *oriental* Writers have given us a large Account of their Manner of Living. "As to the Poſterity "of *Cain*, *ſay they*, the Men did violently burn in Luſt towards the Women, and, in like Manner, the Women, "without any Shame, committed Fornication with the Men; ſo that they were guilty of all Manner of filthy "Crimes with one another, and, meeting together in public Places for this Purpoſe, two or three Men were concern'd "with the ſame Woman, the antient Women, if poſſible, being more luſtful and brutiſh, than the Young. Nay, "Fathers liv'd promiſcuouſly with their Daughters, and the young Men with their Mothers; ſo that neither the "Children cou'd diſtinguiſh their own Parents, nor the Parents know their own Children. So deteſtable were the "Deeds of the *Cainites*, who ſpent their Days in Luſt and Wantonneſs, in Singing and Dancing, and all Kinds of "Muſick, until ſome of the Sons of *Seth*, hearing the Noiſe of their Muſick, and riotous Mirth, agreed to go down "to them from the holy Mountain, and, upon their Arrival, were ſo captivated with the Beauty of their Women, "(who were naked) that they immediately defil'd themſelves with them, and ſo were undone. For, when they "offer'd to return again to their former Abode, the Stones of the Mountain became like Fire, and permitted them "to paſs no farther." *Eutych.* Annals, p. 27.

* Our excellent *Milton* deſcribes the Manner of their being captivated with the Daughters of *Cain* in theſe Words:

——————— They on the Plain
Long had not walk'd, when from the Tents, behold,
A Bevy of fair Women; richly gay,
In Gems, and wanton Dreſs: To th' Harp they ſung
Soft amorous Ditties, and in Dance came on.
The Men, tho' grave, ey'd them; and let their Eyes
Rove without Rein; 'till in the amorous Net
Firſt caught, they lik'd, and each his Liking choſe.

BOOK XI.

(*e*) *Joſephus*'s Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.

A. M. 1042. Ant. Chriſ. 2962.

among them; * but all he cou'd do was to no Purpoſe. The Bent of their Thoughts had taken another Turn; and all their Study and Contrivance was, how to gratify their Luſts and inordinate Paſſions. In one Word, the whole Race of Mankind was become ſo very wicked, that one really wou'd have thought, they had all been confederated together againſt Heaven, to violate God's Laws, to profane his Worſhip, and ſpurn at his Authority; ſo that his Patience and long Suffering came at length to be wearied out: And, though *he is not a Man*, that he ſhould *repent*, or *the Son of Man*, that he ſhou'd *grieve* at any Thing, yet his Concern for the general Corruption is repreſented under that Notion, the better to accommodate it to our Capacity, and to expreſs his fix'd Reſolution of deſtroying all Mankind for their Iniquity, and with them all other Creatures, made for their Uſe, || as if he had *repented* that ever he made them.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

A. M. 1536. Ant. Chriſ. 2468.

And God's Reſolution to deſtroy it.

BEFORE he reſolv'd upon their Deſtruction however, we find him in great *Struggle* and Conflict with himſelf; his *Juſtice* calling for Vengeance, and his *Mercy* pleading for Forbearance; till at length his Juſtice prevail'd, and denounc'd the Sentence of Condemnation upon the wicked World: But ſtill with this Reſerve —— That, if, || within the Space of 120 Years (which was the *Term* limited for their Reprieval) they ſhould forſake their evil Ways, repent, and reform, his Mercy ſhou'd be at Liberty to interpoſe, and reverſe their Doom. All which he communicated to his Servant *Noah*, who, for his Juſtice, and ſingular Piety, in that corrupt and degenerate Age, had found Favour in his Sight; and, for whoſe Sake, his Family, which conſiſted of eight Perſons in all, was to be exempted from the general Deſtruction.

* *Joſephus* tells us, that *Noah*, for a long while, oppos'd the growing Impiety of the Age; but that at laſt, finding himſelf and Family in manifeſt Danger of ſome mortal Violence for his Good-will, he departed out of the Land himſelf, and all his People, *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 4. and (as the Tradition is) he ſettled in a Country call'd *Cypariſſon*, which had its Name from the great Quantity of Cypreſs-Trees, which grew there, and whereof (as we ſhall obſerve hereafter) in all Probability he built the *Ark*.

|| As Languages were at firſt invented by ſuch Perſons, as were neither *Philoſophers*, nor *Divines*, we cannot at all wonder, that we meet with many Improprieties in Speech, and ſuch Actions imputed to God, as no ways comport with the Dignity of his Nature. Thus, when the holy Scriptures ſpeak of God, they aſcribe *Hands*, and *Eyes*, and *Feet* to him; not that he has any of theſe Members, according to the *literal* Signification, but the Meaning is, that he has a Power to execute all thoſe Acts, to the effecting of which, theſe Parts in us are inſtrumental, *i. e.* he can converſe with Men, as well as if he had a Tongue or Mouth; can diſcern all that we do or ſay, as perfectly as if he had Eyes and Ears; and can reach us, as well as if he had Hands or Feet, *&c.* In like Manner, the Scripture frequently repreſents him, as affected with ſuch Paſſions, as we perceive in ourſelves, *viz.* as angry and pleas'd, loving and hating, repenting and grieving, *&c.* and yet, upon Reflection, we cannot ſuppoſe, that any of theſe Paſſions can *literally* affect the Divine Nature; and therefore the Meaning is, that he will as certainly *puniſh* the Wicked, as if he were inflam'd with the Paſſion of Anger againſt them; as infallibly *reward* the Good, as we will thoſe, for whom we have a particular Affection; and that, when he finds any Alteration in his Creatures, either for the better, or the worſe, he will as ſurely change his Diſpenſations towards them, as if he really repented, or chang'd his Mind. 'Tis by Way of *Analogy* and *Compariſon* therefore, that the Nature and Paſſions of Men are aſcrib'd to God: So that when he is ſaid to *repent* or *grieve*, the Meaning muſt be, not that he perceiv'd any Thing, that he was ignorant of before, to give him any Uneaſineſs; (for *known unto him are all his Ways from the Beginning*) but only that he alter'd his Conduct with Regard to Men, as they varied in their Behaviour towards him, juſt as we are wont to do, when we are moved by any of theſe Paſſions and Changes of Affections, we, *who dwell in Houſes of Clay, and whoſe Foundations are in the Duſt:* For the very Heathens can tell us, that *Majeſtatis Diminutio eſt, & Confeſſio Erroris, mutanda facere; neceſſe eſt enim ei eadem placere, cui, niſi optima placere non poſſunt.* Seneca *in Præf. Nat. Quæſt.* Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. Biſhop *King* on Predeſtination, and *Ainſworth*'s Annotations.

|| This was the Term allow'd Mankind for their Repentance, and Prevention of their Ruin: And yet, if we compare *Ch.* v. 32. with *Ch.* vii. 11. we ſhall find, that, between this Time and the Flood, there were but 100 Years. How then did God perform his Promiſe? Now in Anſwer to this, it may be ſaid, that the increaſing Wickedneſs of Mankind might juſtly haſten their Ruin, and forfeit the Benefit of this Indulgence; but what I take to be the true Solution is *this*: —— This Promiſe (though mention'd after what we read in *Ch.* v. 32.) ſeems nevertheleſs to have been made 20 Years before it; for that Verſe is added there out of its proper Place, only to compleat the *Genealogy*; and therefore, after this Narrative of the Wickedneſs of the World, it is repeated here in its due Order, in the 10th Verſe: Nor are ſuch *Tranſpoſitions* uncommon in Scripture, without any Diminution to its Authority. *Pool*'s Annotations.

The

A. M. 1536. Ant. Christ. 2468.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

The OBJECTION.

The Objection.

" BUT how great ſoever the Wickedneſs of the *Antediluvian* World " might be, yet it comports but badly " with the Goodneſs, and Wiſdom, and " Foreknowledge of God, to have created " the Race of Mankind, and provided " ſuch a delightful Place for their Habi- " tation, and then, in ſo ſhort a Compaſs " of Time, to cancel the Work of his " own Hands, by deſtroying the Beauty " of the one, and the Lives of the other. " For *ſeven Generations* together (if *(f)* " *Joſephus* tells Truth) Men liv'd in the " Exerciſe of Virtue, and in the Love " and Fear of God. The Family of " *Seth* were very famous for their Holi- " neſs, Juſtice, and Purity; and (as † " *Eaſtern* Writers ſay) were continually " employing themſelves in the Worſhip, " and Praiſes of God. One of them, in " particular, was ſo remarkable for his " Virtue and Piety, that he had a Privi- " lege granted him, which the Son of God " himſelf (when on Earth) cou'd not ob- " tain, *viz.* a *Tranſlation* into Immortali- " ty, without undergoing the *Pains of* " *Death*; and yet, in a Generation or two " following, we read, that *(g) all Fleſh* " *had corrupted his Way upon the Earth,* " *and that every Imagination of his Heart* " *was evil continually*, in ſo much that " *it repented, and griev'd the Lord, that* " *he had made Man.* Now if God fore- " ſaw that Man wou'd ſo ſoon become " ſo very wicked, why did he make him " at all? Or, if foreſeeing this, he, ne- " vertheleſs, thought proper to make " him, why was he ſo concern'd at find- " ing him to be juſt what he foreſaw he " wou'd prove? To deſtroy the wicked " Race of *Cain* indeed, in ſome particu- " lar Branch of it, for a Teſtimony of his " Diſpleaſure againſt the Reſt, *this* might " have been conſiſtent with his Wiſdom " and Juſtice, and other ſacred Attri- " butes: But to lay waſte the whole Earth " all at once, and even the Brute-Crea- " tion, which was not capable of offend- " ing; to pull down what he had, for " the Space of 1656 Years, been eſta- " bliſhing, and to put himſelf to the " Trouble of beginning again, and re- " peopling the ſhatter'd and defac'd Earth " from the Loins of four Progenitors on- " ly, argues too much *Levity* and *Ca-* " *price*, ever to be imputed to a *wiſe* and " *unchangeable* God.

" THE whole Hiſtory of this Period " of Time indeed (according to the Ac- " count of *Moſes*) is ſo glaringly *roman-* " *tic*, and ſo repugnant to other Parts " of Scripture, that a Man, who ven- " tures to think for himſelf, will hardly " be induc'd to credit it. The Apoſtle " to the *Corinthians* tells us, that *(h)* " *Fleſh and Blood cannot inherit the* " *Kingdom of God, neither doth Corrup-* " *tion inherit Incorruption*; and yet *(i)* " here we have a Man, who (according " to the *Chriſtian* Interpretation) was " immediately taken up into Heaven " (but in what *Vehicle*, there's the Que- " ſtion) without any *Change* or Alteration, " that we read of. *Chriſt*, in his Goſpel, " has told us expreſsly, that *(k) the An-* " *gels of God neither marry, nor are* " *given*

(f) Antiq. I. 1. c. 4.

† Immediately after the Death of *Adam* (ſay ſeveral of theſe Writers) *Seth*, being wearied with the Wickedneſs of the Family of *Cain*, his Neighbours, and fearing that now they would become more profligate, retir'd from the *Plain*, where he liv'd before, and, taking with him his eldeſt Son *Enos*, and *Cainan* the Son of *Enos*, and *Mahalaleel* the Son of *Cainan*, and their Wives, brought them up unto the Top of that Mountain, where *Adam* was bury'd; that theſe Inhabitants of the Mountains became very famous for their Holineſs, Juſtice, and Purity; that they continually employ'd themſelves in the Praiſes of God, and in cultivating their Minds in ſublime Speculations; and that, when they were remov'd to a greater Diſtance from the *Earth*, they were ſo very near the *Cæleſtial* Paradiſe, that they heard the Voices of *Angels*, celebrating the Praiſes of God, and join'd with them in their ſacred *Hymns*, and heavenly Benedictions. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology.

(g) Gen. vi. 12. *(h)* 1 Cor. xv. 50. *(i)* Gen. v. 24. *(k)* Matt. xxii. 30.

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" *given in Marriage*, and the * Simplicity " of their Nature muſt induce us to " think, that they are not capable of *Ge-* " *neration*; and yet (*l*) here again we " are told, that the *Sons of God took* " *themſelves Wives of the Daughters of* " *Men.* But, allowing the *Sons of God* " to ſignify the Deſcendants of *Seth*, yet " where was the great Damage in their " marrying the Daughters of *Cain?* We " read of no Law to prohibit ſuch Mar- " riages, *and where no Law is, there* " *can be no Tranſgreſſion*; and yet the " Deſtruction of the World is repreſented " as proceeding from this one Cauſe. " The Poets indeed do frequently enter- " tain us with many pleaſant Stories of " their Gods turning Gallants to Ladies, " of their aſſuming human Shape, living " in Obſcurity for ſome Time, and ſub- " mitting to Employs far beneath their " Quality, and all for the Love of the " Fair Sex; but, in a Book of Divine Ex- " tract, and ſacred to Truth, we little ex- " pected to be told of *amorous* Intrigues. " The Giants of old; of what monſtrous " Size and Strength they were, how they " fought againſt the Gods, and pil'd † " Mountain upon Mountain, in order to " ſcale Heaven, and dethrone them, is " a popular Subject among the Sons of " *Parnaſſus*; but who ever thought to " have met (*m*) with the Foundation of " all theſe Fictions in ſo grave an Author, " as *Moſes?* In ſhort, his whole Account " of the Tranſlation of *Enoch*, and the " Deluge of *Noah*; of the *Sons of God*, " and the *Daughters of Men*; of *Giants* " and *Incubuſes*, and other ſuch monſtrous " Abſurdities, ſavour very ſtrong of the " *fabulous* Age, and ſeem to be calculated " for no other Purpoſe, than merely to " banter the eaſy Faith of the Vulgar, and " to gratify ſuch, as delight in Fiction."

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing how the Antediluvian *World came to be ſo wicked.*

THAT God of his infinite Wiſdom might, for very good Reaſons, think proper to create Man at firſt, and in all the full Perfection of his Nature, notwithſtanding he cou'd not but foreſee, that he wou'd ſadly degenerate, and turn Rebel to his Will, is a Queſtion we have already endeavour'd to reſolve, (*n*) when we treated of the Fall of *Adam*; and by what means his Poſterity, in the Succeſſion of ſo few Generations, as paſſed from the Creation to the Flood, became ſo very corrupt, as to lay God under a Neceſſity to deſtroy them, may in a great Meaſure be imputed to the Length of their Lives, and the Strength and Vigour of their Conſtitutions. For, ſuppoſing all Mankind, ſince the *original* Defection, to be born in a State of deprav'd Nature, with their Underſtandings impair'd, their Wills perverted, and their Paſſions inflamed (*o*); we can ſcarce imagine any Reſtraint, conſiſtent with human Freedom, ſufficient to check their unruly Appetites, in that Height of Vigour, and Confidence of long Life. For if we, who rarely, and with no ſmall Difficulty, ſtretch out to the Span of ſeventy Years, are hardly withheld from Violence and

* The learned *Heidegger*, in his Diſſertation *de Nephilim, ſeu Gigantibus Antediluvianis*, has abundantly ſhewn from Scripture, from Reaſon, and from the Nature of Angels, that neither ſimply by themſelves, nor incorporate in any human Body, are they capable of begetting Children; nor cou'd it have been conſiſtent with the Attributes of God, for him to have permitted any ſuch Abomination.

(*l*) Gen. vi. 2.

† The Poets have deſcrib'd the Attempt of the antient Giants in ſuch Strains as theſe:

Néve foret Terris ſecurior arduus Æther,
Affectâſſe ferunt Regnum cœleſte Gigantes,
Altaque congeſtos ſtruxiſſe ad Sydera Montes.
OVID. *Met. L.* 1.

——— Immania vidi
Corpora, qui manibus magnum reſcindere Cœlum
Aggreſſi, ſuperiſque Jovem detrudere regnis.
Ter ſunt conati imponere Pelio Oſſam
Scilicet; atque Oſſæ frondoſum involvere Olympum;
Ter Pater extructos disjecit Fulmine Montes.
VIRG. *Æn. VI. & Geor. I.*

Magnum illa Terrorem intulerat Jovi
Fidens Juventus horrida brachiis,
Fratréſque tendentes opaco
Pelion impoſuiſſe Olympo.
Sed quid Typhœus, quid validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyrion ſtatu,
Quid Rhœcus, evultiſque truncis
Enceladus jaculator audax,
Contra ſonantem Palladis Ægida
Poſſent ruentes?
HOR. *Car. L.* 3. *Ode IV.*

(*m*) Gen. vi. 4. (*n*) Vid. pag. 48, 49. (*o*) Revelation Examin'd, Vol. I.

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and Villainy, by all the Dictates of Reaſon, and Terrors of Religion, what can we conceive ſufficient to have kept them back, in their Strength, and Security in Sin from a continued Series of 8 or 9 hundred Years? No Interpoſition of Providence can be ſuppos'd available to the Reformation of Mankind, under theſe Circumſtances, unleſs it were ſuch, as would either change their Nature, or deſtroy their Freedom; and therefore we have Reaſon to believe, that in the Space of about 1800 Years from the Creation, God found them degenerated to ſuch a Degree, as if they had loſt all Senſe of their *Humanity*; for this ſome have made the Import of the Text, *my Spirit ſhall not always ſtrive with Man, for that he alſo is Fleſh*, i. e. 'tis in vain to uſe any farther Methods of Mercy, or Monitions of Providence with Man, who is now entirely given up to *fleſhly* Appetites, and by that Means ſunk down into the loweſt Condition of Brutality.

BY what Gradations Man arriv'd at his Height of Corruption, is not ſo evident from Scripture; but there are two Paſſages, *(p) the Earth was corrupt before God, and the Earth was filled with Violence*, which ſeem to point out ſome particular Vices: For, by *Violence*, is plainly meant Cruelty, and Outrage, and Injuſtice of every Kind; and by *Corruption*, the *Jews* always underſtand, either *Idolatry*, or unlawful Mixtures and Pollutions; the latter of which ſeems to be denoted here, becauſe of the ſubſequent Explication of the Words, *for all Fleſh had corrupted his Way upon the Earth.*

NOW, if we look into the Hiſtory, we ſhall find, that the firſt Act of *Violence* was committed by *Cain* upon his Brother *Abel*; the firſt Act of Incontinence by *Lamech*, in the Matter of his *Polygamy*; and that, as one of his Sons invented the Inſtruments of *Luxury*, ſo the other invented the Inſtruments of *Violence* and War. As Luxury therefore naturally begets a Diſpoſition to injure others in their Property, and ſuch a Diſpoſition, arm'd with *offenſive* Weapons, in the Hands of Men of a *gigantick* Stature and Strength (as many of the *Antediluvians* very probably were) tends to beget all Manner of *Inſolence* and Outrage to our Fellow-Creatures; ſo theſe two cardinal Vices might naturally enough introduce that Train of Corruption, which drew God's Judgments upon the Inhabitants of the Earth.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

God's Juſtice vindicated in deſtroying all Mankind.

HAD God indeed given them no Intimations of this his Deſign, no Calls to Repentance, no Means and Opportunities of becoming better, before he determin'd their Deſtruction, ſomething might then be ſaid in Oppoſition to the *Righteouſneſs* of this Procedure; but (*q*) ſince, from the very Beginning, he was pleas'd, in the Sentence he paſs'd upon the *Serpent*, to give them a remarkable Promiſe, that *the Seed of the Woman* ſhould deſtroy the Power of that evil Spirit, which brought Sin into the World, and, conſequently, (*r*) that all Parents were oblig'd to train up their Children in the Ways of Virtue and Religion, without which it was impoſſible for any of them to be *the promis'd Seed*, which was to reſtore Mankind to their original Perfections; ſince he himſelf inſtituted Sacrifices, as a Means admirably well fitted to inſpire Mankind with an Horror of Guilt, and be, at the ſame Time, a perpetual Memorial of the divine Mercy from Generation to Generation; ſince, in his Expulſion of *Cain* from his Preſence, and Exaltation of *Enoch* into Heaven, he made an open Declaration, to all future Ages, that his *Vengeance* ſhould at all Times purſue Sin, but his *Bounty* had always in Store an ample Reward for the Righteous; ſince, at this Time, he exhibited himſelf to Mankind in a more ſenſible Manner than he does now, cauſing them to hear Voices, and to dream Dreams, and, by ſundry extraordinary Means, convincing them of their Duty, and giving them Directions for the Conduct of their Lives; ſince, at this Time, they had the Principles of Religion (which

(*p*) Gen. vi. 11. (*q*) *Shuckford's* Connect. Vol. I. L. 1. (*r*) Revelation Examin'd, Vol. I.

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were but very few) convey'd to them by an easy Tradition, which, by *Methuselah*'s living 248 Years with *Adam*, and dying but a little before the Flood, in the Compass of 1600 Years and more, had but two Hands to pass through; and, lastly, since God appointed *Noah* in particular to be *a Preacher of Righteousness* (*s*), as the Apostle stiles him, to exhort that wicked Race to forsake their Sins, and return unto him; to warn them of their impending Doom, if they persisted in their Provocations; to give them Notice, that 120 Years was the stated Time of their Reprieve, and that, at the End of that Period, his fix'd Determination was to destroy them utterly, unless their Amendment averted the Judgment: Since these, and many more Methods of Mercy were all along employ'd by God (and especially *in the Days, that his Long-Suffering waited, while the Ark was preparing*) for the Recovery of Mankind, before the Deluge came upon them, they are sufficient to vindicate *the Ways of God with Man*, and to justify his Severity *in bringing in the Flood upon the World of the Ungodly*, which neither his Restraints, nor Rewards, nor all the Monitions and Exhortations of his Prophets, added to his own Declarations, Institutions, Inflictions, and Denunciations of Vengeance, cou'd reclaim, in the Course of so many Centuries.

And other living Creatures.

Other living Creatures, it is true, were not culpable in this Manner: They all answer'd the Ends of their Production, and Man was the only Rebel against his Maker. (*t*) But, as, in an *universal* Deluge, it was impossible to preserve them alive without a Miracle; so, having, in some Measure, been made *instrumental* to Man's Wickedness, innocent tho' they were, they were all to be destroy'd, in order to evince the Malignity of Sin, and God's Abhorrence of it. For the great End of his Providence in sending the Deluge, was not so much to *ease himself of his Adversaries*, as to leave a perpetual Monument of his unrelenting Severity, that thereby he might deter future Ages from the like Provocations. And this is the Inference, which the Apostle draws from all his Judgments of old: (*u*) *If God spared not the Angels*, says he, *that sinned, but cast them down to Hell; if he spared not the old World, but brought in a Flood upon the Ungodly; if he turned the Cities of* Sodom *and* Gomorah *into Ashes, and condemned them with an Overthrow*; these *are an Ensample unto those, that after shall live ungodly*; for (however they may escape in this Life) *he hath reserved the Unjust unto the Day of Judgment to be punish'd.*

Gen. Ch. v, and vi. to Ver. 13.

The Sons of God not *Evil Angels.*

The Scripture indeed seems to impute all this Iniquity to the Marriages between *the Sons of God and the Daughters of Men*; but the Misfortune is, that several Interpreters, being led away by the Authority of the LXX, who (according to *Philo*) did anciently render what we style the *Sons of God*, by ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ have suppos'd, that wicked and Apostate Angels assum'd, at this Time, human Bodies, and, having had carnal Communion with Women, begat of them a Race of Giants; and from this Original, the Notion of *Incubi*, or Devils converssing with Women in the like Manner, has ever since been deriv'd. St *Austin*, † among many others, is very positive in this Opinion. (*x*) "Several People have "had the Trial, *says he*, and several have "heard it from those, who knew it to "be true, that the *Silvani* and *Fauni*, "commonly call'd *Incubi*, have been "often fatal to Women, and have defil'd "their

(*s*) 2 Pet. ii. 5. (*t*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*u*) 2 Pet. ii. 4, &c.

† Dr *Whitby*, in his Scripturæ Patrum, p. 5. has instanc'd in almost all the Fathers of the four first Centuries, who were of this Opinion; such as *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Athenagoras*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, St *Cyprian*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, &c. and supposes, that this Notion took its Rise from the vain Traditions of the *Jews*; because we find not only *Philo* reading the Word ἄγγελοι in the Septuagint Version, but *Josephus* likewise asserting, "that "the Angels of God, mixing with Women, begat an insolent Race (not much unlike that of the Giants in the "*Greek* Fables) overbearing Right with Power. *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 4.

(*x*) De Civitate Dei, l. 15. c. 23.

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" their Bed. It is likewiſe affirmed with " ſo much Confidence, that certain De- " mons (call'd *Durii* among the *Gauls*) " have not only attempted, but likewiſe " perpetrated theſe Kinds of impure Ac- " tions, that it would be fooliſh to make " any Queſtion of it." But, beſides the Incompatibleneſs of the Notion of a Spirit, and the Nature of an *Incubus*, *the Sons of God* are here repreſented under Circumſtances, quite different to what we may ſuppoſe of any *Demons* aſſuming human Shape.

(*y*) AN *Incubus* (if any ſuch there be) can deſire Commerce with a Woman, for no other Reaſon, but only to draw her into the Gulf of Perdition. Any *carnal* Gratification of his own cannot be his Motive, becauſe Pleaſure, in an aſſum'd Body, if it is pretended to, muſt be fictitious: But here *the Sons of God* are ſaid to be enamour'd with the Daughters of Men, and (to ſatisfy their Luſts) *to take to themſelves Wives of all that they choſe*, which denoting a ſettled Marriage and Cohabitation with them, can hardly be imagin'd in the Caſe before us. From thoſe Marriages, we may farther obſerve, that a Generation of living Men, call'd by the Scripture *Men of Renown*, did enſue; but it is impious to think, that God wou'd ever concur with the Devil, violating the Laws of Generation, which he had eſtabliſh'd, and proſtituting the Dignity of human Nature, by ſtamping his own Image upon, or infuſing an human Soul into whatever Matter a *Fiend* ſhou'd think fit to engenerate.

Not great Men and Magiſtrates.

IN Prejudice taken to this Opinion therefore, ſeveral Interpreters have made Choice of another, which, though ſomewhat more reaſonable, is nevertheleſs ſubject to Exceptions. It ſuppoſes, that, by the *Sons of God* in this Place, are meant the Princes, great Men, and Magiſtrates in thoſe Times, who, inſtead of uſing their Authority to puniſh and diſcountenance Vice, were themſelves the greateſt Examples and Promoters of Lewdneſs and Debauchery; taking *the Daughters of Men*, or of the inferior and meaner Sort of the People, and debauching them by Force. But (*z*) beſides the Harſhneſs of the Conſtruction, which (contrary to Scripture-Phraſe) makes all great and powerful Perſons to be call'd *the Sons of God*, and all mean and plebean Women, *the Daughters of Men*, there is this Error in the Suppoſition, that the great Men, we are now ſpeaking of, did not offer any Force or Violence to theſe inferior Women; *they ſaw that they were fair, and made Choice of them for Wives.* They did not take them merely to lie with them, and ſo diſmiſs them; but voluntarily enter'd into a State of Matrimony and Cohabitation with them. And this being all the Matter, wherein is the Heinouſneſs of the Offence, if Men of a ſuperior Rank marry with their Inferiors, eſpecially when an Exceſs of Beauty apologizes for their Choice? Or, why ſhou'd a few unequal Matches be reckon'd among ſome of the chief Cauſes, which brought upon the World an univerſal Deſtruction?

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

But the Deſcendants of Seth.

THE moſt common therefore, and indeed the only probable Opinion is, that the *Sons of God* were the Deſcendants of *Seth*, who for the great Piety, wherein they continu'd for ſome Time, were ſo call'd, and that *the Daughters of Men* were the Progeny of wicked *Cain*: And why the Intermarriages of theſe two Families (even tho' there was no expreſs Prohibition from God) came to be ſo provoking to him, and in the End ſo deſtructive to themſelves, is the next Point of our Enquiry.

The Idolatry of the Cainites.

IT has been a Queſtion among the Learned, whether or no, in the Ages before the Flood, Idolatry was practis'd; but there ſeems to be no great Foundation for our doubting it, tho' ſome have endeavoured to eſtabliſh it upon incompetent Texts. The only Expreſſion in Scripture, that bears a proper Aſpect this Way, is in *Gen.* vi. 5. where we are told, *That God ſaw, that the Wickedneſs of Man was great in the Earth, and that every Imagination of the Thoughts of his Heart was only evil continually.* The Words ſeem parallel to that

(*y*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. (*z*) Ibid.

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that Paſſage of the Apoſtle, (*a*) *they became vain in their Imaginations, and their fooliſh Heart was darkened*; —— whereupon it follows, *that they changed the Glory of the incorruptible God into an Image, made like to corruptible Man, and to Birds, and four-footed Beaſts, and creeping Things.* Since therefore *Moſes* makes uſe of (*b*) the like Expreſſion, concerning the Age, ſoon after the Flood; and ſince it is certain, that, ſoon after the Flood, Men fell into Idolatry, until the true Worſhip of God was again eſtabliſh'd in *Abraham*'s Family; it ſeems very probable, that he intended us an Intimation hereof in the Manner of his expreſſing himſelf: Nor can we imagine, but that, when St *Peter* compares the falſe Teachers of his Age with the People of the *Antediluvian* World, in the Nature of their Puniſhment, he means to inform us, that they reſembled them likewiſe in the Nature of their Crime, in their (*c*) *bringing in damnable Hereſies*, and abetting ſuch Doctrines, as *even deny'd the Lord that bought them*; or that, when St *Jude* (*d*) expreſſes his Indignation againſt certain *ungodly Men* in his Days, *who deny'd the only Lord God, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, in ſuch Words as theſe, *Woe unto them, for they are gone into the Way of* Cain; he leaves us to infer, that *Cain* and his Poſterity were the firſt, that threw off the Senſe of a God, and, *inſtead of the Creator*, began to *worſhip the Creature.*

Now if the *Cainites* were, at this Time, not only profligate in their Manners, but Abettors of Infidelity, and Promoters of Idolatry; for the Family of *Seth*, who profeſs'd the true Worſhip of God, to enter into Communion, or any matrimonial Compacts with them, cou'd not but prove of fatal Conſequence. 'Tis a ſolemn Injunction, which God gives the *Iſraelites*, againſt all idolatrous Nations, (*e*) *Thou ſhalt not make Marriages with them; thy Daughter thou ſhalt not give unto his Son, nor his Daughter ſhalt thou take unto thy Son:* And, that this is no *ſpecial*, but a *general* Prohibition, extenſive to all Nations, that profeſs the true Worſhip of God, is evident from the Reaſon that is annex'd to it; *for they will turn away thy Son from following me, that they may ſerve other Gods.* This was what *Baalam* knew full well, and therefore, perceiving that he cou'd injure the Children of *Iſrael* no other Way, he adviſ'd the *Moabites* to commence a Familiarity with them; whereupon it ſoon came to paſs, that (*f*) *The People began to commit Whoredom with the Daughters of* Moab, *and they called the People unto the Sacrifices of their Gods, and the People did eat, and bowed down to their Gods.*

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

'Twas this Danger of Seduction into a State of Idolatry that made *Abraham*, before the Law, ſo very anxious and uneaſy, leſt his Son *Iſaac* ſhou'd marry a *Canaaniteſh* Woman; and though *we*, under the Goſpel, (*g*) *know* very well, *that an Idol is nothing in the World, and that there is none other God, but one*; yet we are admoniſh'd by the ſame Apoſtle, who teaches us this, *Not to be unequally yoked together with Unbelievers; for what Fellowſhip*, ſays he, *has Righteouſneſs with Unrighteouſneſs, what Communion hath Light with Darkneſs, or what Part hath he that believeth with an Infidel* (*h*)? From all which it ſeems to follow, that the Sin was very heinous in the Family of *Seth*, to mix with the wicked Seed of *Cain*, when they cou'd not but foreſee, that the Conſequence wou'd be their Seduction from the true Worſhip of God; and that the Heinouſneſs of their Sin ſeems ſtill to be inhanc'd, if, what ſome *oriental* Writers tell us, be true, *viz.* that God gave them this Prohibition by the Mouth of their great Forefather *Adam*, and that their Cuſtom was, at certain Times, to ſwear by the *Blood of* Abel (which was their ſolemn Oath) that they wou'd never leave the mountainous Country, where they inhabited, nor have any Communion with the Deſcendants of *Cain.*

The Giants, *whence they ſprung.*

How the Commixture of two ſuch different Families came to produce a Set of *Giants*, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to determine.

(*a*) Rom. i. 21, 23. (*b*) Gen. viii. 21. (*c*) 2 Pet. ii. 1, 5. (*d*) Ver. 4, 11. (*e*) Deut. vii. 3, 4. (*f*) Num. xxv. 1, 2. (*g*) 1 Cor. viii. 4. (*h*) 2 Cor. vi. 14, &c.

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mine. Thoſe, who pretend to reduce it to natural Cauſes, or the eager Luſt and *Impetus* of their Parents, are vaſtly miſtaken, (*i*) becauſe Giants there were among the *Cainites*, before this Conjunction, and we read of ſeveral in other Nations many Ages after the Flood. The more probable Opinion therefore is, (*k*) that God permitted it, in Vengeance to their Parents Crimes, and that the Children, begotten by ſuch unlawful Mixtures, might, (ſome of them at leaſt) be accounted monſtrous in their Kind, (for thus the Word *Nephilim* certainly ſignifies) and ſo become the Abhorrence of all future Generations.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd, indeed, that Tranſlators have not agreed in their Notions of this Word. *Aquila*, inſtead of *Gigantes*, renders it, (*l*) *Men, who attack*, or fall with Impetuoſity upon their Enemies; and *Symmachus* will have it mean (*m*) *violent and cruel* Men, the only Rule of whoſe Actions is their Strength, and Force of Arms: And from hence ſome have imagin'd, that the *Giants*, ſpoken of in Scripture, were famous for the Crimes and Violences they committed, rather than for the Height, or Largeneſs of their Stature. But to hinder this from paſſing for a Truth, we have the Hiſtories of all Ages, both *ſacred* and *profane*, and ſeveral other Remains and Monuments, to evince † the Being of ſuch prodigious Creatures, in almoſt every Country.

The real Exiſtence of them.

(*n*) THAT there were Multitudes of *Giants* in the Land of Promiſe, before the *Iſraelites* took Poſſeſſion of it, ſuch as *Og*, King of *Baſan*, and the *Anakims*, whom (*o*) the *Moabites* call'd *Enims*, i. e. *terrible Men*, and (*p*) the *Ammonites*, *Zamzummims*, i. e. the *Inventors of all Wickedneſs*, whoſe Poſterity were in Being in the Days of *David*, and whoſe Bones were to be ſeen at *Hebron*, the chief Place of their Abode, is manifeſt from the ſacred Records. (*q*) *All the People* (ſay the *Spies*, who were ſent to take a Survey of the Land) *are Men of Stature; and there we ſaw the Giants, the Sons of* Anack, *which came of the Giants*, ſo unmeaſurably large, that *we were but like Graſhoppers* in Compariſon of them. And therefore we need leſs wonder, that we find (*r*) *Joſephus*, upon the ſame Occaſion, telling us, "That "the Race of Giants was not then ex- "tinct, who, on Account of their Large- "neſs and Shapes (not at all to be liken'd "to thoſe of other Men) were amazing to "ſee, and terrible to hear of." *Homer* (*s*) ſpeaks of the Giants, *Otus* and *Ephialtes*, who, at the Age of nine Years, were nine Cubits about, and ſix and thirty in Height; he likewiſe deſcribes (*t*) the Bigneſs of the Cyclops *Polyphemus*, who was of ſuch prodigious Strength, that he cou'd, with the greateſt Facility, take up a Stone, which two and twenty *four-wheel'd* Chariots would ſcarce be able to move. This we allow to be, in ſome Meaſure, *romantic*, but ſtill it confirms the Tradition, that ſeveral Perſons of old were of a *gigantic* Stature.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

"THAT the *Cyclopes* and *Laſtrigones*, "(*u*) ſays *Bochart*, were once in *Sicily*, "we have the Account, not only in the "Poets, *Homer*, *Heſiod*, and *Euripides*, "*Virgil*, *Ovid*, and *Sicilus*, but in the "*Hiſtorians*, and Geographers (I mean "*Thucydides* and *Strabo*) who were *Gre-* "*cians*, and in *Trogus*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, and "others, who were *Romans*: And that "there was ſomething of Truth in the "Fables concerning them, we are aſſur'd

(*i*) Gen. vi. 4. (*k*) Vid. *Heidegger*'s Vit. Patriar. and *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*l*) Ἐπιπίπτοντες. (*m*) Βιάζει.

† Mr *Whiſton*, in his *Original Records*, has a Supplement concerning the old Giants, wherein, according to the Apocryphal Book of *Enoch*, he divides the Giants into three Kinds, and in this Diviſion thinks himſelf countenanc'd by the Words of *Moſes*, Gen. vi. 2, &c. the firſt and loweſt Kind of which are call'd *Eliudim*, and are of Stature from 4 Cubits to 15; the ſecond are *Nephilim*, from 15 to 40 Cubits; and the third, or great Giants, 40 Cubits at leaſt, and many Times above.

(*n*) *Huetii* Aletan. Queſt. (*o*) Deut. ii. 11. (*p*) Ver. 21. (*q*) Numb. xiii. 33. (*r*) Antiq. l. 5. c. 2. (*s*) *Odyſſ.* l. 11. (*t*) Ibid. l. 9. (*u*) Canaan i. 30.

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" by thoſe Bones of Giants, which were " dug out of the Earth in the Memory " of our Fathers." (*x*)

But I forbear more Inſtances of this Kind, and, * referring the Reader, for his further Conviction, to ſuch Authors, as have profeſſedly handled this Subject, ſhall only crave Leave to make this Remark —— (*y*) that, in all Probability, no ſmall Part of the eldeſt Cities, Towers, Temples, Obeliſks, Pyramids, and Pillars, ſome of which are ſtill remaining, and deſervedly eſteem'd *the Wonders of the World*, † were the Structure of theſe antient *Giants*; and, as they ſurpaſs the Ability of all later Ages, ſo they ſeem to me to be the viſible, and undeniable Remains, Monuments, and Demonſtrations, not only of their Exiſtence, but of their prodigious Stature and Strength likewiſe; ſince in an Age, ignorant of *mechanical* Powers and Engines, ſuch vaſt Piles of Building could no otherwiſe have been erected.

Without concerning ourſelves then with the Fictions and Fables of the Poets, or (*z*) whether the Giants of old, rebelling againſt Heaven, were able to heap Mountains upon Mountains, in order to ſcale it, or to hurl Rocks, and Iſlands, and huge flaming Trees againſt it, in order to ſhake, or ſet it on Fire; all that we pretend to ſay is, that, in antient Days, there were Giants in great Numbers, who, (excepting the Largeneſs of their Stature) were form'd and faſhion'd like other Men, and wag'd no other War with Heaven, than what all wicked Perſons are known to do, when they provoke the Divine Majeſty by their Crimes, and enormous Impieties. This is the Whole of what the Scriptures aſſert, and I know no Occaſion we have to defend the wild *Hyperboles* of the Poets.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

The Reality of Enoch's *Tranſlation, and what it means.*

Amidst the *Antediluvian* Corruption, and even while theſe abominable and *gigantick* Men were in Being, *Moſes* makes particular Mention of one Perſon of eminent Sanctity, and who found a Favour extraordinary, for having preſerv'd his Innocence, and perſiſted in his Duty, notwithſtanding the Wickedneſs of the Age, wherein he liv'd. *Enoch* was certainly, in other Reſpects, an extraordinary Perſon. (*a*) St *Jude* diſtinguiſhes him as a *Prophet*; (*b*) the *Arabians* repreſent him as a great Scholar; the *Babylonians* look upon him as the Author of their *Aſtrology*; the *Greeks* call him their *Atlas*, and affirm, that *he was the firſt, who taught Men the Knowledge of the Stars:* But it was not for theſe rare Qualities, ſo much as for his ſingular Piety and Virtue, that God exempted him from the common Fate of Mankind.

The

(*x*) *Fazellus* relates, and out of him *Cluverius*, that, *A. D.* 1547, near *Panormum* in *Sicily*, the Body of a Giant was dug up, about 18 Cubits, or 27 Foot tall. The ſame Authors relate, that, *A. D.* 1516, was dug up, near *Mazarene* in *Sicily*, the Body of a Giant, 20 Cubits, or 30 Foot tall. The ſame Authors relate, that, *A. D.* 1548, near *Syracuſe*, was dug up another Body of the ſame Dimenſion. They inform us, that, *A. D.* 1550, near *Entella* in *Sicily*, was dug up a Body of about 22 Cubits, or 33 Foot high, whoſe Skull was about 10 Feet in Circumference; and they deſcribe the Corps of a Giant of portentous Magnitude, found ſtanding in a vaſt Cave, near *Drepanum* in *Sicily*, *A. D.* 1342, whoſe Staff was like the Maſt of a Ship, and the Forepart of whoſe Skull wou'd contain ſome *Sicilian* Buſhels, which are about a third Part of our *Engliſh* Buſhel. Vide *Whiſton*'s Supplement concerning the old Giants, in his authentic Records, *Part* II.

* They, that deſire to ſee more Inſtances of this Kind, may find them cited by *Huetius*, in his *Quæſt. Aletan.* Lib. 2. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 15. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 5, 18. *Pliny*, l. 1. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patr. Exercit. 11. *Grotius* de Veritate, l. 1. *Hackwell*'s Apolog. l. 3. *Whiſton*'s Original Records, Part II, and our Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 234, 272, 274, 346, and 370.

(*y*) *Whiſton*'s Supplement, Part II.

† The Works of this Kind which our Author reckons up, are, 1. The *Giants Dance* upon *Saliſbury Plain* in *England*, now call'd *Stone-henge*. 2. The *Giants Cauſeway* in the North of *Ireland*. 3. The *Circular Gigantick Stone* at *Ravenna* 4. The *Tower of Babel*. 5. The two *Obeliſks* mention'd by *Herodotus*. 6. The *Temple of Diana* in *Egypt*. 7. The *Labyrinth* in *Egypt*. 8. The Lake *Mœris*, 480 Miles long, and dug by human Labour, all by the ſame *Herodotus*. 9. The *Sphinx* of *Egypt*. 10. The *moſt antient Temple of Egypt*. 11. The *Agrigentine Temple*. 12. The *Pyramidal Obeliſk*, all mention'd by *Diodorus Siculus*. 13. The *Temple of Solomon*. 14. The *Palace of Solomon* at *Jeruſalem*. 15. That at *Balbeck*. 16. That at *Tadmer*. 17. The *Palace* and *Buildings* at *Perſepolis*. 18. The *Temple* of *Belus* at *Babylon*. 19. The *Temple* at *Chillembrum*; and, 20. The *firſt Temple* of *Diana* at *Epheſus*. *Whiſton*'s Suppl.

(*z*) *Calmet*'s Diſſertation ſur les Geans, Vol. II. (*a*) Ver. 14, &c. (*b*) *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Enoch*.

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THE *Jewiſh* Doctors indeed will have the Words of *Moſes* concerning him to import no more, than his ſudden and untimely Death, becauſe he liv'd not near ſo long as the other Patriarchs. But the *Paraphraſe*, which St *Paul* gives us of them, (*c*) *By Faith* Enoch *was tranſlated, that he ſhould not ſee Death, and was not found, becauſe God had tranſlated him; for, before his Tranſlation he had this Teſtimony, that he pleaſed God*; this Paraphraſe, I ſay, will not ſuffer us to doubt of the Truth of the *Chriſtian* Interpretation. And indeed, (*d*) unleſs the *Chriſtian* Interpretation be true, the whole *Emphaſis* of *Moſes*'s Words is loſt, and they become a crude *Tautology*. For, if we ſay, that *Enoch was not*, i. e. was no longer living, becauſe *God took him*, *i. e.* God cauſed him to die; 'tis the ſame, as if we ſhou'd ſay, *God cauſed him to die, becauſe he took him away by Death*, which is flat and inſipid, a Proof of the ſame Thing by the ſame Thing, and hardly conſiſtent with common Senſe: Whereas, if we interpret the Words in this Manner ——*Enoch was not*, i. e. was no where to be found, was ſeen neither among the Living nor the Dead here on Earth, *for God took him*, i. e. becauſe God tranſlated him to another Place, Soul and Body together, without undergoing the Pains of Death; here is a *Grace* and *Energy* in the Expreſſion, not unbecoming the Stile of an inſpired Penman.

THE Reaſon which *Moſes* aſſigns for God's *taking him* in this wiſe, is, that *he walked with God:* But if God's *taking him* means no more than his haſty Death, 'twas far from being a Divine Atteſtation of his Piety (becauſe *Length of Days* are the promis'd Reward of *that*) and therefore we may be allow'd to infer, that *his walking with God* was not the Cauſe of his Ablation by Death, but of his Aſſumption into Glory. The Truth is, (*e*) about 57 Years before this Event, *Adam*, the Father of all Living, had ſubmitted to the Sentence denounc'd againſt him, and reſign'd his Breath; and, whatever Notions his Poſterity might have of a Life immortal in Reverſion, yet it ſeem'd expedient to the Divine Wiſdom, at this Time, in the Perſon of *Enoch*, to give them, as it were, an *Anticipation* of it, and to ſupport and comfort them under the Senſe of their Mortality, with the Proſpect, and aſſur'd Hope, that after the dark *Entry* of Death was paſs'd, they were to be admitted into the *Manſions* of Bliſs. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

Why Chriſt was not exempted from Death.

OUR Saviour, indeed, when he came upon Earth, (tho' declar'd from Heaven to be the *Son of God*) was not exempted from the common Condition of our Mortality. *(f) Foraſmuch as the Children are Partakers of Fleſh and Blood, he alſo himſelf likewiſe took Part of the ſame, that, through Death, he might deſtroy him, who had the Power of Death*, i. e. *the Devil.* His Errand was to *propitiate* for our Sins; but ſince (*g*) *without ſhedding of Blood there is no Remiſſion*, the Decree was, that he ſhou'd die, which when he had ſatisfy'd, he roſe again; and, after forty Days Converſe with his Diſciples, *even* (*h*) *while they beheld him*, we are told, *he was taken up into Heaven, and a Cloud receiv'd him out of their Sight.* And, in like Manner, if the End of *Enoch*'s Aſſumption was for the Conviction of Mankind in that great Article of Faith, the Reality of another World, it ſeems reaſonable to believe, that the Thing was done *publickly* and viſibly; that either ſome bright and radiant Cloud, guided by the Miniſtry of Angels, gently rais'd him from the Earth, and mounted with him up on high (which ſeems to be our Saviour's Caſe) or that a (*i*) *ſtrong Guſt of Wind*, govern'd by the ſame *angelick* Powers, in ſome Vehicle or other, reſembling a bright *Chariot and Horſes*, tranſported him into Heaven (which ſeems to be the Caſe of *Elijah*) and that, in his Paſſage thither, his Body was transform'd, his *corruptible* into *Incorruption*, his *mortal* into *Immortality*, *in a Moment, in the Twinkling of an Eye* (*k*), as we are told it will

(*c*) Heb. xi. 5. (*d*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Exercit. 9. (*e*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*f*) Heb. ii. 14.
(*g*) Ch. ix. 22. (*h*) Acts xix. *and* Luke xxiv. 51. (*i*) 2 Kings ii. 11. (*k*) 1 Cor. xv. 52.

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The Place to which Enoch *was tranſlated.*

will happen to thoſe, who are alive, when the *laſt Trumpet ſhall ſound.*

'TIS an idle Conceit therefore of ſome of the *Jewiſh*, as well as *Chriſtian* Doctors, that *Enoch* was not tranſlated into the *Celeſtial*, but only into the old *Terreſtrial* Paradiſe, wherein *Adam*, before his Tranſgreſſion, liv'd. Whether the Beauty of that Place went to Ruin, or no, as ſoon as our firſt Parents were ejected, and no Hand left to dreſs it; 'tis certain, it cou'd never withſtand the Violence of the Flood, and, conſequently, *Enoch* muſt have periſh'd in it, unleſs we can ſuppoſe, * that he was preſerv'd by ſome ſuch Miracle, as the *Iſraelites* were, when they paſs'd through the *Red-Sea*, and that the Waves, towering up on all Sides, ſurrounded it like a Wall, and kept that particular Spot dry; which is by much too bold a Suppoſition, eſpecially when it contradicts that Authority, which tells us, that (*l*) *the Waters prevail'd exceedingly upon the Earth, and that all the high Hills, which were under the whole Heavens, were cover'd.*

And ſome Heathen Evidences hereof.

WHATEVER therefore ſome may fancy to themſelves, we acknowledge now no other *Paradiſe*, than what is repreſented in the Scriptures, as a Place, in which God gives the brighteſt Evidences of his Preſence, and communicates his Glory with the utmoſt Majeſty; a Place, which St *Paul* calls (*m*) *the third Heaven*, whereunto *Elijah* was tranſlated, and wherein our bleſſed Saviour is now (*n*) *preparing Manſions for us, that where he is, we may be alſo.* Into this happy Place we ſuppoſe *Enoch* to have been convey'd, and 'tis no mean Confirmation of the Truth of the *Moſaic* Account, that we find, among the *Heathen* World, Notions of the like Tranſlation: That we find *Bacchus* aſſuring *Cadmus*, that, by the Help of *Mars*, he ſhould live for ever in the *Iſles of the Bleſſed:* That we find *Aganympha* made immortal by the Favour of *Jupiter*; and, after the Death of her Huſband *Hercules*, *Alcmena*, tranſlated by *Mercury*, and married to *Rhadamanthus*; with many more Alluſions of the like Nature (*o*).

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

AND in like Manner, 'tis far from being a bad Argument for the Truth and Reality of the *Flood* (*p*), that we find, almoſt every where in the *Latin* and *Greek* Hiſtorians, horrid Deſcriptions of the Lives of the Giants, which occaſion'd that heavy Judgment: That we find *Beroſus* the *Chaldean* (as he is quoted by (*q*) *Joſephus*) relating the ſame Things, which *Moſes* does, concerning the great Deluge, the Deſtruction of Mankind by it, and the Ark, in which *Nochus* (the ſame with *Noah*) was preſerv'd, and which reſted on the Tops of the *Armenian* Mountains: That we find *Abydenus*, the *Aſſyrian* (as he is cited (*r*) by *Euſebius*) taking notice of the Wood of the Veſſel, wherein *Xiſuthrus* († for ſo he calls *Noah*) was ſav'd, and telling us, that the People of *Armenia* made uſe of it for *Amulets* to drive away Diſeaſes: That we find *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, in a Paſſage produc'd (*s*) by *Cyril*, informing us of an *Egyptian* Prieſt, who related to *Solon*, out of the ſacred Books of the *Egyptians* (as he ſuppoſes) that, before the particular Deluges, known and celebrated by the *Grecians*, there was, of old, an exceeding great Inundation of Waters, and Devaſtation of the Earth: And (to mention

As likewiſe of the Flood.

* *Bonfrerius* ait, veriſimile eſſe, Paradiſum ab Imbribus ſervatum immunem, undique ad Latera ſeſe attollentibus aquis, & quaſi in murum Solidatis, quemadmodum Solidatæ aquæ maris rubri, *Iſraelitis* in medio aquarum tranſeuntibus. Verùm non hic quid veriſimile ſit, quæritur, ſed quid pro certo affirmari poſſit. Ubi Miraculi nullum veſtigium apparet, non licet propriâ Opinione veriſimilitudinis illud aſtruere. *Heidegger*, Vit. Patriar. de Raptu *Enochi*, Exercit. 9.

(*l*) Gen. vii. 19. (*m*) 2 Cor. xii. 2. (*n*) John xiv. 2, 3. (*o*) *Huetii* Quæſt. Aletanæ, l. 2. c. 10. (*p*) *Grotius* de Verit. l. 1. §. 16. (*q*) Cont. App. l. 1. (*r*) Prepar. Evang. l. 9.

† M. *Le Clerc*, in his Notes upon *Grot.* de Verit. [l. 1. § 16.] ſeems to intimate, that *Xiſuthrus*, *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*, are all Names ſignifying the ſame Thing in other Languages, as *Noah* does in *Hebrew*, wherein *Moſes* wrote; and that the Deluges, which are ſaid to have happen'd in their Times, and are thought to be different, were in reality one and the ſame.

(*s*) Contra Julianum.

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mention no more) that we find (*t*) *Lucian* giving us a long Account of an ancient Tradition, which the People of *Hierapolis* had of the Deluge, * varying very little from what our ſacred Hiſtorian relates: When we find all this, I ſay, we cannot but acknowledge, that theſe, and the many more Hiſtorians, who are uſually produc'd upon this Head, are a ſtrong Teſtimony of the Truth and Authority of *Moſes*; and therefore, to conclude this Reply, or Vindication of him, with the Reflection of the learned (*u*) *Scaliger* upon the Agreement he perceiv'd between *Moſes* and *Abydenus*, in the Account they both give of the *Dove*, and the *Raven*, which *Noah* is ſaid to have ſent out; Gen. Ch. v, and vi. to Ver. 13.

" Tho' the *Greek* Hiſtorians, *ſays he*, do " not always agree in Particulars with the " *ſacred* one; yet they are rather to be " pitied, for not having had the Advan- " tage of true and *authentick* Antiquities " and Records, to ſet them right, than to " forfeit their Value and Authority, from " ſuch Slips, and Deviations from the " Truth of the Story, as render their Te- " ſtimony and Confirmation of the Truth " of the ſacred Hiſtory much ſtronger, " becauſe much leſs to be ſuſpected, than " if they agreed with it in every Circum- " ſtance."

DISSERTATION V.

Of the Heathen Hiſtory, the Chronology, Religion, Learning, Longevity, &c. *of the Antediluvians.*

The Heathen Hiſtorians from the Creation to the Flood.

WE are now arriv'd at a *Period*, where it may be convenient to take ſome Notice of ſuch heathen Writers as have given us an Account of the Times before the Flood, thro' which we have hitherto been tracing *Moſes*: And thoſe, that are eſteem'd of the beſt Credit and Repute, are only three; *Beroſus*, who wrote the Hiſtory of the *Chaldeans*; *Sanchoniatho*, who compil'd that of the *Phœnicians*; and *Manetho*, who collected the Antiquities of *Egypt*.

The Hiſtory of Beroſus.

THE *Chaldeans* were certainly a Nation of great and undoubted Antiquity. (*x*) In all Probability they were the firſt form'd into a national Government after the Flood, and therefore were more capable of having ſuch Arts and Sciences flouriſh among them, as might preſerve the Memory of eldeſt Times, to the lateſt

(*t*) De Deâ Syriâ.

* The Account, though ſomewhat long, is not unpleaſant, and deſerves our Obſervation. This Race of Men, *ſays he*, which now is, was not the firſt: Theſe are of a ſecond Generation, and from their firſt Progenitor *Deucalion*, who increas'd to ſo great a Multitude, as we now ſee. Now of theſe former Men, they tell us this Story,——they were contentious, and did many unrighteous Things; they neither kept their Oaths, nor were hoſpitable to Strangers, for which Reaſon, this great Misfortune came upon them. All on a ſudden the Earth diſembowell'd itſelf of a great Quantity of Water, great Showers fell, the Rivers overflow'd, and the Sea ſwell'd to a prodigious Height; ſo that all Things became Water, and all Men periſh'd. Only *Deucalion* was left unto the ſecond Generation, upon the Account of his Prudence and Piety; and the Manner wherein he was ſav'd is this—— He had a great *Ark*, or Cheſt, into which he came with his Children, and the Women of his Houſe; and then enter'd Hogs, and Horſes, and Lions, and Serpents, and all other Animals, which live upon the Earth, together with their Mates. He receiv'd them all, and they did him no Harm; for, by the Aſſiſtance of Heaven, there was a great Amity between them, ſo that all ſail'd in one Cheſt, as long as the Water did predominate. This is the Account which all the *Greek* Hiſtorians give of *Deucalion*. But what happen'd afterwards (as it is told by the People of *Hierapolis*) is worthy our Obſervation, *viz.* That, in their Country, there was a Chaſm, into which all this Water ſunk, whereupon *Deucalion* built an Altar, and erected a Temple over it, which he conſecrated to *Juno*: And, to verify this Story, not only the Prieſts, but the other Inhabitants likewiſe of *Syria* and *Arabia*, twice every Year, bring Abundance of Water, which they pour into the Temple. and tho' the Chaſm be but ſmall, yet it receives a prodigious Quantity of it; and, when they do this, they relate how *Deucalion* firſt inſtituted this Cuſtom, in Memory of that Calamity, and his Deliverance from it.

(*u*) Not. in Fragm. in Append. ad Emend. Temp. (*x*) *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 3.

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Poſterity: And yet, even among theſe People, who enjoy'd all the Advantages of Eaſe, Quiet, and a flouriſhing Empire, we find no credible and undoubted Records preſerv'd. *Beroſus*, their Hiſtorian, was (as (y) *Joſephus* aſſures us) a Prieſt of *Belus*, and a *Babylonian* born, but afterwards flouriſh'd in the Iſle of *Cos*, and was the firſt who brought the *Chaldean* Aſtrology into Requeſt among the *Greeks*; in Honour of whoſe Name and Memory, the *Athenians* (who were great Encouragers of Novelties) erected a Statue for him with a Golden Tongue, a good Emblem of his Hiſtory (z) ſays one, which made a fair and ſpecious Shew, but was not within what it pretended to be, eſpecially when it attempts to treat of antient Times. It cannot be deny'd, however, but that ſome Fragments of it, which have been preſerv'd from Ruin by the Care and Induſtry of *Joſephus*, *Tatianus*, *Euſebius*, and others, have been very uſeful, not only for proving the Truth of Scripture-Hiſtory to the *Heathens*, but for confirming likewiſe ſome Paſſages relating to the *Babyloniſh* Empire.

AFTER a Deſcription of *Babylonia*, and a ſtrange Story concerning a certain Creature, which, in the firſt Year of the World, came out of the *Red-Sea*, and, converſing familiarly with Men, taught them the Knowledge of Letters, and ſeveral Arts and Sciences; he proceeds to give us a ſhort Account of the ten Kings, which reign'd in *Chaldea*, before the Flood, and theſe, correſponding with the Number which *Moſes* mentions, *Alorus*, the firſt, is ſuppos'd to be *Adam*, and *Xiſuthrus* the laſt, *Noah*; and of this *Xiſuthrus* he purſues the Story in this Manner.

(a) *CRONUS*, or *Saturn* appearing to him in a Dream, gave him Warning, that, on the 15th Day of the Month *Dæſius*, Mankind ſhould be deſtroy'd by a Flood, and therefore commanded him to build a Ship; and, having firſt furniſh'd it with Proviſions, and taken into it Fowls and four-footed Beaſts, to go into it himſelf, with his Friends, and neareſt Relations. *Xiſuthrus* did as he was order'd, built a Veſſel, whoſe Length was five Furlongs, and Breadth two Furlongs; and, having put on Board all that was directed, he went into it, with his Wife, Children, and Friends. When the Flood was come, and began to abate, he let out ſome Birds, which, finding no Food, nor Place to reſt on, return to the Ship again. After ſome Days, he let out the Birds again, but they came back with their Feet daub'd with Mud; and, when, after ſome Days more, he let them go the third Time, they never came back again, whereby he underſtood, that the Earth appear'd again above the Water, and ſo, taking down ſome of the Planks of the Ship, he ſaw it reſted upon a Mountain. This is the Subſtance of what we have in *Beroſus*, who varies very little from our ſacred Hiſtorian, during this Period. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

SANCHONIATHO is highly commended both by *Porphyry*, the great Adverſary of *Chriſtianity*, and by his Tranſlator into *Greek*, *Philo Biblius*. *Theodoret* is of Opinion, that his Name, in the *Phœnician* Tongue, ſignifies Φιλαλήθης, *a Lover of Truth*; which Name, as *Bochart* imagines, was given him, when he firſt ſet himſelf to write Hiſtory: But how faithful he has been in tranſcribing his Account of Things from his Records, we cannot determine, unleſs we had the Books of *Taautus*, and the ſacred Inſcriptions and Records of Cities, from whence he pretends to have extracted his Hiſtory, to compare them together. If we may judge by what remains of his Writings, which is only his firſt Book concerning the *Phœnician Theology*, extant in *Euſebius*, we ſhall hardly think him deſerving ſo large a Commendation: But, be that as it will, the Method wherein he proceeds is this. ——After having deliver'd his *Coſmogony*, or Generation of the other Parts of the World, he tells us, that the firſt Pair of human *Of* Sanchoniatho.

(y) Cont. App. l. 1. (z) Vid. Univerſ. Hiſt. *and* Shuckford's Connect. l. 1. (a) Ibid.
(b) *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 2.

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human Creatures were *Protogonus* and *Æon* (as *Philo*, his Tranſlator, calls them) the latter of whom found out the Fruit, which is gather'd from Trees: That their Iſſue were call'd *Genus* and *Genea*, who were the firſt that practis'd Idolatry, for, upon the Occaſion of great Droughts, they made their Adorations to the Sun, calling him *Beelſamen*, which, in *Phœnician*, is, *the Lord of Heaven*: That the Children of theſe were *Phos*, *Pur*, and *Phlox*, i. e. Light, Fire, and Flame, who firſt found out the Way of generating Fire, by rubbing Pieces of Wood againſt one another: That theſe begat Sons of vaſt Bulk and Stature, whoſe Names were given to Mount *Caſſius*, *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, and *Brathys*, whereon they ſeiz'd: That of theſe were begotten *Memrumus*, and *Hypſuranius*, the latter of whom was the Inventor of Huts made of Reeds and Ruſhes, and had a Brother call'd *Uſous*, the firſt Worſhipper of Fire and Wind, in whoſe Time Women became very abandon'd and debauch'd: That, many Years after this Generation, came *Agreus* and *Halieus*, the Inventors of the Arts of Hunting and Fiſhing: That of theſe were begotten two Brothers, the firſt Forgers and Workers in Iron; the Name of one is loſt, but *Chryſor*, (who is the ſame with *Vulcan*) found out all Fiſhing-Tackle, and, in a ſmall Boat, was the firſt that ventur'd to Sea, for which he was afterwards *deified*: That from this Generation came two Brothers, *Technites*, and *Antochthon*, who invented the Art of making Tiles; from theſe *Agrus*, and *Agrotes*, who firſt made Courts about Houſes, Fences, and Cellars; and from theſe *Amynus*, and *Magus*, who ſhew'd Men how to conſtitute Villages, and regulate their Flocks. This is the Subſtance of what *Sanchoniatho* relates during this Period; and how far it agrees with the Account of *Moſes*, eſpecially in the idolatrous Line of *Cain*, our learned Biſhop *Cumberland* has all along made his Obſervations.

Gen. Ch. v, and vi to Ver. 13.

Manetho Sebennita was High-Prieſt of *Heliopolis*, in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, by whoſe Order he wrote his Hiſtory; but that which deſtroys the Credit of it (though it gave him an Oppportunity of Invention) is, that (*a*) he profeſſes to tranſcribe his *Dynaſties* from Inſcriptions on the Pillars of *Hermes* (whom the *Egyptians*, out of Veneration, call *Triſmagiſtus*) in the Land of *Seriad*, which Land no one knows any Thing of, and which Pillars, being engraven before the Flood, can hardly be ſuppos'd to eſcape undefac'd.

And of Manetho.

THE plain Truth is, the LXX Tranſlation was, not long before this Time, finiſh'd, and, when the *Jewiſh* Antiquities came to appear in the World, the *Egyptians* (who are mighty Pretenders this Way) grew jealous of the Honour of their Nation, and were willing to ſhew, that they could trace up their Memoirs much higher, than *Moſes* had carried thoſe of the *Iſraelites*. (*d*) This was the chief Deſign of *Manetho*'s making his Collections. He was reſolv'd to make the *Egyptian* Antiquities reach as far backwards as he cou'd, and therefore, as many ſeveral Names as he found in their Records, ſo many ſucceſſive Monarchs he determin'd them to have had; never conſidering that *Egypt* was at firſt divided into three, and afterwards into four Sovereignties for ſome Time, ſo that three or four of his Kings were, many Times, reigning together: which, if duly conſider'd, will be a Means to reduce the *Egyptian* Account to a more reaſonable Compaſs.

* THE Subſtance of the Account however (as it ſtands unexplain'd in *Manetho*) is

(*c*) Vid. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 2. No. XI.

(*d*) *Shuckford*'s Connect. Part. 1. l. 1.

* The Accounts of *Manetho* ſeem at firſt Sight ſo extravagant, that many great Writers look upon them as mere Fictions, and omit attempting to ſay any Thing concerning them; tho' other learned Men (and more eſpecially our Countryman, Sir *John Marſham*, in his Can. Chron. p. 1.) not well ſatisfy'd with this Proceeding, have undertaken an Examination of them, and with ſome Succeſs. The Misfortune is, we have none of the original Works, from whence they were collected, nor any one Author, that properly gives us any Light or Knowledge of them. The Hiſtorians *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Herodotus* did not examine theſe Matters to the Bottom; and we have no Remains of the old *Egyptian Chronicon*, or of the Works of *Manetho*, except ſome Quotations in the Works of other Writers.

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is this:—That there were in *Egypt* thirty *Dynaſties* of *Gods*, conſiſting of 113 Generations, and which took up the Space of 36,505 Years; that when this Period was out, then there reign'd eight *Demi-gods* in the Space of 217 Years; that, after them, ſucceeded a Race of *Heroes*, to Number 15, and their Reign took up 443 Years; that all this was before the Flood, and then began the Reign of their *Kings*, the firſt of whom was *Manes*.

Now in order to explain what is meant by this prodigious Number of Years, we muſt obſerve, (*e*) that it was a very uſual and cuſtomary Thing for ancient Writers to begin their Hiſtories with ſome Account of the Origin of Things, and the Creation of the World. *Moſes* did ſo in his Book of *Geneſis*; *Sanchoniatho* did ſo in his *Phœnician* Hiſtory; and it appears from *Diodorus*, that the *Egyptian* Antiquities did ſo too. Their Accounts began about the Origin of Things, and the Nature of the *Gods*; then follows an Account of their *Demi-gods*, and terreſtrial Deities; after them came their *Heroes*, or firſt Rank of Men; and laſt of all, their *Kings*. Now if their *Kings* began from the Flood; if their *Heroes* and *Demi-gods* reach'd up to the Beginning of the World; then the Account, which they give of the Reigns of their *Gods*, before theſe, can be only their *Theological* Speculations, put into ſuch Order, as they thought moſt *Philoſophical*.

To make this more plain, we muſt obſerve farther, that the firſt, and moſt antient Gods of the *Egyptians*, and of all other Nations, (after they had departed from the Worſhip of the true God) were the *Luminaries* of Heaven; and 'tis very probable, that, what they took to be the Period of Time, in which any of theſe Deities finiſh'd their Courſe, *that* they might call the *Time of his Reign*. Thus a perfect and compleat Revolution of any Star, which they worſhipp'd, was the *Reign* of that Star; and, as a Period of 36,525 Years is what they call an entire *Mundane* Revolution, *i. e.* when the ſeveral heavenly Bodies come round to the ſame Point, from which all their Courſes began; ſo is it very remarkable, that they made the *Sum Total* of the Reigns of all their ſeveral Gods, to amount to the ſelf-ſame Space of Time. This I take to be a true State of the *Egyptian* Dynaſties: And if ſo, it makes their Hiſtory not near ſo extravagant, as has been imagin'd, and ſinks their Account of Time ſome hundred Years ſhort of the *Jewiſh* Computation. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

The *Jewiſh* Computation indeed is not a little ambiguous, by Reaſon of the different Methods, which Men find themſelves inclin'd to purſue. The three common Ways of computing the Time from the Creation to the Flood, are, that which ariſes from the *Hebrew* Text, from the *Samaritan* Copies, and from the LXX Interpretation. *The Difference between the* Hebrew *and* Samaritan *Computation.*

The *Chronographia* of *Syncellus*, wrote by one *George*, an Abbot of the Monaſtery of *St Simeon*, and called *Syncellus*, as being Suffragan of *Taraſius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, is the only Work we can have Recourſe to. From theſe Antiquities *Syncellus* collected the Quotations of the old Chronicon, of *Manetho*, and of *Eratoſthenes*, as he found them in the Works of *Africanus* and *Euſebius*; and the Works of *Africanus* and *Euſebius* being now loſt (for 'tis known, that the Work, which goes under the Name of *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*, is a Compoſition of *Scaliger*'s) we have nothing to be depended upon, but what we find in *Syncellus* abovemention'd. *Shuckford*'s Connect.

(*e*) *Shuckford*'s Connect. l. i.

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The Computations of MOSES.

1. Acording to the *Hebrew* Text.	Begun his Life in the Year of the World	Had his Son in the Year of his Life	Lived after his Son's Birth Years	Lived in all Years	Died in the Year of the World
Adam —— ——	1	130	800	930	930
Seth —— ——	130	105	807	912	1042
Enos —— ——	235	90	815	905	1140
Cainan —— ——	325	70	840	910	1235
Mahalaleel — —	395	65	830	895	1290
Jared —— ——	460	162	800	962	1422
Enoch —— ——	622	65	300	365	987
Methuſelah — —	687	187	782	969	1656
Lamech —— ——	874	182	595	777	1651
Noah —— ——	1056	500	——	——	——

2. According to the *Samaritan.*	Begun his Life in the Year of the World	Had his Son in the Year of his Life	Lived after his Son's Birth Years.	Lived in all Years	Died in the Year of the World
Adam —— ——	1	130	800	930	930
Seth —— ——	130	105	807	912	1042
Enos —— ——	235	90	815	905	1140
Cainan —— ——	325	70	840	910	1235
Mahalaleel — —	395	65	830	895	1290
Jared —— ——	460	62	785	847	1307
Enoch —— ——	522	65	300	365	887
Methuſelah — —	587	67	653	720	1307
Lamech —— ——	654	53	600	653	1307
Noah —— ——	707	500	——	——	——

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3. According to the *Septuagint.*	Began his Life in the Year of the World	Had his Son in the Year of his Life	Lived after his Son's Birth Years	Lived in all Years	Died in the Year of the World
Adam — —	1	230	700	930	930
Seth — —	230	205	707	912	1042
Enos — —	435	190	715	905	1340
Cainan — —	625	170	740	910	1535
Mahalaleel — —	795	165	730	895	1690
Jared — —	960	162	800	962	1922
Enoch — —	1122	165	200	365	1487
Methuſelah — —	1287	187	782	969	2256
Lamech — —	1474	188	565	753	2227
Noah — —	1662	500	—	—	—

THE Difference between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Computation is eaſily perceiv'd, by comparing the two former *Tables* together; nor will it be any hard Matter to reconcile them, if we conſider what *(f)* St *Jerom* informs us of, *viz.* that there were *Samaritan* Copies, which made *Methuſelah* 187 Years old, at the Birth of *Lamech*; and *Lamech* 182, at the Birth of *Noah*. Now, if this be true, it is eaſy to ſuppoſe 62 (the Age of *Jared* at the Birth of *Enoch*) to be a Miſtake of the Tranſcriber, who might drop a Letter, and write 62, inſtead of 162; and thus all the Difference, between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Copies will entirely vaniſh.

And between the Hebrew *and* Septuagint.

BUT it is not ſo between the *Hebrew* and the *Septuagint*. The *Hebrew*, according to the higheſt Calculation, makes no more, than 1656 Years before the Flood, but the *Septuagint* raiſe it to no leſs, than 2262: So that, in this one Period (without ſaying any Thing of the wide Difference between them in *ſubſequent* Times) there is an Addition of above 600 Years, which can † hardly be accounted for by any Miſtake of Tranſcribers, becauſe all the antient and authentick Copies, both of the *Hebrew* and *Septuagint*, agree exactly in their Computation. And therefore the Generality of learned Men, deſpairing of a Reconciliation, have fairly enter'd the Liſts, and taken the Side, which they thought moſt tenable.

Arguments for the Septuagint.

THOSE, who eſpouſe the Cauſe of the *Greek* Verſion, draw up their Arguments in

(f) In Quæſt. in Geneſ.

† *Lud. Capellus* [in his *Chron. ſacr. in Apparatu Walton. ad Bibl. Polyglot.*] attempts to reconcile this Difference, by telling us, from St *Auſtin* [de Civitate Dei, *cap.* 13.] That this Edition was not made by the LXX themſelves, but by ſome early Tranſcriber from them, and probably for one or other of theſe two Reaſons; *1ſt*, Perhaps, thinking the Years of the *Antediluvians* to be but *Lunar*, and computing, that, at this Rate, the ſix Fathers (whoſe Lives are thus alter'd) muſt have had their Children at 5, 6, 7, or 8 Years old (which could not but look incredible;) the Tranſcriber, I ſay, finding this, might be induc'd to add 100 Years to each, in order to make them of a more probable Age of Manhood, at the Birth of their reſpective Children: Or, *2dly*, If he thought the Years of their Lives to be *Solar*, yet ſtill he might imagine, that Infancy and Childhood were proportionably longer in Men, who were to live 7, 8, or 9 hundred Years, than they are in us; and that it was too early in their Lives, for them to be Fathers at 60, 70, or 90 Years of Age; and, for this Reaſon, might add an 100 Years, to make their Advance to Manhood (which is commonly not till one fourth Part of Life is over) proportionable to what was to be the Term of their Duration. *Shuckford*'s Connection, I. 1.

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in this Rank and Order. They tell us, that the Alteration in the *Septuagint* Computation muſt have been purpoſely made; becauſe, where Letters muſt neceſſarily have been added, and where ſometimes both Parts of a Verſe, and ſometimes two Verſes together are alter'd, and ſo alter'd, as ſtill to keep them conſiſtent with one another; this, whenever done, muſt be done *deſignedly*, and for no other Reaſon, that they can imagine, but merely a Detection of Errors in the *Hebrew* Copies.

THEY tell us, that, tho' they have no poſitive Proof of ſuch Errors in the preſent *Hebrew* Copies, yet they have good Grounds to ſuſpect there are ſuch, becauſe that, before the Time of *Antiochus*, the *Jews*, while in Peace, were ſo very careleſs about their ſacred Writings, that they ſuffer'd ſeveral Variations to creep into their Copies; that when *Antiochus* fell upon them, he ſeiz'd and burnt all the Copies, he could come at, ſo that none, but ſuch as were in private Hands, eſcap'd his Fury; that, as ſoon as that Calamity was over, thoſe Copies, which were left in private Hands, the *Jews* got together, in order to tranſcribe others from them; and that, from theſe Tranſcriptions, came all the Copies, now in Uſe. Now ſuppoſe, *ſay they*, that theſe private Copies, which eſcap'd the Fury of *Antiochus*, but were made in an Age confeſſedly *inaccurate*, had any of them dropt ſome numerical Letters, this might occaſion the preſent *Hebrew* Text's falling ſhort in its Computations: And, to confirm this,

THEY tell us, that *Joſephus*, (*g*) who expreſsly declares, that he wrote his Hiſtory from the ſacred Pages, (*h*) in his Account of the Lives of the *Antediluvian* Patriarchs, agrees with the *Septuagint*; and that the *Greek* Hiſtorians before *Joſephus*, ſuch as *Demetrius Phalerius*, *Philo* the Elder, *Eupolemus*, *&c.* very accurate Writers, and highly commended by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius*, in their Calculation differ very much from the common *Hebrew*: So that not only *Joſephus*, but theſe elder Hiſtorians likewiſe, muſt have either ſeen, or been inform'd of certain *Hebrew* Copies, which agreed with the *Septuagint*, and differ'd from what have deſcended to us. In ſhort, Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

THEY tell us, (*i*) that the whole Chriſtian Church, *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern*, and all the celebrated Writers of the Church, are on their Side; that all the antient *Manuſcripts* have exactly the ſame Computations with the common *Septuagint*, except here and there a Variation or two, not worth regarding; and therefore they conclude, that, as there is a manifeſt Diſagreement between the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Copies in this Reſpect, the Miſtake ſhou'd rather be charg'd upon the *Hebrew*, than the *Septuagint*; becauſe, as the *Hebrew* is thought by ſome to fall ſhort, and the *Septuagint* to exceed, in its Account of the Lives of the *Patriarchs*, 'tis obvious to conceive, that a Fault of this kind may be incurr'd by Way of *Omiſſion*, rather than *Addition*.

For the Hebrew *Computation.*

THOSE, who maintain the Authority of the *Hebrew* Text, as the Standard and Rule of reckoning the Years of the Patriarchs, oppoſe their Adverſaries in this Manner.

THEY tell us, (*k*) that the *Hebrew* Text is the *Original*, in which the Spirit of God indicted the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, and being, conſequently, authentick, is better to be truſted, than any Tranſlations made by Men, liable to Error, as the LXX Interpreters were; and that the *Jews*, to whom (*l*) *were committed theſe Oracles of* God, us'd the greateſt Diligence to preſerve them pure and entire, inſomuch, that in the Courſe of ſo many Years (as (*m*) *Joſephus* teſtifies in his Time) *no Perſon durſt add, take away, or miſplace any Thing therein.*

THEY tell us, that no Reaſon can be aſſign'd, why the *Hebrew* Text ſhould be corrupted, but many very probable ones, why the *Septuagint* might; ſince, either to exalt the Antiquity of their own Nation, or to conform to the *Dynaſties* of

(*g*) Contra App. l. 1. (*h*) Antiq. l. 1. c. 3.
(*k*) *Miller's* Church Hiſtory. (*l*) Rom. iii. 2.
(*i*) *Shuckford's* Connection. and *Heidegger's* Hiſt. Patriar.
(*m*) Contra App. l. 1.

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of the *Egyptians*, the *Jewish* Interpreters at *Alexandria* might falsify their Chronology; since, in this very Point, there are so many different Readings in the *Septuagint*, and so many Errors and Mis-translations in it, that (*n*) the learned Dr *Lightfoot* (to whom, as yet, no sufficient Reply has been made) has prov'd it a very corrupt and imperfect Version.

THEY tell us, that the *Hebrew* Computations are supported by a perfect Concurrence and Agreement of all *Hebrew* Copies now in Being; that there have been no various Readings in these Places, since the *Talmuds* were compos'd; that, even in our Saviour's Time, this was the current Way of Calculation, since the Paraphrase of *Onkelos* (which is on all Hands agreed to be about that Age) is the same exactly with the *Hebrew* in this Matter; that St *Jerom*, and St *Austin*, (who were the best skill'd in the *Hebrew* Tongue of any Fathers in their Age) follow'd it in their Writings, and the *vulgar Latin*, which has been in Use in the Church above 1000 Years, entirely agrees with it.

THEY tell us, that *Demetrius*, the real Historian (for † *Phalerius* was none) liv'd not before the Reign of *Ptolemy Philopater*, the Grand-Son of *Philadelphus*, near seventy Years after the LXX Translation was made; that *Philo* was contemporary with our Saviour, wrote almost 300 Years after the said Translation, and, living constantly at *Alexandria*, might very well be suppos'd to copy from it; that *Josephus*, though a *Jew*, and perfectly skill'd in the *Hebrew* Language, in many Instances, (which learned (*o*) Men have pointed out) adheres to the *Greek* in Opposition to the *Hebrew*; and that the Fathers of the first Ages of the Church, though they were very good Men, had no great Extent of Learning; understood the *Greek* Tongue better than the *Hebrew*; and for that Reason gave the Preference to the *Septuagint* Computation.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

IN this Manner do the Advocates for the *Hebrew* Text defend its Authority: And, since it is confess'd, there has been a Transmutation somewhere, if that Transmutation was designedly and on purpose done (as the adverse Party agrees) 'tis indifferent (*p*) whether it was done by way of Addition, or Substraction: Only as it is evident, that the *Greeks* did compute by numerical Letters, whereas, it is much question'd, that the *Hebrews* ever did; the Mistake, or Falsification, rather seems to lie on the Side of the *Greek* Translators, the very Form of whose Letters was more susceptible of it.

THIS is a true State of the Controversy, wherein the Arguments for the *Hebrew* Computation do certainly preponderate; though the Names, the venerable † Names, on the contrary Side, have hitherto been more numerous.

The Religion.

IT might be some Entertainment to the Reader, could we but give him any tolerable View of the Religion, Polity, and Learning, of the *Antediluvian* People: But the sacred History, in this Respect, is so very short, and the Hints, suggested therein,

(*n*) Vid. ejus Opera. Tom. II. p. 932. ex Edit. Ultraject. 1699.

† *Demetrius Phalerius* was the first President of the College of *Alexandria*, to which the Library belong'd, where the original Manuscripts of the *Septuagint* were reposited. He was a great Scholar, as well as an able Statesman and Politician; but I doubt Bishop *Walton* is mistaken, when (in his 9th Prolegom. ad Bib. Polyglot.) he quotes him as one of those *Greek* Historians, whose Works might prove the *Septuagint* Computation to be more probable than the *Hebrew*. The *Phalerian Demetrius* liv'd a busy, active Life, was a great Officer of State, both at Home and Abroad, and I do not find that he ever wrote any History. 'Twas *Demetrius* the Historian therefore, that the Bishop should have quoted, but he, living in the Time that I mention'd, does not make much to his Purpose. *Shuckford*'s Connect. l. 1.

(*o*) Vid. *Cave*'s Hist. Litt. p. 2. in *Joseph.* and *Well*'s Dissertation upon the Chronicles of *Josephus*, p. 19,—21.

(*p*) *Heidegger*'s Hist. Patriar.

† The Names for the *Septuagint* Computation, which the learned *Heidegger* in his Hist. Patriar. (as he takes them from *Baronius*) has reckon'd up, are such as these: *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, St *Cyprian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Hippolytus*, *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *Epiphanius*, *Philastrius*, *Orosius*, *Cyril*, the two *Anastasii*, *Nicephorus*, and *Suada*; to whom he might add several more, as *Heidegger* suggests; while those among the Antients, who contended for the *Hebrew* Calculation, were only St *Austin* and St *Jerom*, but Men of great Skill and Proficiency in the *Hebrew* Language. De Ætate Patriarcharum, Exer. 10.

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therein, ſo very few, and ſo very obſcure withal, that, during this Period, we are left, in a great Meaſure, in the Dark. However, we cannot but obſerve, that it is a miſtaken Notion of ſome Authors, who affirm, that at the Beginning of the World, for almoſt 2000 Years together, Mankind liv'd without any Law, without any Precepts, without any Promiſes from God; and that the Religion from *Adam* to *Abraham* was purely *natural*, and ſuch as had nothing, but right Reaſon to be its Rule and Meaſure. The *Antediluvian* Diſpenſation indeed was, in the main, founded upon the Law of Nature; but ſtill it muſt be acknowledg'd, that there was (as we ſhew'd before) a Divine *Precept* concerning *Sacrifices*; that there was a Divine *Promiſe* concerning the *bleſſed Seed*; and that there were ſeveral other Precepts and Injunctions given the Patriarchs, beſides thoſe, that were built upon mere Reaſon.

THE Law of Sacrifices (which confeſſedly at this Time obtain'd) was partly *natural*, and partly *Divine*. As Sacrifices were Tokens of Thankfulneſs, and Acknowledgments, that the Fruits of the Earth, and all other Creatures, for the Uſe and Benefit of Man, were deriv'd from God; they were a Service, dictated by natural Reaſon, and ſo were *natural* Acts of Worſhip: But, as they carried with them the Notion of *Expiation*, and Atonement for the Souls of Mankind, eſpecially as they refer to the *Meſſias*, and ſignify'd the future Sacrifice of Chriſt; they were certainly inſtituted by God, and the Practice of them was founded upon a Divine Command.

IT is not to be doubted, (*q*) but that *Adam* inſtructed his Children to worſhip and adore God, to commemorate his Goodneſs, and deprecate his Diſpleaſure; nor can we ſuppoſe, but that they, in their reſpective Families, put his Inſtructions in Execution: And yet we find, that in the Days of *Enos*, (beſides all private Devotion) a publick Form of Worſhip was ſet up; that the People had the Rites of their Religion, which God had appointed, fix'd, and eſtabliſh'd; and that, very probably, as *Cain* built Cities for his Deſcendants to live in, ſo *Enos* might build Temples, and Places of Divine Worſhip, for his to reſort to.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

THE Diſtinction of *clean* and *unclean* Animals was another Divine Injunction under this Diſpenſation. God refers *Noah* to it, as a Thing well known, when he commands him (*r*) to put *into the Ark ſeven Pair of clean, and two of unclean Creatures:* And (*s*) tho', in Reſpect of Man's Food, this Diſtinction was not before the Law of *Moſes*, yet ſome Beaſts were accounted fit, and others unfit for Sacrifices from the Beginning. The former were eſteem'd *clean*, and the latter *unclean:* And it ſeems ſafer to make a poſitive Law of God the Foundation of this Diſtinction, than to imagine that Men, in ſuch Matters as theſe, were left to their own Diſcretion.

THE Prohibition of marrying with Infidels, or Idolaters, was another Article of this *Diſpenſation*, as appears from God's angry Reſentment, when the Children of *Seth* enter'd into Wedlock with the wicked Poſterity of *Cain*. And, to mention no more, under this Period were given thoſe ſix *great Precepts of* Adam (as they are generally call'd) whereof the *Jewiſh* Doctors make ſuch Boaſt; * and of theſe the 1ſt was *of ſtrange Worſhip*, or Idolatry; the 2d *of curſing the moſt holy Name*,

(*q*) *Edwards*'s Survey of Religion, l. 1. (*r*) Gen. vii. 2. (*s*) *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The Commandments, given to the Sons of *Noah*, are the ſame with theſe. They are an Abridgment of the whole Law of Nature; but have one *poſitive* Precept annex'd to them; and are generally plac'd in this Order. 1. *Thou ſhalt ſerve no other Gods, but the Maker only of Heaven and Earth.* 2. *Thou ſhalt remember to ſerve the true God, the Lord of the World, by ſanctifying his Name in the midſt of thee.* 3. *Thou ſhalt not ſhed the Blood of Man, created after the Image of God.* 4. *Thou ſhalt not defile thy Body, that thou mayeſt be fruitful and multiply, and, with a Bleſſing, repleniſh the Earth.* 5. *Thou ſhalt be content with that which thine is, and what thou wou'dſt not have done to thyſelf, that thou ſhalt not do to another.* 6. *Thou ſhalt do right Judgment to every one, without Reſpect to Perſons.* 7. *Thou ſhalt not eat the Fleſh in the Blood, nor any thing that hath Life, with the Life thereof.* This is the *Heptalogue* of *Noah*, or the *ſeven Words*, which, as the *Jews* tell us, were deliver'd to him and his Sons, and were conſtantly obſerv'd by all the *uncircumcis'd* Worſhippers of the true God. Bibliotheca Bib. Occaſ. Annot. 15. Vol. I.

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or Blaſphemy; the 3d *of uncovering the Nakedneſs*, or unlawful Copulation; the 4th *of Bloodſhed*, or Homicide; the 5th *of Theft*, and *Rapine*; and the 6th *of Judgment*, or the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the publick Courts of Judicature. So that from the very firſt, God *did not leave himſelf without a Witneſs* (as the Apoſtle terms it) but, in one Degree or other, made frequent Manifeſtations of his Will to Mankind.

Polity. That Government, of one Kind or other, is eſſential to the Well-being of Mankind, ſeems to be a Poſition, * founded in the Nature of Things, the Relation, wherein Men, at firſt, ſtood towards one another, and the ſeveral Qualifications in them, which, in a ſhort Time, cou'd not but appear. The firſt Form of Government, without all Controverſy, was *patriarchal:* But this Form was ſoon laid aſide, when Men of ſuperior Parts came once to diſtinguiſh themſelves; when the Head of any Family either out-power'd, or out-witted his Neighbour, and ſo brought him to give up his Dominion, either by Compulſion, or Reſignation. Government however, at this Time, ſeems to have been plac'd in fewer Hands, than it is now: Not that the Number of People was leſs, but their Communities were larger, and their Kingdoms more extenſive, than ſince the Flood; (*t*) inſomuch, that it may well be queſtion'd, whether, after the Union of the two great Families of *Seth* and *Cain*, there was any Diſtinction of *civil* Societies, or Diverſity of regal Governments at all. It ſeems more likely, that all Mankind then made but one great Nation, living in a Kind of *Anarchy*, and divided into ſeveral diſorderly Aſſociations; which, as it was almoſt the natural Conſequence of their having, in all Probability, but one Language; ſo it was a Circumſtance, which greatly contributed to that general Corruption, which otherwiſe perhaps cou'd not ſo univerſally have prevail'd. And for this Reaſon we may ſuppoſe, that no ſooner was the Poſterity of *Noah* ſufficiently encreas'd, but a Plurality of Tongues was miraculouſly introduc'd, in order to divide them into diſtinct Societies, and thereby prevent any ſuch total Depravation for the future.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

And the Learning of the Antediluvians.

The enterprizing Genius of Man began to exert itſelf very early in Muſick, Braſs-work, Iron-work, and every Science, uſeful and entertaining, and the Undertakers were not limited by a ſhort Life. They had Time enough before them to carry Things to Perfection; but whatever their Skill, Learning, or Induſtry perform'd, all Remains and Monuments of it have long ſince periſh'd.

Seth's *Pillars.*

(*u*) *Joſephus* indeed gives us this Account of *Seth*'s great Knowledge in Aſtronomy, and how induſtrious he was to have it convey'd to the new World. "*Seth*, "and his Deſcendants, *ſays he*, were Per- "ſons of happy Tempers, and liv'd in "Peace, employing themſelves in the Stu- "dy of *Aſtronomy*, and in other Searches "after uſeful Knowledge; but, being in- "form'd by *Adam*; that the World ſhould "be twice deſtroy'd, firſt by Water, and "afterwards by Fire, they made two Pil- "lars, the one of *Stone*, and the other "of *Brick*, and inſcrib'd their Knowledge "upon them, ſuppoſing that the one or "other of them might remain for the "Uſe of Poſterity." (*x*) But how ſtrangely improbable is it, that they, who foreknew that the Deſtruction of the World ſhould be by a Flood, ſhould buſy themſelves to write *aſtronomical* Obſervations on Pillars, for the Benefit of thoſe, who ſhould live after it? Could they think, that their Pillars would have ſome peculiar Exemption, above other Structures, from the Violence and Outrage of the Waters? If they believ'd that the Flood would prove univerſal, for whoſe

* To this Purpoſe *Cicero* [de Legibus, l. 3. c. 1.] tells us, that ſine Imperio, nec Domus ulla, nec Gens, nec hominum univerſum Genus ſtare, nec Rerum natura omnis, nec ipſe mundus poteſt. *Seneca* aſſerts, that *iſtud* [imperium] *eſt vinculum, per quod* Reſpublica cohæret: Ille ſpiritus vitalis, quem hæc tot millia trahunt; nihil ipſa per ſe futura, niſi onus & præda, ſi mens illa imperii ſubtrahatur.

(*t*) Univerſ. Hiſt. l. 1, n. 2. (*u*) Antiq. l. 1. c. 2. (*x*) *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 2.

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whoſe Inſtruction did they write their Obſervations? If they did not, to what End did they write them at all, ſince the Perſons who ſurviv'd, might communicate their Inventions to whom they pleas'd? The plain Truth is, (*y*) *Joſephus*, who frequently quotes Heathen Authors, and *Manetho* in particular, took this Story of *Seth*'s Pillars, from the Pillars of *Hermes*, mention'd in that Hiſtorian: For, as the *Jews* had an antient Tradition concerning *Seth*'s Pillars, *Joſephus*, in reading *Manetho*, might poſſibly think his Account miſapplied, and thereupon imagine, that he ſhould probably hit on the Truth, if he put the Account of the one, and the Tradition of the other together; and this very likely might occaſion his Miſtake.

And Enoch's *Prophecy.*

(*z*) THE *Eaſtern* People have preſerv'd ſeveral Traditions of very little Certainty concerning *Enoch*. They believe, that he receiv'd from God the Gift of Wiſdom and Knowledge to an eminent Degree, and that God ſent him thirty Volumes from Heaven, fill'd with all the Secrets of the moſt myſterious Science. St *Jude*, 'tis certain, ſeems to cite a Paſſage from a Prophecy of his; nor can it be denied, but that in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, † there was a Book, well known to the *Jews*, that went under his Name: But, beſides that this Piece is now generally given up for *ſpurious*, there is no need for us to ſuppoſe, that St *Jude* ever quoted any Paſſage out of this, or any other Book of *Enoch*.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

(*a*) *ENOCH* was a Prophet, we are told, and, as ſuch, was inveſted with Authority *to cry aloud, and ſpare not*, to reprove the Wicked, and denounce God's Judgments againſt them; and, as he was a good Man, 'twas eaſy for St *Jude* to imagine, that he would not ſit ſtill, and ſee the Impieties of the People grow ſo very exorbitant, without endeavouring to repreſs them, by ſetting before them *the Terrors of the Lord*. He could not diſcharge the Office of a *good Man*, and a *Prophet*, without forewarning them of the (*b*) *Lord's coming, with ten thouſand of his Saints, to execute Judgment upon all, and to convince all that were ungodly among them*: And, becauſe this was his Office and Duty, the Apoſtle infers (as by the Spirit of God he might certainly know) that *he did ſo*, tho' he might not make that Inference from any Paſſage in his Prophecy; becauſe it is a known Obſervation, that † many Things are alluded to in the *New Teſtament*, which were never perhaps in any Book at all.

The Longevity of the Antediluvians.

OF all the ſtrange Matters that occur in this Period of Time, there is nothing which looks ſo like a Prodigy as the *Longevity* of thoſe Men, who at firſt inhabited the Earth; nor is any Event ſo apt to affect us with Wonder, as the Diſproportion

(*y*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, l. 1. (*z*) *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Enoch*.

† *Joſeph Scaliger*, in his Annotations upon *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*, has given us ſome conſiderable Fragments of it, which *Heidegger*, in his *Hiſt. Patriareh.* has tranſlated into *Latin*, which the Curious, if they think proper, may conſult: But the Whole ſeems to be nothing but a fabulous Collection of ſome *Jew* or other, moſt unworthy the holy Patriarch. *Tertullian* however, has defended it with great Warmth, and laments much, that all the World is not as zealous as himſelf, in the Maintenance of its *Authenticalneſs*. He pretends, that it had been ſav'd by *Noah* in the Ark, from thence tranſmitted down to the Church, and that the *Jews*, in his Days, rejected it, only becauſe they thought it was favourable to *Chriſtianity*. *Miller*'s Hiſtory of the Church, and *Saurin*'s Diſſertations. The great Objections againſt this Book is, that neither *Philo*, nor *Joſephus*, (thoſe diligent Searchers into Antiquity) make any mention of it; and that it contains ſuch fabulous Stories as are monſtrous and abſurd. But to this ſome have anſwered, that ſuch a Book there certainly was, notwithſtanding the Silence of theſe *Jewiſh* Antiquaries; and that, after the Apoſtles Time, it might be corrupted, and many Things added to it by ſucceeding *Hereticks*, who might take Occaſion from the Antiquity thereof, and from the Paſſage of *Michael*'s contending with the Devil about the Body of *Moſes*, to interpolate many Fables, and Inventions of their own. *Raleigh*'s Hiſtory of the World.

(*a*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. (*b*) Jude *ver.* 14, 15.

† There are many Inſtances in the *New Teſtament* of Facts alluded to, which we do not find in any ancient Books. Thus the Conteſt between *Michael* and the Devil is mention'd, as if the *Jews* had, ſome where or other, a full Account of it. The Names of the *Egyptians*, *Jannes*, and *Jambres*, are ſet down, though they are no where found in *Moſes*'s Hiſtory. St *Paul* tells us, that *Moſes* exceedingly quak'd and fear'd on Mount *Sinai*; but we do not find it ſo recorded any where in the *Old Teſtament*. In all theſe Caſes, the Apoſtles and holy Writers hinted at Things, commonly receiv'd as true by Tradition among the *Jews*, without tranſcribing them from any real Book. *Shuckford*'s Connection, l. 1.

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tion between their Lives and ours. We think it a great Thing, if we chance to arrive at *fourſcore*, or an hundred Years; whereas they liv'd to the Term of 7, 8, 9 Hundred, and upwards, as appears * by the joint Teſtimony both of ſacred and profane Hiſtory. The only Suſpicion that can ariſe in our Minds upon this Occaſion, is, that the Computation might poſſibly be made, not according to *ſolar*, but *lunar* Years; but this, inſtead of ſolving the Difficulty, runs us into ſeveral groſs Abſurdities.

THE Space of Time, between the Creation and the Flood, is uſually computed to be 1656 Years, which, if we ſuppoſe to be *lunar*, and converted into common Years, will amount to little more than 127; too ſhort an Interval, by much, to ſtock the World with a ſufficient Number of Inhabitants. From one Couple we can ſcarce imagine, that there could ariſe 500 Perſons in ſo ſhort a Time; but, ſuppoſe them a thouſand, they would not be ſo many, as we ſometimes have in a good Country *Village*. And, were the *Flood-Gates of Heaven* open'd, and the great *Abyſs broken up*, to deſtroy ſuch an Handful of People? Were the Waters rais'd *fifteen Cubits above the higheſt Mountains*, throughout the Face of the whole Earth, to drown a Pariſh or two? This certainly is more incredible, than the longeſt Age, which the Scriptures aſcribe to the Patriarchs: Beſides that, this ſhort Interval leaves no Room for ten Generations, which we find from *Adam* to the Flood, nor does it allow the Patriarchs Age enough (ſome of them, upon this Suppoſition, muſt not be above five Years old) when they are ſaid to beget Children.

IT is generally allow'd, and may indeed be prov'd by the Teſtimony of Scripture, that our firſt Fathers liv'd conſiderably longer, than any of their Poſterity have done ſince; but, according to this *Hypotheſis* (which depreſſes the Lives of the *Antediluvians*, not only below thoſe, who liv'd next the Flood, but even below all following Generations to this Day) *Methuſelah*, who was always accounted the oldeſt Man ſince the Creation, did but reach to the Age of 75, and *Abraham*, who is ſaid to have *died in a good old Age*, was not compleatly 15. Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

THE Patrons of this Opinion therefore would do well to tell us, when we are to break off this Account of *lunar* Years in the ſacred Hiſtory. If they will have it extended no farther than the Flood, they make the *Poſtdiluvian* Fathers longer-liv'd than the *Antediluvian*, but will be puzzled to aſſign a Reaſon, why the Deluge ſhould occaſion *Longevity*. If they will extend it to the *Poſtdiluvians* likewiſe, they will then be entangled in worſe Difficulties; for they will make their Lives miſerably ſhort, and their Age of getting Children altogether incongruous and impoſſible.

FROM the Whole therefore we may conclude, that the Years, whereby *Moſes* reckons the Lives of the *Antediluvians*, were *ſolar* Years, much of the ſame Length with what we now uſe, and that therefore there muſt be a Reaſon, either in their Manner of Life, their bodily Conſtitution, the Temperament of the World wherein they liv'd, or (what is moſt likely) the particular Vouchſafement of God, to give them this mighty, this ſingular Advantage above us.

And the Reaſons for it.

SOME have imputed this extraordinary Length of Life in the *Antediluvians* to the Sobriety of their Living, and Simplicity of their Diet; that they eat no Fleſh, and had no Provocations to Gluttony, which Wit and Vice have ſince invented. (*c*) This indeed might have ſome Effect, but not poſſibly to the Degree we now ſpeak of; ſince there have been many moderate and abſtemious People in all Ages, who have not ſurpaſs'd the common Period of Life.

OTHERS

* *Manetho*, who wrote the Story of the *Egyptians*; *Beroſus*, who wrote the *Chaldean* Hiſtory; thoſe Authors, who give us an Account of the *Phœnician* Antiquities; and among the *Greeks*, *Heſiodus*, *Hecateus*, *Hellanicus*, *Ephorus*, &c. do unanimouſly agree, that in the firſt Ages of the World, Men liv'd a thouſand Years. *Burnet*'s Theory, l. 2. c. 4.

(*c*) *Burnet*'s Theory of the Earth, l. 2. c. 4.

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OTHERS have aſcribed it to the Excellency of the Fruits, and ſome unknown Quality in the Herbs and Plants of thoſe Days: But the Earth, we know, was curs'd immediately after the Fall, and its Fruits, we may ſuppoſe, gradually decreas'd in their Virtue and Goodneſs, until the Time of the Flood, and yet we do not ſee, that the Length of Men's Lives decreas'd at all, during that Interval.

OTHERS therefore have thought, that the long Lives of the Men of the old World proceeded from the Strength of their *Stamina*, or firſt Principle of their bodily Conſtitution, which, if they were equally ſtrong in us, wou'd maintain us, as they think, in Being, as long: But, tho' it be granted, that both the Strength, and Stature of their Bodies were greater than ours, and that a Race of ſtrong Men, living long in Health, will have Children of a proportionably ſtrong Conſtitution; yet, that this was not the ſole and adequate Cauſe of their *Longevity*, we have one plain Inſtance to convince us, *viz.* that *Shem*, who was born before the Deluge, and had in his Body all the Virtue of an *Antediluvian* Conſtitution, fell 300 Years ſhort of the Age of his Forefathers, becauſe the greateſt Part of his Life was paſs'd after the Flood.

THE ingenious *Theoriſt*, whom I have quoted, for this Reaſon imagines, that, before the Flood, the Situation of the Earth to the Sun was *direct* and *perpendicular*, and not, as it is now, *inclin'd* and *oblique*. From this Poſition he infers, that there was a perpetual *Equinox* all the Earth over, and one continued Spring; and thence concludes, that the Equality of the Air, and Stability of the Seaſons were the true Cauſes of the *then Longevity*; whereas the Change, and Obliquity of the Earth's Poſture, occaſion'd by the Deluge, alter'd the Form of the Year, and brought in an Inequality of Seaſons, which caus'd a ſenſible Decay in Nature, and a gradual Contraction in human Life.

Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

HIS Reaſoning upon this Point is very elegant. "There is no Queſtion, *ſays he*, "but every Thing upon Earth, and eſpecially the animate World, wou'd be "much more permanent, if the general "Courſe of Nature was more ſteady, and "more uniform. A Stability in the Heavens makes a Stability in all Things "below; and that Change, and Contrariety of Qualities, which we have in "theſe Regions, is the Fountain of Corruption —— the Æther, in their little "Pores, the Air, in their greater, and "the Vapours, and Atmoſphere, that ſurround them, ſhake, and unſettle their "Texture and Continuity; whereas, in a "fix'd State of Nature, where theſe Principles have always the ſame conſtant and "uniform Motion, a long and laſting "Peace enſues, without any Violence, "either within, or without, to diſcompoſe them. We ſee by daily Expe"rience, *continues he*, that Bodies are kept "better in the ſame *Medium* (as we call "it) than when they are ſometimes in the "Air, and ſometimes in the Water, moiſt "and dry, hot and cold by Turns; be"cauſe theſe different States weaken the "Contexture of their Parts. But our Bo"dies, in the preſent State of Nature, are "put in an hundred different *Mediums*, "in the Courſe of a Year; the Winds are "of a different Nature, and the Air of a "different Weight and Preſſure, accord"ing as the Weather, and Seaſons affect "them. All theſe Things are enough to "wear out our Bodies ſoon, very ſoon, in "compariſon of what they would laſt, if "they were always encompaſs'd with one "and the ſame *Medium*, and that *Me*"*dium* were always of one and the ſame "Temper."

THIS is all very pretty: But the Author's grand Miſtake is, that it was not ſo in the *primitive* Earth. He has no Authority to ſhew, that how high ſoever the Waters might ſwell at the Deluge, the Centre of the Earth gave way, *or the Foundations of the round World were ſhaken.*

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The Earth no doubt had, before, as well as after the Flood, an *annual* as well as a *diurnal* Motion. (*d*) It ſtood to the Sun in the ſame *oblique* Poſture and Situation, and was, conſequently, ſubject to the ſame Seaſons and Viciſſitudes that the preſent Earth is; and, if the Air was more mild, and the Element more favourable at that Time, this we may account the peculiar Bleſſing of God, and not the Reſult of the Earth's Poſition to the Sun, or any fancied Stability in the Weather. The Truth is, whatever we may attribute to ſecond Cauſes, why Bodies, that are naturally mortal and corruptible, ſhould ſubſiſt ſo long in the primitive Ages of the World; yet the true Cauſe of all is to be aſcrib'd to the Will of God, who impregnated our firſt Parents with ſuch Vigour, and gave their Poſterity, for ſome Time, ſuch robuſt Conſtitutions, as depended not upon the Nature of their *Diet*, the Stability of the *Seaſons*, or the Temperature of the *Air*. After the Flood, God ſoon made a ſenſible Change in the Length of Man's Days. For, perceiving the general Iniquity to increaſe again, and thereupon deſigning to make an Alteration in the World's Continuance, he haſten'd the Period of human Life, that the Number of Souls, he intended to ſend into the World, before the Conſummation of all Things, might have a ſpeedier Probation. Man's Age, accordingly, went on ſinking by Degrees, until, a little before *David*'s Time, it came to be fix'd at what has been the common Standard ever ſince. (*e*) *The Days of our Age are threeſcore Years and ten; and tho' Men be ſo ſtrong, that they come to fourſcore Years, yet is their Strength then but Labour and Sorrow, ſo ſoon paſſeth it away, and we are gone.* This is our ſtated Period, and therefore for us, who live in this *Poſtdiluvian* World, and have the Term of our Trial ſo much ſhorten'd, the ſubſequent Prayer of the devout *Pſalmiſt* will always be neceſſary, always ſeaſonable; *ſo teach us to number our Days, that we may apply our Hearts unto Wiſdom.*

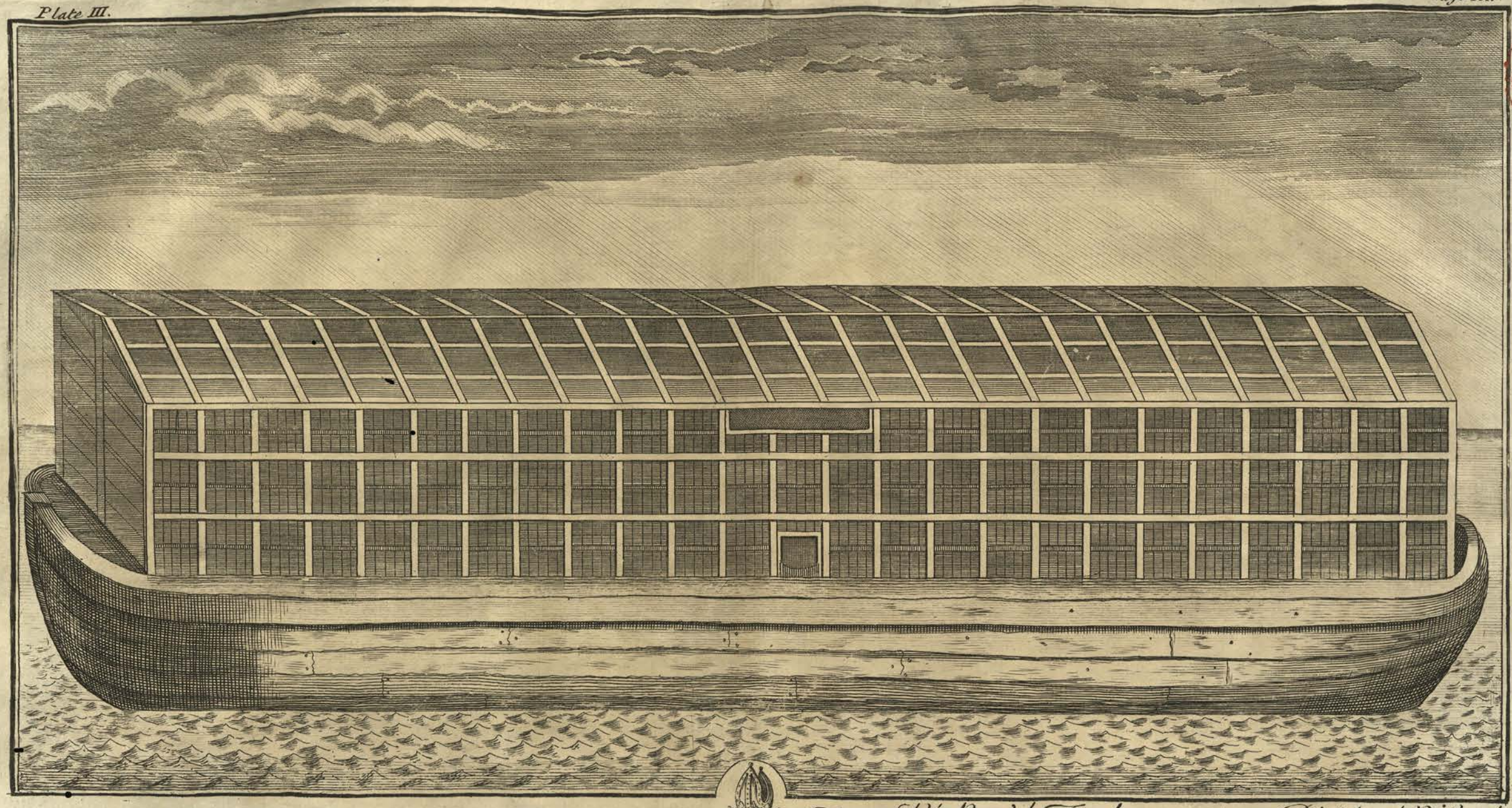
Gen. Ch. v. and vi. to Ver. 13.

(*d*) Vid. *Keill*'s Examination of *Burnet*'s Theory.

(*e*) Pſal. xc. 10.

CHAP.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY



The External *Prospect of the* ARK, *as floating upon the Waters of the Deluge.*

To the Rt. Rev'd. Father in GOD *Richd. Ld. Bishop of Winchester.* — *This Plate is most Humbly Inscrib'd, by his Lordships most Dutyfull & Obedient Son & Servt.*

Thos. Stackhouse.

A. M. 1656, &c. Ant. Chrif. 2349, &c.

From Gen vi. 12. to ix. 20.

CHAP. VI.

Of the DELUGE.

The HISTORY.

GOD (as we ſaid before) had given Mankind a Reprieval for an *hundred and thirty Years*; but when he ſaw that all his Lenity and Forbearance tended to no Purpoſe, except it was to make them more bold, and licentious in their Sins, he declar'd to his Servant *Noah*, that, within a ſhort Time, his Reſolution was to deſtroy them, and, with them, all other Creatures upon the Face of the Earth, by a *Flood of Waters*; but ‡ aſſur'd him, at the ſame Time, that, ſince he had comported himſelf better, and approv'd his Fidelity to his Maker, he wou'd take Care to preſerve him, and his Family, and whatever other Creatures were neceſſary for the Reſtoration of their Species, from the general Calamity.

The Make an Faſhion of the Ark.

To this Purpoſe he gave him Orders to build a Kind of Veſſel, not in the Form of Ships now in Uſe, but rather inclining to the Faſhion of a ‡ large Cheſt or Ark, and himſelf preſcrib'd the *Plan*, whereby he was to proceed.——That to make the Veſſel firm, and ſtrong, and able to endure the Preſſure of the Waves, the Wood, moſt proper for that Purpoſe, ‡ ſhou'd be Cypreſs; and that to prevent the Waves from

‡ The Words, in our Tranſlation are, *with thee will I eſtabliſh my Covenant:* But 1ſt, by the Word *Covenant*, we are not here to underſtand a mutual Compact or Agreement, but only a ſimple and gracious Promiſe, as it is likewiſe us'd, Numb. xviii. 19. * xxv. 12. and in ſeveral other Places; which Promiſe, tho' only mention'd here, was doubtleſs made before, as may eaſily be gather'd from both theſe Words, and ſome foregoing Paſſages, and from the Neceſſity, that *Noah* ſhould have ſome ſuch Support and Encouragement, during all the Time of his Miniſtry. 2dly, This *Covenant* of God might relate to his ſending the *promis'd Seed*, and Redemption of Mankind by the *Meſſias*; and, in this Senſe will import, that, as the *Meſſias* was to come out of *Noah*'s Loins, ſo the Divine Providence wou'd take Care to preſerve him alive. But 3dly, A learned and right Reverend Author is of Opinion, that this Covenant of God relates to his reinſtating the Earth in its primitive Fertility in *Noah*'s Life-time: To which Purpoſe he obſerves, that, as ſoon as the Flood was over, God declares, *I will not curſe again the Ground any more for Man's Sake:* From which Declaration it appears, *ſays he*, 1. That the Flood was the Effect of that Curſe, which was denounc'd againſt the Earth for Man's Sake; and 2dly, that the old Curſe was fully executed, and accompliſh'd in the Flood; in Conſequence of which, a new Bleſſing is immediately pronounc'd upon the Earth, Gen. viii. 22. *While the Earth remaineth, Seed-Time, and Harveſt, and Cold, and Heat, and Summer, and Winter, and Day, and Night, ſhall not ceaſe:* Pool's Annot. and Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy.

‡ The Word *Thebath*, which we render *Ark*, is only read here, and in another Place, where *Moſes*, when an Infant, is ſaid to have been put into *one* made of *Bulruſhes*, Exod. ii. 3. It is ſuppos'd to come from a *Root*, which ſignifies to *dwell* or *inhabit*, and may therefore here denote a *Houſe*, or Place of Abode. And indeed, if we conſider the Uſe and Deſign, as well as the Form and Figure of this Building, we can hardly ſuppoſe it to be like an *Ark* or Cheſt, wherein we uſually ſtore Lumber, and put Things out of the Way; but rather like a *Farm-Houſe*, ſuch as are in ſeveral Countries, where the Cattle and People live all under one Roof. As ſoon as Men began to hew down Timber, and to join it together, for the Purpoſe of making Houſes, nothing can be ſuppos'd a more ſimple Kind of Edifice, than what was made rectangular; with a *Bottom* or Floor, to prevent the Dampneſs of the Ground; a ſloping Cover or *Roof* to carry off the Rain, that ſhou'd fall; *Stalls* and Cabbins for the Lodgment of Man and Beaſt; and, to keep out Wind and Weather effectually, a Coat of Bitumen or Pitch. Of this Kind was this Building of *Noah*'s, and may therefore rather be term'd a *Place of Abode*, than an *Ark* or Cheſt, properly ſo call'd. *Le Clerc*'s Comment. in Locum.

‡ The Timber, whereof the Ark was fram'd *Moſes* calls *Gopher-Wood*; but what Tree this *Gopher* was, is not a little controverted. Some will have it to be *Cedar*, others the *Pine*, others the *Box*, and others, (particularly the *Mahometans*)

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from penetrating, or the Sun from cracking it, as well as to ſecure it from Worms, and make it glide more eaſy upon the Water, his Buſineſs wou'd be, as ſoon as it was finiſh'd, † *to pitch it*, or rather ſmear it all over with Bitumen, (whereof there was Plenty in the Country) both within and without; that, to make its Proportion regular, its Length ſhould be ſix Times more than its Breadth, and ten Times more than its Height; and, to give it Capacity enough, the firſt of theſe ſhou'd be † 300 Cubits, that is, in our Meaſure, 450 Feet; the ſecond 50 Cubits, or 75 Feet; and the third 30 Cubits, or 45 Feet; that, to make it commodious for the Reception of every Thing, it was to conſiſt of three Stories, or Decks, of equal Height each, and each divided into Stalls and Apartments, proper for the Things, that were to be put into it; that for turning off the Rain, the Roof was to be made ſloping; for letting in of Light, * there were Windows ſo and ſo diſpos'd, † or ſome other Conveniency anſwerable to them; and that, for the more eaſy Induction of the many Things, it was to contain, a Door, or Entry-port, was to be made in its Side.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

THESE were the Inſtructions, which God gave *Noah*, who, accordingly, went to work, and being aſſiſted with the Hands of his Family (for † the reſt of the World doubtleſs derided him) in the Time, that was appointed him, and ſeven Days before the

The Things to be taken into it.

Mahometans) the *Indian-plane* Tree; but our learned *Fuller*, in his *Miſcellanies*, has obſerv'd, that it was nothing elſe but that, which the *Greeks* call Κυπάρισσος, or the *Cypreſs Tree*: For, taking away the Termination, *Cupar* and *Gopher* differ very little in the Sound. This Obſervation the great *Bochart* has confirm'd, and ſhewn very plainly, that no Country abounds ſo much with this Wood, as that Part of *Aſſyria*, which lies about *Babylon*. And to this we may add the Obſervation of *Theophraſtus*, who, ſpeaking of Trees, that are leaſt ſubject to decay, makes the *Cypreſs-Tree* the moſt durable of all; for which *Vitruvius* gives us this Reaſon, *viz.* that the Sap, which is in every Part of the Wood, has a peculiar bitter Taſte, and is ſo very offenſive, that no Worm, or other corroding Animal, will touch it, ſo that ſuch Works, as are made of this Wood, will in a Manner laſt for ever. Vid. Univerſ. Hiſt. *Patrick*'s Comment. *Bochart*'s Phaleg. l. 1. c. 4. and *Bedford*'s Scrip. Chronol. l. 1. c. 9.

† The *Arabick* Tranſlation ſays expreſsly, *pitch it with pitch*, but the *Bitumen* (which was plentiful in that Country, and, as others think, intended here) was of the ſame Nature, and ſerv'd to the ſame Uſe, as Pitch, being glutinous, and tenacious, and proper to keep Things together. *Patrick*'s Comment.

† A *Cubit* is the Meaſure from the Elbow to the Fingers end, containing ſix Hands-breadths, or a Foot and an half; ſo that 300 Cubits make exactly 450 Feet. There are ſome however, who take thoſe for *geometrical* Cubits, every one of which contain ſix of the common; but there is no need for any ſuch Computation, ſince, taking them for common Cubits, it is demonſtrable (as will appear hereafter) that there might be room enough in the Ark for all Sorts of Beaſts, and Birds, together with *Noah*'s Family, and their neceſſary Proviſion. *Ainſworth*'s Annot. and *Patrick*'s Comment.

* There are various Tranſlations of the Word *Zohar*, which occurs but once in the whole Bible in this Senſe. It ſeems to be deriv'd from a *Root* in the *Chaldee*, which ſignifies to *ſhine*, or *give Light*; and therefore our Verſion renders it a *Window*; but if ſo, it muſt be *collective*, and mean ſeveral Windows, becauſe it is not likely, that there ſhou'd be but *one* in ſo vaſt a Building: And from the following Words, *in a Cubit ſhalt thou finiſh it above*, ſome have ſuppos'd, that the Window was to be a Cubit ſquare, or but a Cubit high, which wou'd have been much too ſmall. But the Relative *it*, being, in the *Hebrew*, of the *Feminine* Gender, and *Zohar* of the Maſculine, theſe two Words cannot agree, and therefore the proper *Antecedent* ſeems to be the *Ark*, which was cover'd with a Roof, *rais'd a Cubit high* in the Middle. This however, in the Original, may ſignify no more than an Injunction to build the Ark by the Cubit, as the common Meaſure, by which the Work was to be mark'd out, and directed. *Vid.* Univerſ. Hiſt. *Saurin*'s Diſſert. and *Lamy*'s Introduction.

† What that other Conveniency was, we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew, when we come to treat of the Word *Zohar* (which we here render *Window*) in anſwer to the ſubſequent Objection.

† The Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* (xi. 7.) mentions *Noah*'s building the Ark as an heroick Act of Faith: *By Faith*, Noah, ſays he, *being warn'd of God of Things not ſeen as yet, mov'd with Fear, prepar'd an Ark, to the ſaving of his Houſe, by which he condemn'd the World, and became Heir of the Righteouſneſs, which is by Faith*: For, we may well imagine, that this Work of his was not only coſtly and laborious, but eſteem'd by the Generality, very fooliſh and ridiculous; eſpecially when they ſaw all Things continue in the ſame Poſture and Safety, for ſo many Scores of Years together; whereby *Noah*, without doubt, became all that while, the *Song* of *Drunkards*, and the Sport of the Wits of the Age. *Pool*'s Annot. The *Mahometans* have a Tradition, that, when he began to work upon this famous Veſſel, all that ſaw him, derided him, and ſaid, "You are building a Ship, if you can bring Water to it, you "will be a Prophet, as well as a Carpenter;" but he made Anſwer to theſe Inſults, "You laugh at me now, but I "ſhall have my turn to laugh at you; for at your own coſt, you will learn, that there is a God in Heaven, who "puniſhes the Wicked. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Noah*.

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the Rain began to fall, * he had compleated the Whole. Whereupon God gave him Inſtructions, that he ſhould take into the Ark *every living Thing of all Fleſh*, both Cattle, and Beaſts of the Field, Birds, and Fowls of the Air, and Reptiles of all Kinds; † of the *Unclean*, one Pair only, but of the *Clean* ſeven Pair; that, when the general Deſolation was over, they might increaſe again, and repleniſh the Earth; and that, when every Thing was thus ſettled and diſpos'd of, himſelf, and his Family, ſhould likewiſe go into the Ark, and take up their Apartments.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

A ſhort Deſcription of the Flood.

PURSUANT to theſe Directions, *Noah* and his Family went into the Ark (leaving the reſt of the World in their Security and Senſuality) in the 600th Year of his Age, much * about the Middle of *September*; when, in a few Days after (*a*) the whole Face of Nature began to put on a diſmal Aſpect, as if the Earth were to ſuffer a final Diſſolution, and all Things return to their primitive *Chaos*. ** The *Cataracts*

Z z of

* 'Tis ſomewhat ſtrange, that the Torrent of Interpreters ſhou'd ſuppoſe, that *Noah* was 120 Years about this Work, when he gives no Intimation to that Purpoſe, but ſufficient Reaſons to believe, that he was not near ſo long as is imagin'd. 'Tis plain from Scripture, that *he was* 500 *Years old when he begat* Shem, Ham, *and* Japhet; (Gen. v. 32.) and that when he receiv'd the Command for building the Ark, the ſame Sons were married, for the Text ſays expreſsly, *thou ſhalt come into the Ark, thou, and thy Sons, and thy Wife, and thy Sons Wives with thee*, (Gen. vi. 18.) So that, all the Time, between the Birth and Marriage of the ſaid Sons, muſt at leaſt be ſuppos'd to intervene, before the Command to build the Ark was given; and, between the Command and the Execution of it, muſt not be ſo long, as is imagin'd, without a Concurrence of Miracles, to prevent that Part of it, which was firſt built, from being rotten and decay'd, before the laſt Part of it was finiſh'd. *Saurin*'s Diſſert. In what Place *Noah* built, and finiſh'd his Ark, is no leſs made a Matter of Diſputation. One ſuppoſes that he built it in *Paleſtine*, and planted the *Cedars* whereof he made it, in the Plains of *Sodom*: Another takes it to have been built near Mount *Caucaſus*, on the Confines of *India*; and a third, in *China*, where he imagines *Noah* dwelt before the Flood: But the moſt probable Opinion is, that it was built in *Chaldea*, in the Territories of *Babylon*, where there was ſo great a Quantity of Cypreſs in the Groves and Gardens, in *Alexander*'s Time, that that Prince built a whole Fleet out of it, for want of other Timber. And this Conjecture is confirm'd by the *Chaldean* Tradition, which makes *Xiſuthrus* (another Name for *Noah*) ſet ſail from that Country. *Vid.* Univerſ. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 1.

† The Diſtinction between Beaſts that were *clean* and *unclean*, being made by the Law, has given ſome a Colour to imagine, that *Moſes* wrote this Book after his coming out of *Egypt*, and receiving the Law: But to this it may be anſwer'd, that though, with Reſpect to Man's Food, the Diſtinction of *clean* and *unclean* was not before the Law, yet ſome were accounted *fit* for Sacrifices, and others *unfit*, from the very firſt Beginning; and then *unclean* Beaſts, in this Place, muſt denote ſuch as are *rapacious*, which were not to be offer'd to God. In ſhort, ſince the Rite of ſacrificing was before the Flood, we may very well be allow'd to ſuppoſe, that this Diſtinction was alſo before it; and to ſuppoſe farther, that, as the Rite was undoubtedly of God's Inſtitution, ſo the Difference of *clean* and *unclean* Creatures, to be ſacrificed, was of his Appointment likewiſe. But there is a farther Doubt ariſing from this Paſſage, and that is —— whether there went into the Ark but ſeven of every *clean*, and two of every *unclean* Species, or fourteen of the firſt, and two of the laſt. Some adhere to the *former* Expoſition, but others to the latter, which ſeems to be the natural Senſe of the *Hebrew* Words, *ſeven and ſeven*, and *two and two*. Beſides, if there were but ſeven of the clean Beaſts, one muſt have been without a Mate: And if it be ſuggeſted, that the odd one was for Sacrifice, it is more than *Moſes* tells us, who, on the contrary, repeats it, that the Animals all went in by Pairs. *Patrick*'s Commentary, *Pool*'s Annotations, and Univerſal Hiſtory. c. 1.

* The Words in the Text are, *In the ſecond Month*, but, for the better underſtanding of this, we muſt remember, that the Year among the *Hebrews*, was of two Kinds; the one *eccleſiaſtical*, which began in *March*, and chiefly regarded the Obſervation of their *Faſts* and *Feſtivals*, of which we read *Exod.* xii. 2. and the other *civil*, for the better regulating of Mens *political* Affairs, which began in *September*. Accordingly the *ſecond Month* is thought by ſome to be Part of *April*, and Part of *May*, the moſt pleaſant Part of the Year, and when the Flood was leaſt expected, and leaſt fear'd; but, by others, Part of *October*, and Part of *November*, a little after that *Noah* had gather'd in the Fruits of the Earth, and laid them up in the Ark: So that the Flood came in with the Winter, and was by Degrees dried up in the following Summer. And this Opinion ſeems to be more probable, becauſe the moſt antient, and firſt Beginning of the Year was in *September*; and the other Beginning of the Year in *March* was but a later Inſtitution among the *Jews*, with reſpect to their *Feſtivals*, and other *ſacred* Affairs, which are not at all concern'd here. *Pool*'s Annotations.

(*a*) *Howell*'s Compleat Hiſtory.

** *Ovid*, who is ſuppos'd to have extracted moſt of the Beginning of his *Metamorphoſes* out of the ſacred Records, has deſcrib'd both the Induction and Retreat of the Waters in a Manner very conformable to the Original, from whence he had them. Their Induction thus:

—— Madidis

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of Heaven were open'd, the *Abyſs* of Waters, in the Centre of the Earth, pour'd out, and the *Sea*, forgetting its Bounds, overſpread the Earth with a dreadful Inundation.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

Too late does wretched Man perceive the Approach of his deſerved Fate; and in vain does he find out Means for his Preſervation. The Tops of the Hills, the talleſt Trees, the ſtrongeſt Towers, the loftieſt Mountains, can give him no Relief; 'tis but a ſmall Reprieve, at moſt, that they can yield him; for, as the Waters ſwell, and the Waves come ruſhing on, Hills, Trees, Towers, Mountains, and every little Refuge, muſt diſappear with him. *Noah* himſelf cannot help him. Though he might now remember his Predictions, and ſo flee to him for Succour, yet God has ſhut the Door of the Ark, and it cannot be open'd: (*b*) And ſo ſhall it be to every one, at the laſt great Day, who ſhall not be found in Chriſt, the only Ark of our Salvation.

Its Riſe,

For forty Days and Nights together, without the leaſt Intermiſſion, did the Clouds continue raining; when, at length, the Ark began to float, and to move from Place to Place as the Waves drove it. And, tho' there might be ſome ſhort Ceſſations afterwards, yet, at certain Intervals, the Rain continu'd falling, and the Waters ſwelling, till, in Proceſs of Time, the Flood began to cover the Mountains, and, by a gradual Increaſe, came at laſt to raiſe its Surface fifteen Cubits (above twenty-two Feet of our Meaſure) higher, than the Tops of the higheſt of them.

And Decreaſe.

In this Elevation the Flood continu'd, until the latter End of *March*: When, as one Friend is apt to *remember* another in Diſtreſs, (*the Scripture here ſpeaks in the Stile of Men*) ſo God, reflecting upon *Noah*, and the poor Remains of his Creation, floating in the Ark, caus'd a drying North Wind to ariſe, the *Flood-Gates of Heaven* to be ſtopp'd, and the *Irruption* of the Waters out of the Womb of the Earth to ceaſe; by which Means the Deluge began to abate, and the Waters ſubſide, ſo that, in a ſhort Time, the Ark, which muſt have drawn great Depth of Water, ſtuck on a Mountain, nam'd *Ararat*, and there reſted; and, not long after, the Tops of other Mountains began to appear.

The Raven and Dove ſent out.

This happen'd in the Beginning of *May*, when the Summer was coming on apace: But *Noah*, wiſely conſidering, that, although the Mountains were bare, the Valleys might ſtill be overflow'd, waited forty Days longer, before he attempted any farther Diſcovery; and then, † opening

——— Madidis Notus evolat Alis,
Terribilem piceâ tectus Caligine vultum ———
Utque manu latâ pendentia nubila preſſit:
Fit fragor: Hinc denſi funduntur ab æthere nimbi.——
Ipſe Tridente ſuo terram percuſſit: At illa
Intremuit, motuque ſinus patefecit aquarum.
Expatiata ruunt per apertos flumina campos,
Cumque ſatis, arbuſta ſimul, pecudeſque, viroſque,
Tectaque, cumque ſuis rapiunt Penetralia ſacris, &c.

Their Retreat thus:

Nubila diſjecit, nimbiſque Aquilone remotis,
Et cœlo terras oſtendit, & æthera terris ———
Jam mare Littus habet: Plenos capit alveus amnes;
Flumina ſubſidunt: Colles exire videntur:
Surgit humus: Creſcunt Loca decreſcentibus undis.
Poſtque diem longum nudata cacumina Sylvæ
Oſtendunt, Limumque tenent in fronde relictum.

LIB. I.

(*b*) *Miller*'s Hiſtory of the Church, *Patrick*'s Commentary and *Pool*'s Annot.

† It is very obſervable, that the Words, which we render *Window*, in Ch. vi. Ver. 16. and Ch. viii. Ver. 6. of *Geneſis*, are far from being the ſame: In the former Place, the Word is *Zohar* (the Nature of which we ſhall have a proper Occaſion to explain). In the latter 'tis *Hhalon*, which ſignifies indeed an oval Hole, or Window, in any Building, but here is a Window of a peculiar Denomination. That it was cuſtomary among the *Jews* to have a Room, in the upper Part of their Houſes, ſet apart for Divine Worſhip, in *Hebrew* call'd *Beth-Alijah*, or ſimply *Alijah*, in *Greek* ὑπερῶον, and in *Latin*, *Oratorium*; and that, in this Place of Prayer, there was always an *Hhalon*, an Hole, or Window, which pointed to the *Kibla*, or Place whereunto they directed their Worſhip, is evident from ſeveral Paſſages in Scripture. Among the *Jewiſh* Conſtitutions, in the Code, call'd *Beracoth*, there is a certain Canon grounded upon this Cuſtom, *viz. That no Man ſhall pray, but in a Room, where there is an* Hhalon *opening towards the Holy City*. And of *Daniel* it is particularly related, that when he knew that the Decree for his Deſtruction *was ſign'd, he went into the Houſe, and his* Hhalon, *his Window, being open in his Chamber towards* Jeruſalem, *he kneel'd upon his Knees three Times a Day, as he did aforetime*, Dan. vi. 10. for that this was not a common Window, but one dedicated to reli-

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ing the Window, he let go a Raven, as ſuppoſing that the Smell of dead Bodies wou'd allure him to fly a good Diſtance from the Veſſel, but the Experiment did not do: The Raven, after ſeveral unſucceſsful Flights, finding nothing but Water, return'd to the Ark again. Seven Days after this, he let fly a *Dove*, a Bird of a ſtrong Pinion, and, from the remoteſt Places, always accuſtom'd to come Home, and therefore proper to make farther Diſcoveries. But ſhe, finding nothing but Water likewiſe, immediately return'd to the Ark, and was taken in. After this, he waited ſeven Days more, and then ſent her forth again; and ſhe, in the Evening, brought in her Mouth an *Olive-Branch*, the Emblem of Peace, and a Token to *Noah*, that the Waters were abated much. Whereupon he waited ſeven Days more, and then let her fly the third Time; but ſhe, finding the Waters gone, and the Earth dry, return'd no more: So that he was now thinking of uncovering the Roof, and going out of the Ark himſelf; but having a pious Regard to the Divine Providence, and Direction in all Things, he waited five and fifty Days longer, and then receiv'd Orders from God, for him, and his Family, to quit the Veſſel, but to take Care, at the ſame Time, that every other Creature ſhou'd be brought forth with him.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

THUS ended * *Noah*'s long and melancholy Confinement; which, by a due Computation, from the Time of his going into the Ark, to that of his coming out, was exactly the Space of a *ſolar* Year.

glious Worſhip, is plain from the Peoples diſcerning, by it's being open, that he was at Prayers. Nor is it improbable, that this Window might have ſome viſible Sign, either of the Name of God, or of the Holy City, or of the Sanctuary, or the like, inſcrib'd on it; becauſe it is a conſtant Tradition, that theſe Oratories, or Rooms for Prayer, were always ſo made, as to have their Angles anſwer to ſuch certain Points of the Heaven, and to have the *Mark of Adoration* ſo evidently diſtinguiſh'd, that none might miſtake it, if they caſt but their Eye upon the Wall. Now, as the Practice among the *Jews* of worſhipping in upper Rooms, with their Faces towards a Hole, or Window in the Wall, was never introduc'd by any poſitive Law, and yet univerſally prevail'd, 'tis reaſonable to believe, that, at firſt, it was deriv'd from *Noah*, and that the Windows, in their *Oratories*, were made in Imitation of this *Hhalon*, or Point of Adoration, in the Ark. *Bibliotheca Biblica*, Vol. II. Occaſ. Annot. in the Appendix.

* Mr *Baſnage* [in his Antiq. Judaiq. Tom. II. p. 399.] has given us the Kalendar of this melancholy Year of *Noah*'s Confinement.

The Year of the World's Creation 1656.

Month.

I. *September*. *Mathuſelah*, died at the Age of 969 Years.

II. *October*. *Noah*, and his Family enter'd the Ark.

III. *November* the 17th, the *Fountains of the great Deep* were broken open.

IV. *December* the 26th, the Rain began, and continu'd forty Days, and forty Nights.

V. *January*. All the Men and Beaſts, that were upon the Earth, were bury'd under the Waters.

VI. *February*. The Rain continu'd.

VII. *March*. The Waters remain'd in their Elevation, till the 27th, when they began to abate.

VIII. *April* the 17th, the Ark reſted on Mount *Ararat*.

IX. *May*. They did nothing, while the Waters were retreating.

X. *June* the 1ſt, the Tops of the Mountains appear'd.

XI. *July* the 11th, *Noah* let go a Raven, which (as *Baſnage* thinks) return'd to him no more.

The 18th, he let go a Dove, which return'd.

The 25th, he let go the Dove again, which return'd with an Olive-Branch.

XII. *Auguſt* the 2d, the Dove went out the third Time, and return'd no more.

I. *September* the 1ſt, the dry Land appear'd.

II. *October* the 27th, *Noah* went out of the Ark with his Family. During this long Continuance in the Ark, the Form of Prayer, which ſome *Oriental* Writers make *Noah* to have offer'd unto God, runs in this Manner: "O *Lord*, "thou art truly great, and there is nothing ſo great, as that it can be compar'd to thee; look upon us with an Eye "of Mercy, and deliver us from the Deluge of Waters. I intreat this of thee for the Love of *Adam*, thy firſt Man; "for the Love of *Abel*, thy *Saint*; for the Righteouſneſs of *Seth*, whom thou haſt lov'd. Let us not be reckon'd "in the Number of thoſe, who have diſobey'd thy Commandments; but ſtill extend thy merciful Care to us, becauſe "thou haſt hitherto been our Deliverer, and all thy Creatures ſhall declare thy Praiſe. *Amen*." *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Words *Deluge* and *Noah*.

The

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The OBJECTION.

" BUT, granting (*c*) that a Veſſel, " faſhion'd according to the Deſcrip- " tion, which *Moſes* gives us of the Struc- " ture of the Ark, cou'd *live* (as the Sea- " men phraſe it) in ſuch a Tempeſt of " Waters ſo long together; yet what can " we think wou'd become of *Noah* and " his Family, with all the ſeveral Kinds " of Birds, Beaſts, and Reptiles, (*d*) ſtow- " ed up, all this while, in a cloſe *Hutch*, " without the leaſt Breath of freſh Air? " How cou'd they ſee to go about their " Buſineſs (and certainly they had Buſineſs " enough, to attend ſuch a Multitude of " Creatures) when they muſt have liv'd, " all this while, without the leaſt Light " either of Sun, Moon, or the Stars? " And in this State of Darkneſs, wherein " Day and Night to them were both alike, " how cou'd they poſſibly *meaſure* Time, " or tell the preciſe Number of the Months " and Days, that they had continu'd in " the Ark?

" THE Ark indeed, according to the " Deſcription of *Moſes*, was a large Build- " ing: But had it been ten times larger, " it cou'd never have contain'd the ſeveral " Couples of all Kinds, which were or- " der'd to be brought into it. Had they " been huddled together, the wild and the " tame, the ſtrong and the weak promiſ- " cuouſly, they wou'd have ſoon diſpatch- " ed one another, without troubling the " Deluge. Had proper Cells and Parti- " tions been made for them, 'tis hardly " conceivable, what a prodigious Space, " ſuch a Number, as was merely neceſſa- " ry, wou'd have taken up. For, if we " compute only the Creatures of the *old* " *World*, the Room allow'd them in the " Ark will hardly contain ſo many diffe- " rent *Species* together, with their re- " ſpective Food and Provender; but then, " if we take in all the Beaſts of the *new* " *World*, and ſuch as are found under the " *Southern* Hemiſpheres, we ſhall ſcarce " find Room for the Animals themſelves, " much leſs for the great Store of Pro- " viſions, that will be neceſſary to keep " them alive ſo long. But the greateſt " Wonder is, (*e*) how the many Animals, " which are peculiar to ſeveral Parts of " *America*, cou'd get into *Chaldea*, or " wherever the Ark was built; and, after " the Deluge was over, cou'd return to " their native Country again. Nay, even " allowing this to be practicable, it will " ſtill puzzle our Imagination to conceive, " how either Man, or Beaſt, cou'd poſ- " ſibly live, by reaſon of the Sharpneſs of " the Air, when once the Ark came to be " rais'd above the *Middle* Region, above " the Tops of the higheſt Mountains.

" IT is a much more reaſonable Scheme " therefore, and what rids us of all theſe " Difficulties, to ſuppoſe, that the Flood " was not univerſal, but confin'd to ſome " particular Countries; that, as its pri- " mary Deſign was to deſtroy Mankind " only, (who cou'd hardly be thought, in " ſo ſhort a Time to have overſpread the " whole Face of the Earth) there was no " Neceſſity to carry the Waters beyond " the Bounds of what was inhabited; and " that the Waters, requir'd to raiſe the " Deluge ſome fifteen Cubits above the " higheſt Mountains, are more, than what " the Clouds, the Rivers, the Sea, and all " the ſuppos'd Cavities of the Earth, were " able to produce. For, to come to an " Eſtimate of this, (*f*) we muſt firſt ſup- " poſe Water enough to cover the plain " Surface of the Earth, the Fields, and " lower Grounds; then we muſt heap up " ſo much more upon this, as will reach " above the Tops of the higheſt Moun- " tains; ſo that, drawing a Circle over " the Tops of the higheſt Mountains, " quite

(*c*) *Parker*'s Bibliotheca Biblica, Vol. I. Part I. Occaſional Annotat. xii. (*d*) *Ibid.* Occaſional Annot. xi.
(*e*) Iſ. Voſſius de Ætate Mundi, *p.* 283. (*f*) *Burnet*'s Theory, l. 1. c. 2.

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" quite round the Earth, (ſuppoſe from " Pole to Pole) and another to meet round " the Middle of the Earth, all that Space " or Capacity, contain'd within theſe Cir- " cles, is to be fill'd up with Water; and " what a prodigious Maſs muſt this needs " make?

" IN a Word, we allow the Flood to " have been ſo far univerſal, that it over- " whelm'd all the Parts of the then inha- " bited World, and that all the Race of " Mankind, except *Noah*'s Family, was " deſtroy'd in it; but that it ſhould extend " itſelf over the whole Globe, we ſee no " Manner of Reaſon, becauſe the whole " Globe was not then inhabited: Nor can " we find out, in the whole Store-Houſe " of Nature, a ſufficient Quantity of Wa- " ter to overflow it to the Height, which " *Moſes* talks of, even tho' the Whole of " it had been inhabited. And therefore " we may well be allow'd to conclude, " that the Deluge was *local*, and might " probably happen in that Tract of Ground, " which lies between the four Seas, the " *Perſian*, the *Caſpian*, the *Euxine*, and " the *Syrian*, in which Compaſs are the " *Tygris*, the *Euphrates*, and ſeveral other " large Rivers, that might be contributary " to the Inundation."

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing the Deluge to be univerſal, from the Number of the World's Inhabitants.

HOW many wiſe Ends the Providence of God might have in bringing this Deſtruction upon the Earth, it is impoſſible for us to find out; but even ſuppoſing that he had but this one, *viz.* to rid himſelf of a Generation, that was become profligate, and paſt all Hopes of Amendment; yet the Number of Mankind, which, before the Flood, was vaſtly ſuperior to what the preſent Earth perhaps is capable of ſuſtaining, caus'd every Place to be inhabited, and that none might eſcape the avenging Hand, caus'd every Place to be overflow'd. And indeed, if we conſider the Longevity of the firſt Inhabitants of the Earth, and the pretty near Equality of their Ages (which ſeem to have been providentially deſign'd for the quick Propagation of Mankind) we ſhall ſoon perceive, that, in the Space of 1600 Years, Mankind wou'd become ſo numerous, that the chief Difficulty wou'd be where we ſhou'd find Countries to receive them. For if, in the Space of about 266 Years (as the ſacred Hiſtory acquaints us) the Poſterity of *Jacob*, by his Sons only (without the Conſideration of *Dinah* his Daughter) amounted to *ſix hundred thouſand* Males above the Age of twenty, all able to bear Arms, what Increaſe may not be expected from a Race of *Patriarchs*, living 6, 7, 8, or 9 hundred Years a-piece, and ſome to *the five hundredth* Year of their Lives begetting Sons and Daughters. For, (*g*) if we ſuppoſe the Increaſe of the Children of *Iſrael* to have been gradual, and proportionate through the whole 266 Years, it will appear, that they doubled themſelves every fourteen Years at leaſt; and if we ſhou'd continue the like Proportion through the entire hundred and fourteen Periods (which the Space from the Creation to the Deluge admits) the Product, or Number of People on the Face of the Earth, at the Deluge, wou'd, at leaſt, be the hundredth in a *geometrick* double Proportion, or *Series* of Numbers, 2, 4, 8, 16, *&c.* where every ſucceeding one is double to that before it: And to how an immenſe Sum this Proportion wou'd ariſe, * thoſe, who know any Thing of the Nature of *geometrick* Progreſſions, will ſoon perceive. So that, had the *Antediluvians* only multiply'd as faſt *before*, as it is certain the *Iſraelites* did *ſince* the Flood, the Number of Mankind, actually alive, and exiſting at the Deluge, muſt have been, not only more, than what the preſent Earth does contain, but prodigiouſly more, than what the whole Number of Mankind can be juſtly ſuppos'd,

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

(*g*) *Whiſton*'s Theory of the Earth, l. 3. c. 3.

* The ingenious Dr *Burnet* [in his Theory of the Earth, l. 1.] has computed the Multiplication of Mankind in this Method. " If we allow the firſt Couple, *ſays he*, at the End of 100 Years, or of the firſt Century, to have left " ten Pair of Breeders (which is no hard Suppoſition) there wou'd ariſe from theſe, in 150 Years, a greater Number " than the Earth was capable of, allowing every Pair to multiply in the ſame *decuple* Proportion, that the firſt Pair did.

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ever since the Deluge; nay indeed, with any Degree of Likelihood, ever since the first Creation of the World. Upon which Account, tho' this Calculation must not at all be esteem'd *real*, or to exhibit, in any Measure, the just Number of the Posterity of *Adam* alive at the Time of the Deluge; yet it certainly shews us, how vastly numerous (according to the regular Method of human Propagation) the Offspring of one single Person may be; how plentifully each Quarter of the World must then have been stock'd with Inhabitants; and that, consequently, to destroy its Inhabitants, the Inundation must have fallen upon every Quarter, and encompass'd the whole Globe.

From Tradition.

And accordingly, if we take the *Circuit* of the Globe, and enquire of the Inhabitants of every *Climate*, we shall find, (*b*) that the *Fame* of this Deluge is *gone through the Earth*, and that in every Part of the known World, there are certain Records and Traditions of it; that the *Americans* acknowledge, and speak of it in their Continent; that the *Chinese* (who are the most distant People in *Asia*) have the Tradition of it; that the several Nations of *Africa* tell various Stories concerning it; and that in the *European* Parts, the Flood of *Deucalion* is the same with that of *Noah*, only related with some Disguise. So that we may trace the Deluge quite round the Globe, and (what is more remarkable still) every one of these People have a Tale to tell, some one Way, some another, concerning the Restoration of Mankind, which is a full Proof, that they thought all Mankind was once destroy'd in that Deluge. From Gen. vi. 12. to ix 20.

From Fossils.

Nay, instead of surrounding the Globe, we need only turn aside the Surface a little, and look into the Bowels of the Earth, and we shall find Arguments enough for our Conviction. For * the Beds of *Shells* which are often found on the Tops of the highest Mountains, and the petrify'd *Bones*, and Teeth of Fishes, which are dug up some hundreds of Miles from the Sea, are the clearest Evidences in the World, that the Waters have, some Time or other, overflow'd the highest Parts of the Earth: Nor can it, with any Colour of Reason, be

" did. But, because this wou'd rise far beyond the Capacity of the Earth, let us suppose them to increase, in the " following Centuries, in a *quintuple* Proportion only, or, if you will, only in a *Quadruple*, and then the Table of " the Multiplication of Mankind, from the Creation to the Flood, wou'd stand thus:

Century 1	10	Century 9	655360
2	40	10	2621440
3	160	11	10485760
4	640	12	41943040
5	2560	13	167772160
6	10240	14	671088640
7	40960	15	2684354560
8	163840	16	10737418240

This Product is too excessive high, if compar'd with the present Number of Men upon the Face of the Earth, which I think is commonly estimated to be between three and four hundred Millions; and yet this Proportion of their Increase seems to be low enough, if we take one Proportion for all the Centuries. For, tho', in the reality, the same Measure cannot run equally thro' all the Ages, yet we have taken *this*, as moderate and reasonable, between the highest and the lowest; but if we had only taken a *triple* Proportion, it wou'd have been sufficient (all Things consider'd) for our Purpose.

(*b*) *Burnet*'s Theory, *ibid.*

* A learned Author, who has lately undertaken *an Examination of Revelation*, has enforc'd this Argument with a good deal of Life and Spirit. " Whereas *Moses* assures us, *says he*, that *the Waters prevail'd fifteen Cubits above the* " *highest Mountains*, let the Mountains themselves be appeal'd to for the Truth of this Assertion. Examine the highest " Eminences of the Earth, and they all, with one Accord, produce the Spoils of the Ocean, deposited upon them " on that Occasion, the Shells and Skeletons of Sea-Fish, and Sea-Monsters of all Kinds. The *Alps*, the *Apennine*, " the *Pyrenees*, the *Andes*, and *Atlas*, and *Ararat*, every Mountain of every Region under Heaven, from *Japan* to " *Mexico*, all conspire, in one uniform, universal Proof, that they all had the Sea spread over their highest Sum- " mits. Search the Earth, and you will find the *Mouse-Deer*, Natives of *America*, buried in *Ireland*; *Elephants*, Na- " tives of *Asia* and *Africa*, buried in the Midst of *England*; *Crocodiles*, Natives of the *Nile*, in the Heart of *Germany*; " *Shell-Fish*, never known in any but the *American* Seas, together with entire Skeletons of *Whales*, in divers other " Countries; and, what is more, Trees and Plants of various Kinds, which are not known to grow in any Region " under Heaven. All which are a perfect Demonstration, that *Moses*'s Account of the Deluge is incontestably true." Part I. Dissertation II.

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be aſſerted, that theſe ſubterraneous Bodies are only the *Mimickry*, or Mock-Productions of Nature, for, that they are real Shells, the niceſt Examination both of the Eye and Microſcope does evince, and that they are true Bones, may be prov'd by burning them, which (as it does other Bones) turns them firſt into a Coal, and afterwards into a *Calx*.

From Scripture.

THESE Conſiderations bid fair for the Univerſality of the Deluge; but then, if we take in the Teſtimony of Scripture, this puts the Matter paſt all Doubt. For, when we read, that, by reaſon of the Deluge, (*i*) *every living Subſtance was deſtroyed, which was upon the Face of the Ground, both Man, and Cattle, and the creeping Things, and the Fowl of the Heaven*; that, during the Deluge, (*k*) *the Waters exceedingly prevailed, and all the high Hills that were under the whole Heavens were covered*; and that, when the Deluge was over, God made a *Covenant* with *Noah*, that (*l*) *there ſhould be no more a Flood to deſtroy the Earth, and to cut off all Fleſh*; we cannot but conclude, that every Creature under Heaven, except what was preſerv'd in the Ark, was ſwept away in the general Devaſtation.

And from Reaſon.

AND, indeed, unleſs this Devaſtation was general, we can hardly conceive what Neceſſity there was for any Ark at all. (*m*) *Noah*, and his Family, might have retir'd into ſome neighbouring Country, as *Lot* and his Family ſav'd themſelves by withdrawing from *Sodom*, when that City was to be deſtroy'd. This had been a much better Expedient, and might have been done with much more Eaſe, than the great Preparations, he was ordered to make, of a large Veſſel, with Stalls and Apartments for the Reception of Beaſts and Birds. *Beaſts* might have poſſibly ſav'd themſelves by Flight; but if they did not, *Noah* might, after the Deluge, have furniſh'd himſelf from other Places, which this Deſolation had not reach'd; and as for the *Birds*, they, without much Difficulty, might have flown to the next dry Country, perching upon Trees, or the Tops of Mountains, by the Way, to reſt themſelves if they were tir'd, becauſe the Waters did not *prevail upon the Earth* all on a ſudden, but ſwell'd by Degrees to their determinate Height.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

NOW, if the Swelling of theſe Waters to a Height, ſuperior to that of the loftieſt Mountains, was only *topical*, we cannot but allow, that, unleſs there was a Miracle to keep them up on Heaps, they would certainly flow all over the Earth; becauſe theſe Mountains are certainly high enough to have made them fall every Way, and join with the Seas, which environ the Earth. All liquid Bodies, we know, are diffuſive: Their Parts, being in Motion, have no Tie, or Connection one with another, but glide, and fall off any Way, as Gravity and the Air preſs them; and therefore, when the Waters began to ariſe at firſt, long before they cou'd ſwell to the Height of the Hills, they wou'd diffuſe themſelves every Way, and thereupon all the Valleys and Plains, and the lower Parts of the Earth, wou'd be fill'd all the Globe over, before they cou'd riſe to the Tops of the Mountains in any Part of it. So vain and *unphiloſophical* is the Opinion of thoſe, who, to evade the Difficulty of the Queſtion, wou'd fain limit or reſtrain the Deluge to a particular Country, or Countries. For, if we admit it to be *univerſal*, ſay they, where ſhall we find a ſufficient Quantity of Water to cover the Face of the Earth, to the Height, that *Moſes* mentions?

Whence the Sufficiency of Water, various Conjectures.

SOME indeed have thought it the beſt, and moſt compendious Way, to call in the Arm of Omnipotence at once, and to affirm, *that God created Waters on purpoſe to make the Deluge, and then annihilated them again, when the Deluge was to ceaſe.* But our Buſineſs is not here to enquire what God cou'd work by his Almighty Power; but to account for this Event, in the beſt Manner we can, from natural Cauſes. (*n*) *Moſes*, it is plain, has aſcrib'd it to natural Cauſes, the continu'd Rains for

(*i*) Gen. vii. 23. (*k*) Ch. vii. 19. (*l*) Ch. ix. 11. (*m*) *Burnet's* Theory, l. 1. c. 3. (*n*) *Burnet's* Theory, l. 1.

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for forty Days, and the Disruption of the great *Abyss*; and the Manner of its gradual *Increase* and *Decrease*, wherein he has represented it, is far from agreeing with the instantaneous Actions of Creation and Annihilation.

Others, instead of a Creation, have suppos'd a *Transmutation* of Element, *viz.* either a *Condensation* of the Air, (*o*) or a *Rarefaction* of the Waters; but neither of these Expedients will do: For, besides that Air is a Body of a different Species, and (as far as we know) cannot, by any Compression or Condensation, be changed into Water, even upon the Supposition that all the Air in the Atmosphere were in this Manner condens'd, it wou'd not produce a Bed of Water, over all the Earth, above two and thirty Foot deep; because it appears, by undoubted Experiment, that a Column of Air, from the Earth to the Top of the Atmosphere, does not weigh more, than two and thirty Feet of Water: Much less wou'd the Expedient of *Rarefaction* answer the Purpose, (*p*) because, if we suppose the Waters but fifteen Times *rarer*, than they naturally are, (as we must certainly do, to make them reach the Tops of the highest Mountains) it will be difficult to conceive, how they cou'd either drown Man or Beast, keep alive the Fish, or support the heavy Bulk of the Ark. The Truth is, *Moses*, in his Account of the Deluge, says not one Word of the *Transmutation of Elements*, the forty Days Rain, and the Disruption of the Abyss, are the only Causes, which he assigns, and these, very likely, will supply us with a sufficient Quantity of Water, when other Devices fail.

(*q*) A very sagacious *Naturalist* observing that, at certain Times, there are extraordinary Pressures on the Surface of the Sea, which force the Waters outwards upon the Shores to a great Height, does very reasonably suppose, that the Divine Power might, at this Time, by the Instrumentality of some natural Agent, to us at present unknown, so *depress* the Surface of the Ocean, as to force up the Water of the *Abyss* through certain Channels and Apertures, and so make them a partial, and concurrent Cause of the Deluge. It cannot be denied indeed, but that the Divine Providence might, at the Time of the Deluge, so order and dispose *second* Causes, as to make them raise, and impel the Water to an Height sufficient to overflow the Earth; but then, because there must be another Miracle requir'd to suspend the Waters upon the Land, and to hinder them from running off again into the Sea, our Author seems to give the Preference to another Hypothesis, which, at the Time of the Deluge, supposes the Center of the Earth to have been chang'd, and set nearer to the Center or Middle of the Continent, whereupon the *Atlantick* and *Pacifick* Oceans must needs press upon the *subterraneous Abyss*, and so compel the Water to run out at those wide Mouths, and Apertures, which the Divine Power had made in breaking up the *Fountains* of the *great Deep*. Thus the Waters being pour'd out upon the Face of the Earth, and its Declivity chang'd by the Removal of the Center, they cou'd not run down to the Sea again, but must necessarily stagnate upon the Earth, and overflow it, till upon its Return to it's old Center, they in like Manner wou'd retreat to their former Receptacles. But the Misfortune of this Hypothesis is, that besides the Multitude of Miracles requir'd in it, it makes the Deluge *Topical*, and confin'd to our Continent only, whereas, according to the Testimony of the Spirit of God in the Holy Scriptures, it was certainly *universal*.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

(*r*) A very ingenious *Theorist* seems to be of Opinion himself, and labours to persuade others, that the * Deluge was occasion'd by the Dissolution of the *primæval*

(*o*) *Kircher* de Arcâ Noë, l. 2. c. 4. (*p*) *Burnet*'s Theory and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*q*) *Ray* in his Physico-Theological Discourse concerning the Deluge. (*r*) Dr *Burnet*.

* To have a more perfect Idea of the Author's Scheme, we must remember, that he conceives the first Earth, from the Manner of its Formation, to have been extreamly regular and uniform, of a smooth and easy Surface, without

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mæval Earth; the Diſſolution of the Earth, by the Fermentation of the enclos'd Waters; the Fermentation of the Waters, by the continu'd intenſe Heat of the Sun; and the great Heat of the Sun, by the perpendicular Poſition of the *Axis* of the Earth to the Plane of the *Ecliptic*. But allowing the Poſition of the Earth to be what he imagines, (*s*) yet it ſeems difficult to conceive, how the Heat of the Sun ſhould be ſo intenſe, as to cauſe great Cracks in it, and ſo raiſe the Waters in it into Vapours; or how the Waters, thus *rarefy'd*, ſhould be of Force ſufficient to break through an Arch of ſolid Matter, lying upon them ſome hundred Miles thick. 'Tis much more probable, that if the Action of the Sun was ſo ſtrong, the Abyſs (which the Theoriſt makes the only Storehouſe of Waters in the firſt Earth) wou'd have been almoſt quite exhauſted, before the Time of the Deluge; nor can we believe that this Account of Things is any Way conſonant to the *Moſaic* Hiſtory, which deſcribes a gradual Riſe and Abatement, a long Continuance of the Flood, and not ſuch a ſudden Shock and Convulſion of Nature, as the *Theoriſt* intends, in which, without the Divine Intervention, it was impoſſible for the Ark to be ſav'd.

(*t*) ANOTHER learned *Theoriſt* endeavours to ſolve the whole Matter, and ſupply a Sufficiency of Water, from the *Trajection* of a Comet. For he ſuppoſes, From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20. "That, in its Deſcent towards the Sun, "it preſs'd very violently upon the Earth, "and by that Means, both rais'd a great "Tide in the Sea, and forc'd up a vaſt "Quantity of *ſubterraneous* Waters; that "as it paſs'd by, it involv'd the Earth in "its *Atmoſphere* for a conſiderable Time; "and, as it went off, left a vaſt Tract of "its Tail behind, which (together with "the Waters, preſs'd from the Sea, and "from the great *Abyſs*) was enough to "cover the Face of the whole Earth, for "the perpendicular Height of three "Miles." But (to paſs by ſmaller Objections) that which ſeems to deſtroy his whole Hypotheſis is this—(*u*) That it is far from being clear, whether the *Atmoſphere* of a *Comet* be a watery Subſtance or not. The Obſervations of the moſt curious Enquirers make it very probable, that the *Circle* about the Body of a Comet is nothing, but the curling or winding round of the Smoak, riſing at firſt, to a determinate Height, from all Parts of the Comet, and then making off to that Part of it, which is oppoſite to the Sun; and if this Opinion be true, the Earth, by paſſing through the Atmoſphere of a Comet, ran a greater Riſque of a Conflagration, than a Deluge.

without Mountains, and without a Sea; and that all the Waters, belonging to it, were enclos'd within an upper *Cruſt*, which form'd a ſtupendous Vault around them. This vaſt Collection of Waters he takes to have been the *great Deep*, or *Abyſs* of *Moſes*, and that the Diſruption of it was the chief Cauſe of the Deluge. For he ſuppoſes, that the Earth being, for ſome hundreds of Years, expos'd to the continual Heat of the Sun, which, by reaſon of the *perpendicular* Poſition, which, as he imagines, the Earth's *Axis* then had to the Plane of the *Ecliptic*, was very intenſe, and not allay'd by the Diverſity of Seaſons, which now keep our Earth in an Equality of Temper; its exterior Cruſt was, at length, very much dried, and when the Heat had pierc'd the *Shell*, and reach'd the Waters beneath it, they began to be *rarefied*, and rais'd into Vapours, which Rarefaction made them require more Space, than they needed before, and finding themſelves pent in by an exterior Earth, they preſs'd with Violence againſt the *Arch* to make it yield to their *Dilatation*: And as the repeated Action of the Sun gave Force to theſe enclos'd Vapours more and more, ſo, on the other Hand, it weaken'd more and more the Arch of the Earth, that was to reſiſt them, ſucking out the Moiſture, that was the Cement of its Parts, and parching and chapping it in ſundry Places; ſo that, there being then no Winter to cloſe up its Parts, it, every Day, grew more and more diſpos'd to a Diſſolution, till, at length, when God's appointed Time was come, the whole *Fabrick* broke; the Frame of Earth was torn in Pieces, as by an Earthquake; and thoſe great Portions or Fragments, into which it was parted, fell down into the *Abyſs*, ſome in one Poſture, and ſome in another. Thus the Earth put on a new Form, and became divided into Sea, and Land; the greateſt Part of the Abyſs conſtituting our preſent Ocean, and the reſt filling up the Cavities of the Earth. Mountains and Hills appear'd on the Land, Iſlands in the Sea, and Rocks upon the Shore, ſo that, at one Shock, Providence diſſolv'd the *old* World, and made a *new* one out of its Ruin. *Vide* the Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 1. where the Extract out of *Burnet*'s Theory is made.

(*s*) *Keil*'s Examination of *Burnet*'s Theory. (*t*) Mr *Whiſton*. (*u*) *Keil*'s Anſwer to *Whiſton*'s Theory, and *Nichols*'s Conference, Vol. I.

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THESE are the ſeveral Expedients which the Wit of Men have deviſ'd, to furniſh a ſufficient Quantity of Water, in order to effect a Deluge, but all incompetent for the Work. Let us now turn to the ſacred Records, and ſee, what the two general Cauſes, aſſign'd therein, *the opening the Windows of Heaven*, and *the breaking up the Fountains of the great Deep*, are able to ſupply us with, upon this Occaſion.

The two Reaſons which the Scripture aſſigns. 1. *Continued Rains.*

1. BY *the Opening of the Windows of Heaven*, muſt be underſtood the cauſing the Waters, which were ſuſpended in the Clouds, to fall upon the Earth, not in ordinary Showers, but in Floods, or (as the Septuagint tranſlate it) in *Cataracts*, (*x*) which Travellers may have the trueſt Notion of, who have ſeen thoſe prodigious Falls of Water, ſo frequent in the *Indies*, and where the Clouds many Times do not break into Drops, but fall, with a terrible Violence, in a Torrent.

How far theſe Treaſures of Waters in the Air might contribute to the general Inundation, we may, in ſome Meaſure, compute from what we have obſerv'd in a *Thunder-Cloud*, (*y*) which, in the Space of leſs than two Hours, has ſometimes pour'd down ſuch a vaſt Quantity of Water, as, beſides what ſunk into the dry and thirſty Ground, and fill'd all the Ditches and Ponds, has caus'd a conſiderable Flood in the Rivers, and ſet all the Meadows on float.

Now had this Cloud (which, for ought we know, mov'd forty Miles forward in its Falling) ſtood ſtill, and emptied all its Water upon the ſame Spot of Ground, what a ſudden and incredible Deluge wou'd it have made in the Place? What then muſt we ſuppoſe the Event to have been, when the *Flood-Gates of Heaven* were all open'd, and on every Part of the Globe, the Clouds were inceſſantly pouring out Water with ſuch Violence, and in ſuch Abundance, for forty Days together? From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

IT is impoſſible for us indeed to have any adequate Conception of the Thing, (*z*) though the vaſt Inundations which are made every Year in *Egypt*, only by the Rains which fall in *Ethiopia*, and the like annual Overflowings of the great River *Oroonoque* in *America*, whereby many Iſlands and Plains, at other Times inhabited, are laid twenty Feet under Water, between *May* and *September*, may give us a faint Emblem, and be of ſome Uſe to cure our Infidelity in this Reſpect.

2. THE other Cauſe which the Scripture makes Mention of, is the *Breaking up of the Fountains of the great Deep*, whereby thoſe Waters which were contain'd, in vaſt Quantities, in the Bowels of the Earth, were forc'd out, and thrown upon the Surface of it. (*a*) That there is a mighty Collection of Waters enclos'd in the Bowels of the Earth, which conſtitutes a large Globe, in the interior or *central* Part of it; and that the Waters of this Globe communicates with that of the Ocean, by Means of certain *Hiatus*, or Apertures, paſſing between it and the Ocean, * is evident from the *Caſpian* and other Seas, which receive into themſelves many great Rivers, and, having no viſible Outlets, muſt be ſuppos'd to diſcharge the Water, they receive, by ſubterraneous Paſſages into this Receptacle, and,

2. The breaking up of the Abyſs.

(*x*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*y*) *Ray* on the Deluge. (*z*) *Patrick*'s Commentary.
(*a*) *Woodward*'s Natural Hiſtory.

* The *Caſpian* Sea is reckon'd in Length to be above an hundred and twenty *German* Leagues, and in Breadth, from Eaſt to Weſt, about ninety of the ſame Leagues. There is no viſible Way for the Water to run out; and yet it receives into its Boſom near an hundred large Rivers, and particularly the great River *Wolga*, which of itſelf is like a Sea for Largeneſs, and ſuppos'd to empty ſo much Water into it in a Year's Time, as might ſuffice to cover the whole Earth; and yet it is never increas'd nor diminiſh'd, nor is obſerv'd to ebb or flow, which makes it evident, that it muſt neceſſarily have a *ſubterraneous* Communication with other Parts of the World. And accordingly, Father *Avril*, a modern Traveller, tells us, that near the Coaſt of *Xylan* there is in this Sea a mighty *Whirlpool*, which ſucks in every Thing that comes near it, and conſequently has a Cavity in the Earth, into which it deſcends. Vid. *Moll*'s Geography at the End of *Perſia* in *Aſia*, p. 67. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacra, l. 3. c. 4. and *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, c. 12.

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and, by its Intervention, into the Ocean again. The (*b*) *Mediterranean* in particular, beſides the many Rivers that run into it, has two great Currents of the Sea, one at the *Streights* of *Gibralter*, and the other at the *Propontis*, which bring in ſuch vaſt Tides of Water, that, many Ages ago, it muſt have endanger'd the whole World, had it not empty'd itſelf, by certain ſecret Paſſages, into ſome great Cavity underneath. And, for this Reaſon, ſome have imagin'd, (*c*) that the Earth altogether is one great Animal, whoſe *Abyſs* ſupplies the Place of the Heart in the Body of the Earth, to furniſh all its *Aqueducts* with a Sufficiency of Water, and whoſe *ſubterraneous* Paſſages are like *Veins* in the Body, which receive Water out of the Sea, as the Veins do Blood out of the Liver, and, in a continu'd Circulation, return it to the Heart again.

HOWEVER this be, 'tis certainly more than probable (becauſe a Matter of Divine Revelation) that there is an immenſe Body of Water enclos'd in the Center of the Earth, to which the Pſalmiſt plainly alludes, when he tells us, that (*d*) *God founded the Earth upon the Seas, and eſtabliſhed it upon the Floods*; that (*e*) *he ſtretched out the Earth above the Waters*; that (*f*) *he gathered up the Waters as in a Bag*, (ſo the beſt Tranſlations have it) *and laid up the Deep as in a Store-houſe*. Nay, there is a Paſſage or two in the Proverbs of *Solomon* (where *Wiſdom* declares her Antiquity, and Pre-exiſtence to all the Works of the Earth) which ſets before our Eyes, as it were, the very Form and Figure of this Abyſs: (*g*) *When he prepared the Heavens, I was there, when he ſet a Compaſs upon the Face of the Deep, and ſtrengthened the Fountains of the Abyſs.* Here is mention made of the Abyſs, and of the Fountains of the Abyſs; nor is there any Queſtion to be made, but that the Fountains of the Abyſs here are the ſame with thoſe, which *Moſes* mentions, and which, as he tells us, were *broken up* at the Deluge. And what is more obſervable in this Text, the Word, which we render *Compaſs*, properly ſignifies a *Circle*, or Circumference, or an Orb, or Sphere: So that, according to the Teſtimony of *Wiſdom*, who was then preſent, there was, in the Beginning, a Sphere, Orb, or Arch, ſet round the Abyſs, by the Means of which, *the Fountains thereof were ſtrengthened*; for we cannot conceive, how they cou'd have been *ſtrengthened* any other Way, than by having a ſtrong Cover, or Arch made over them.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

IF ſuch then be the Form of this *Abyſs*, that it ſeems to be a vaſt Maſs, or Body of Water, lying together in the Womb of the Earth, it will be no hard Matter to compute what a plentiful Supply might have been expected from thence, in order to effect an univerſal Deluge. (*h*) For, if the Circumference of the Earth (even according to the loweſt Computation) be 21000 Miles, the Diameter of it (according to that Circumference) 7000 Miles; and conſequently from the Superficies to the Center, 3500 Miles; and if (according to the beſt Account) * the higheſt Mountain in the World (taking its Altitude from the Plain it ſtands upon) does not exceed four *perpendicular* Miles in Height; then we cannot but conclude, that in this *Abyſs*, there would be infinitely more Water than enough, when drawn out upon the Surface of the Earth, to drown

Its Sufficiency to drown the World.

(*b*) *Nicholls*'s Conference, Vol. I. (*c*) *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. (*d*) Pſal. xxiv. 2. (*e*) Pſal. cxxxvi. 6. (*f*) Pſal. xxxiii. 7. (*g*) Prov. viii. 27, 28. Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Hiſtory. (*h*) *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* It is very probable, that Men are exceedingly miſtaken as to the Height of Mountains, ſince upon Examination, it appears, that the higheſt in the World is not four Miles perpendicular. *Olympus*, whoſe Height is ſo extoll'd by the Poets, does not much exceed a Mile and a half. The Mount *Athos*, which is ſaid to caſt its Shadow into the Iſle of *Lemnos*, (according to *Pliny* 87 Miles) is but two Miles in Height; nay, the very Pike of *Teneriff*, which is reputed the higheſt Mountain in the World, may be aſcended in three Days, which (according to the Proportion of eight Furlongs to a Day's Journey) make it much about the Height of a *German* Mile perpendicular, as *Varenius* confeſſes. And, as for thoſe Mountains in *Peru*, in Compariſon of which (as the *Spaniards* tell us) the *Alps* are no more than *Cotages*, they themſelves allow, that they may be aſcended in four Days, which ſtill reduces them much within the Compaſs of four Miles, and thereby makes the Account of the Flood, and its over-topping the higheſt Mountains, not ſo improbable as ſome imagine. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. lib. iii. cap. 4.

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drown the Earth to a far greater Height, than *Moses* relates. In a Word, since it is agreed on all Hands, that, in the Time of the *Chaos*, the Waters did cover the Earth, insomuch that nothing of it cou'd be seen, till God was pleas'd to make a Separation: Why shou'd it be thought so strange a Thing, that, upon a proper Occasion, they shou'd be able to cover the Earth again; (*i*) especially when the Waters *above the Firmament* came down to join those *below*, as they did at the Beginning?

(*k*) SENECA, treating of that *fatal Day*, (as he calls it) when the Deluge shall come, (for he suppos'd that the World was to be destroy'd *alternately*, first by Water, and after that by Fire) and questioning how it might be effected, whether by the Force of the Ocean over-flowing the Earth, by perpetual Rains without Intermission, by the Swelling of Rivers, and opening of new Fountains, or (what he rather supposes) by a general Concourse and Combination of all these Causes, concludes his Enquiry at last with these remarkable Words. "There are vast Lakes, "*says he*, which we do not see, much of "the Sea, which lies hidden and conceal-"ed, and many Rivers, which glide in "Secret; so that there may be Causes of "a Deluge on all Sides, when some Wa-"ters flow under the Earth, others flow "round about it, and being long pent up, "may overwhelm it. And, as our Bodies "sometimes dissolve into Sweat, so the "Earth shalt melt, and, without the Help "of other Causes, shall find *in itself* what "shall drown it.——There being, in all "Places, both openly and secretly, both "from above, and from beneath, an E-"ruption of Waters ready to over-flow and "destroy it."

But whatever Solutions we may gather, either from sacred or profane Authors, it seems necessary, after all, to call in the Divine Power to our Assistance. (*l*) For, tho' the Waters, which cover'd the Earth at the Creation, might be sufficient to cover it again; yet, how this cou'd be effected by mere natural Means, cannot be conceiv'd. Tho' the Waters, suspended in the Clouds, might fall in great Torrents for some Time; yet, when once their Store was exhausted (as at this Rate it cou'd not last long) nothing, but an Almighty Voice, cou'd have commanded a fresh Supply of forty Days Continuance from those other *planetary* Spaces, where he had settled their Abode: And, tho' the *subterraneous* Stores did certainly contain a Fund sufficient to compleat the Deluge, yet there wanted, on this Occasion, an Almighty Hand, either to break down the Arch, which enclos'd the *Abyss*, or, by some secret Passages, to force the Waters out of it upon the Surface of the Earth; and so, stopping the *Reflux*, suspend them for such a determinate Time, at such an Elevation. There needed some Almighty Hand, I say, to do this: And, accordingly, we may observe, that, tho' *Moses* makes mention of two natural Causes, that might be conducive to the Work, yet he introduces God, as superintending these Causes, and assuming indeed the whole Performance to himself: For, *behold I, even I, do bring a Flood of Waters upon the Earth, to destroy all Flesh, wherein is the Breath of Life, from under Heaven, and every Thing that is on the Earth shall die.*

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

Thus, with the Help and Concurrence of God, we have found a sufficient Quantity of Water for the Destruction of the *old* World: Let us now consider the Make and Capacity of the Vessel, wherein the several Animals, that were to replenish the *new*, were to be preserv'd.

Moses's *Manner of describing the Ark.*

(*m*) Cou'd we but imagine, that, by some strange Revolution, the whole Art of Shipping shou'd come to be lost in this Part of the World, and that there happen'd to remain such a short Account of one of our largest Ships (the *Royal Anne*, for Instance) as that it was so many Foot long, broad,

(*i*) Vid. l. 1. c. 1. p. 6. (*k*) Nat. Quæst. l. 3. c. 27. (*l*) Universal History, l. 1. c. 1.
(*m*) Biblioth. Biblica. Occas. Annot. xiii.

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broad, and deep; cou'd contain in it ſome Hundreds of Men, with other living Creatures, and Proviſions for them all, during ſeveral Months; and that the Strength of it was ſuch, that it was not broken in Pieces, all the Time that the great Storm endur'd; wou'd it not be very pleaſant for any one to conclude from hence, that this Ship, according to the Deſcription of it, was nothing but an *oblong Square*, without any more Contrivance than a common Cheſt, made by the moſt ignorant Joiner? And yet ſuch are ſome Men's Inferences, when they talk of this noble Structure.

Its Deſign to float in calm Weather.

MOSES indeed makes mention of little elſe, but the Dimenſions of the Ark, its Stories, and Capacity to hold the Things to be plac'd in it; but it does not therefore follow, but that it might have the Convexity of a *Keel* (as many large flat-bottom'd Veſſels have) as well as a *Prow* to make it cut the Waters more eaſily. The Deſign of the Veſſel however was not *to make Way* (as they call it at Sea) but to preſerve its Inhabitants; and this it was more capable of doing (as † may be prov'd to a Demonſtration) than if it had been built according to the moſt modern Model, even ſuppoſing the Waters, from the firſt to the laſt, to have been never ſo boiſterous. But this they were not: Whatever Storms and Convulſions there might be in particular Places, when the *Flood-Gates of Heaven were* at firſt *opened, and the Fountains of the Great Deep broken up* (and then the Ark was not afloat) the Sacred Text takes no Notice of any rough Weather, till after the 150 Days of the Flood's *gradual* Increaſe, when, upon the ceaſing of the Rains from above, and the Waters from beneath, God ſent forth a ſtrong driving Wind, but then the Ark was at reſt. So that, all the Time that the Ark was afloat, or (as the Scripture expreſſes it) while it *went on the Face of the Waters*, the Winds were aſleep, and the Weather, tho' rainy, was free from all Storms and angry Commotions. Upon the whole therefore we may conclude, that, be the Structure of the Ark what it will, it was certainly ſuited, both to the Burthen it was to carry, and the Weather it was to live in; and on this, and ſundry other Accounts, * upon Experiment perhaps it may be found to be the moſt compleat and perfect Model, that ever was devis'd.

From Gen vi. 12 to ix. 20.

Its Capacity to hold every Thing, that was to be put in it.

HAD we never ſeen a Ship, and ſhou'd be told what a Number of Men, and what a Quantity of Proviſion, and Merchandize, one of the largeſt Rates will carry, it wou'd ſeem no leſs incredible to us, than what *Moſes* tells us of the Things, which were contain'd in the Ark. The Ark, according to his Account, was 300 Cubits in Length, 50 in Breadth, and 30 in Height; and if we ſuppoſe the Cubit here mention'd at the loweſt Computation, to be but a Foot and an half long, yet was the Length of it (according to that Proportion) 450 Feet, the Breadth 75, and the Height 45; and conſequently, the whole Capacity 1,580,750 *cubical* Feet, which was Space enough, in all Conſcience, to receive every Thing, and much

† For let us ſuppoſe, that, without any Addition of Art, it was nothing more than an *Oblong Square*, whoſe Length was *ſextuple* to the Breadth, and *decuple* to the Height: it is demonſtrable, that a Piece of Wood of that Proportion being lighter than the Water, will be always ſupported by it. For Inſtance, take a Plank of Oak exactly ſquare; let it be one Foot broad, ſix Foot long, and ſeven or eight Inches thick, anſwering the Proportion of the Ark; there is no Body, I believe, will ſay, that any Waves, or Winds, will be ſtrong enough to break this Piece of Timber, notwithſtanding its *Right Angles*. Now, let any Solid of this Faſhion be multiply'd in a *decuple*, *centuple*, or *millecuple* Proportion, and let the Force of the Waves, and the invaſive Power of the Wind, be multiply'd alſo with it in the ſame Proportion, the Reſiſtance of a *rectangular Solid* (which is perfectly impenetrable, and exactly the Caſe of the Ark) will be Proof againſt any given Force whatever. *Bibliotheca Biblica*. Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. xiii.

* About the Beginning of the laſt Century, *Peter Janſen*, a *Dutch* Merchant, caus'd a Ship to be built for him, anſwering, in its reſpective Proportions, to thoſe of *Noah*'s Ark, the Length of it being 120 Foot, the Breadth of it 20, and the Depth of it 12. At firſt this was look'd upon no better than a *fanatical* Viſion of this *Janſen* (who was by Profeſſion a *Menoniſt*) and, whilſt it was building, he and his Ship were made the Sport of the Seamen, as much as *Noah* and his Ark cou'd be. But afterwards it was found that Ships, built in this Faſhion, were, in the Time of Peace, beyond all others moſt commodious for Commerce; becauſe they wou'd hold a third Part more, without requiring any more Hands, and were found far better *Runners*, than any made before. *Bibliotheca Biblica*, ibid.

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much more than every Thing, that was to be contain'd in it. For it appears from the ſacred Text, that the Form of the Ark was *rectangular*; (*n*) and being intended only for a Kind of Float, to ſwim above the Water, the Flatneſs of its Bottom did render it much more capacious. It appears from the ſame Text, that this Ark conſiſted of three Stories, and the whole Height of it being 45 Feet, it may well be ſuppos'd, that this Height was equally divided among the three Stories, and ſo each Story was 15 Foot high, only deducting a Foot and a half, or one Cubit, for the Slope of the Roof, or the Cover of the upper Story. (*o*) 'Tis likewiſe pretty well agreed by Interpreters, that the loweſt Story was appointed for four-footed Animals, as moſt commodious for them; the middle Story for their Provender, and what they were to live upon; and the upper Story partly for the Birds, and what they were to eat, and partly for *Noah*, and his Family, together with their Utenſils: And, that each of theſe Stories was ſpacious enough to receive what was to be put therein, will appear to any one, who will give himſelf the Trouble * of making a *geometrical* Calculation.

The Number of Animals.

He who looks upon the Stars, as they are confuſedly ſcatter'd up and down in the Firmament, will think them to be (what they are ſometimes call'd) *innumerable*, and above the Power of all *Arithmetick* to count; and yet, when they are diſtinctly reduc'd to their particular *Conſtellations*, and deſcrib'd by their ſeveral Places, Magnitudes, and Names, it appears, that of thoſe, which are viſible to the naked Eye, there are not many more than a thouſand in the whole Firmament, and few more than half ſo many (even taking in the *minuter* Kinds of them) to be ſeen at once in any *Hemiſphere*. And, in like Manner, he, who ſhou'd put the Queſtion, *How many Kinds of Beaſts, or Birds, there are in the World?* wou'd be anſwer'd, even by ſuch, as, in other Reſpects, are knowing and learned enough, that there are ſo many hundred of them, as cannot be enumerated; whereas, upon a diſtinct Enquiry into all ſuch, as are yet known, or have been deſcrib'd by credible Authors, it will appear, that they are much fewer, than is commonly imagin'd, not an hundred Sorts of Beaſts, and not two hundred of Birds.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

And why fewer than is imagin'd.

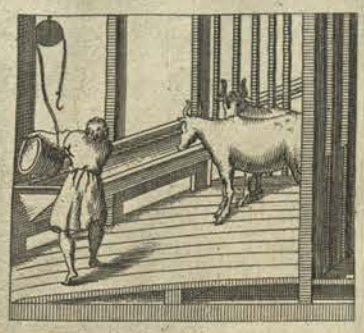
And yet, out of this Number, as ſmall as it is, we muſt except all Animals, that are of equivocal Generation, as Inſects; all that are accuſtom'd to live in Water, as Fiſh, and Water-Fowl; all that proceed from a Mixture of different Species, as Mules; and all that by changing their Climate, change their Colour, and Size, and ſo paſs for different Creatures, when in reality they are the ſame. We muſt obſerve farther, that all Creatures of the *Serpentine* Kind, the Viper, Snake, Slow-Worm,

(*n*) *Wilkins*'s Eſſay towards a real Character. (*o*) *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I. cap. 2. *Lamy*'s Introduction.

* *Buteo* has plainly demonſtrated, that all the Animals, contain'd in the Ark, cou'd not be equal to 500 Horſes; (the learned *Heidegger*, from *Temporarius*, makes them 400 Oxen;) and yet it is not to be queſtion'd, but that a Building, very near as long as St *Paul*'s Church, and as broad as the Middle Iſle of that Church is high within, is capable of affording Stabling for ſuch a Number of Horſes. Vid. Dr *Bundy*'s Tranſlation of *Lamy*'s Introduction. *Kircher* (in his *Arca Noë*, c. 8.) has given us large Calculations of the Dimenſions of the Ark, and from thence concludes, that this Veſſel was capacious enough to receive, not only *Noah* and his Family, all other Creatures and their Food, but even an entire Province likewiſe. *Wilkins* (in his *Eſſay towards a real Character*) and from him *Wells* (in his *Geography of the Old Teſtament*) have both enter'd into a large Detail of Things, and given us an exact and compleat Idea of the Capacity of the Ark and of its Proportion, together with what it might contain. *Le Peletier* (in his *Diſſer. ſur l'Arch de Noë*) follows another *Engliſh* Author, Biſhop *Cumberland*, who, in his *Diſcovery of the Weights and Meaſures of the* Jews, has prov'd, that the antient Cubit of the *Jews*, was the old *Derah* of *Memphis*; whereupon *Peletier* allows 1,781,377 cubical Feet of *Paris* for the whole Contents of the Ark, ſo that it might hold (as he pretends) 42,413 Tons of Lading. But a certain *anonymous* Author has publiſh'd a Diſſertation upon the ſame Principles, wherein he compares the Ark to our modern Ships, and computes its Meaſure according to the Tons it might contain, and thereupon makes it larger than 40 Ships of 1000 Tons each. *Vid.* Diſſert. Hiſt. Chron. Geograph. &c. D. II. Journal de *Paris* ſur *Janvier* 1712. Tom. 51. p. 9.

(*p*) *Wilkins*'s Eſſay.

The Internal view *of the* Ark *of* Noah *as floating upon the waters of y^e* Deluge.



he Right Reverend Father in God
Plate is most humbly Inscribed by his Lord-

ROBERT *L^d.* BISHOP *OF* PETERB
-ship's most dutyfull Son & Servt. Thos. S

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Worm, Lizard, Frog, Toad, &c. might have ſufficient Space for their Reception, and for their Nouriſhment, in the Hold or Bottom of the Ark, which was probably three or four Foot under the Floor, whereon the Beaſts are ſuppos'd to ſtand; and that the ſmaller Creatures, ſuch as the Mouſe, Rat, Mole, &c. might find ſufficient Room in ſeveral Parts of the Ark, without having any particular Places, or Cells appointed for them: So that the Number of the ſeveral Species of Animals to be plac'd in the firſt or loweſt Story, upon the Foot of this Deduction, ſtands thus. From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

Beaſts which live on Hay.		On Fruits and Roots.	On Fleſh.	
The Horſe	Stone-buck	The Hog	The Lion	Stoat
Aſs	Shamois	Baboon	Bear	Weeſle
Camel	Antelope	Ape	Tyger	Caſtor
Elephant	Elke	Monkey	Perd	Otter
Bull	Hart	Sloth	Ounce	Dog
Urus	Buck	Porcupine	Cat	Wolf
Biſons	Rein-dear	Hedge-hog	Civet-cat	Fox
Bonaſus	Roe	Squirrel	Finet	Badger
Buffalo	Rhinoceros	Ginny-pig	Polecat	Jackall
Sheep	Camelopard	Ant-Bear	Martin	Caraguya.
Stepciferos	Hare	Armadilla		
Broad-tail	Rabbit	Tortoiſe.		
Goat	Marmotto.			

The loweſt *Story large enough for their Reception, and why.*

Now, concerning theſe Creatures God gives *Noah* this Injunction; (*q*) *Of every clean Beaſt, thou ſhalt take to thee by Sevens, the Male and the Female; and of Beaſts, that are not clean, by Two, the Male and the Female.* Taking the Words then in their higheſt Acceptation, *viz.* that *Noah* was to receive into the Ark one Pair of every Species of *unclean* Animals, and ſeven Pair of every Species of *clean*; yet, conſidering that the Species of *unclean* Animals, which were admitted by Pairs only, are many, in Compariſon of the *clean*, and the Species of *large* Animals few, in Compariſon of the *ſmaller*; we cannot but perceive (as by a ſhort Calculation it will appear) that this lower Story, which was ten Cubits high, three hundred long, and fifty broad, *i. e.* 225,000 ſolid Feet in the whole, wou'd be capable of receiving, with all Manner of Conveniency, not only all the Sorts of Beaſts, that we are acquainted with, but probably all thoſe other Kinds, which are any where to be found under the Copes of Heaven.

The middle Story ſufficient to contain their Provender, and why.

'Tis a pretty general Opinion, and what ſeems to be founded on Scripture, that, before the Flood, both Men, Beaſts, and Birds fed only upon Fruits and Vegetables. (*r*) *Behold, I have given you every Herb,* ſays God, *bearing Seed, which is upon the Face of all the Earth, and every Tree, in which is the Fruit of a Tree yielding Seed, to you it ſhall be for Meat; and to every Beaſt of the Earth, and to every Fowl of the Air, and to every Thing, that creepeth upon the Earth, wherein there is Life, I have given every green Herb for Meat:* * Nor do there want Inſtances in Hiſtory of ſome very ravenous Creatures, that

(*q*) Gen. vii. 2. (*r*) Chap. i. 29, 30.

* It is not to be deny'd, but that ſeveral learned Men have taken great Pains to provide Fleſh for the *carnivorous* Animals ſhut up in the Ark, when it is beyond all Controverſy, that the Stomachs of ſuch Animals are fitted for the Digeſtion of Fruits and Vegetables; that ſuch Food wou'd be more ſalutary both for them and their Keepers, and wou'd create a leſs Demand of Drink, throughout the Courſe of ſo long a Confinement; and yet there is not the leaſt Foundation from the Text to ſuppoſe, that any ſuch Proviſion was made for Creatures of ſuch an Appetite, but ſeveral Inſtances in Hiſtory do ſhew, that even the moſt rapacious of them all may be brought to live upon other Diet, than Fleſh. Thus *Philoſtratus*, in his *Apollonius*, l. 5. tells us of a Lion in *Egypt*, which, though it went into the Temple conſtantly, wou'd neither lick the Blood of Sacrifices, nor eat any of the Fleſh, when it was cut in Pieces, but fed altogether on Bread and Sweet-meats: And *Sulpitius Severus* [Dial. 1. c. 7.] gives us this Account of a Monk of *Thebais*. "When we came to the Tree, whither our courteous Hoſt led us, we there perceiv'd a Lion, at the Sight of which,

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that have been brought to live upon other Kind of Food, than Fleſh. So that there was no Neceſſity for *Noah*'s providing ſo many *ſupernumerary* Sheep (as ſome wou'd have it) to feed the *carnivorous* Animals for a whole Year. (*s*) The ſame Divine Providence, which directed all the Animals, of whatever Country, to make towards the Ark, which took from them their *Fierceneſs*, and made them tame and gentle upon this Occaſion, might likewiſe beget in them a Loathing of Fleſh (ſuppoſing they eat it before) and an Appetite for Hay, Corn, Fruits, or any other Eatables, that were moſt obvious, in this Time of Diſtreſs. And, as they were ſhut up, and cou'd not ſpend themſelves by Motion, but might have their Stomachs pall'd with the continu'd Agitation of the Veſſel, they may well be ſuppos'd to ſtand in need of leſs Proviſion, than at other Times.

If then (to make our Computation) we ſhould ſay, that (*t*) all the Beaſts, in the lower Story of the Ark, were equal, in their Conſumption of Food, to 300 Oxen, (which is more by a great deal, than ſome Calculations have allow'd;) that 30 or 40 Pounds of Hay is ordinarily ſufficient for an Ox for one Day; and that a ſolid Cubit of Hay, well compreſs'd, will weigh about 40 Pounds; then will this ſecond Story, being of the ſame Dimenſions with the other, *i. e.* 225,000 ſolid Feet, not only allow Space for a ſufficient Quantity of Hay, but for other Repoſitories of ſuch Fruits, Roots, and Grain, as might be proper for the Nouriſhment of thoſe Animals, that live not upon Hay; and for ſuch Paſſages, and Apertures in the Floor, as might be neceſſary for the putting down Hay, and other Provender, to the Beaſts in the lower Story.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

Upon the Whole therefore it appears, that the *middle* Story of the Ark was likewiſe large enough to hold all that was requiſite to be put therein: And as for the *third* and upper Story, there can no Manner of Doubt be made, but that it was ſufficient to hold all the Species of Birds, even tho' they were many more, than they are generally computed. The accurate Biſhop *Wilkins* * has divided them into nine Sorts, and reckons them to be an hundred and ninety-five in the Whole; but then the greateſt Part of them are ſo very ſmall, that they might well enough be kept in Partitions, or Cages, pil'd one upon another. The Food, neceſſary for their Suſtenance, wou'd not take up any great Proportion of Room, and the Remainder of the Story wou'd make a commodious Habitation enough for *Noah* and his Family, together with little Cloſets and Offices, wherein to diſpoſe of their ſeveral domeſtick Matters and Utenſils.

The upper Story ſufficient for its Purpoſe.

Upon the whole Enquiry then, ſays the ſame learned Prelate, it does, of the two, appear more difficult, to aſſign a ſufficient Number, and Bulk of neceſſary Things, to anſwer the Capacity of the Ark, than

Biſhop Wilkins's *Reflection upon the Whole.*

" which, I and my Guide began to tremble; but as the holy Man went directly up to it, we, though in no ſmall " Fright, follow'd after. The Beaſt, at our Approach, modeſtly retir'd, and ſtood very quiet and ſtill, while the " good Man gather'd it ſome Branches of Apples, and as he held them out, the Lion came up and eat them, and " ſo went off." The like Story is told us by *Phocas*, in his Deſcription of the Holy Land, *cap.* 13. of ſome Lions beyond the River *Jordan*, whom an *Anchorite*, nam'd *Iberus*, fed with Pulſe and Cruſts of Bread: And to the Animals in the Ark, feeding in this Manner, the Prophet *Iſaiah*, ſpeaking of the Times of the *Meſſiah*, [Ch. xi. 6, 7.] is ſuppos'd by our Author to allude. *The Wolf ſhall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard lie down with the Kid, and the Calf, and the young Lion, and the Fatling together; and a little Child ſhall lead them; and the Cow and the Bear ſhall feed, their young ones ſhall lie down together, and the Lion ſhall eat Straw like an Ox.* *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patr. Exer. 17.

(*s*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. *ibid.* (*t*) *Wilkins*'s Eſſay, Part II. c. 5.

* The Manner of his reckoning them up is this:

1. Carnivorous Birds	66	6. Inſectivorous Birds the leſs	12
2. Phytivorous Birds of ſhort Wings	17	7. Aquatick Birds near wet Places	17
3. Phytivorous Birds of long Wings	18	8. Aquatick Fiſſipedes	16
4. Phytivorous Birds of ſhort thick Bills	16	9. Aquatick Plenipodes	18
5. Inſectivorous Birds the greater	15	In all	195

To theſe perhaps may be added ſome *exotic* Birds, but as the Number of theſe is but ſmall, ſo we may obſerve of the Carnivorous, which is the largeſt Species, that they were reputed *unclean*, and, conſequently, but two of each Sort admitted into the Ark. *Bedford*'s Scrip. Chron. 2. 12.

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than to find ſufficient Room in it for the convenient Reception of them; and thereupon he truly, as well as piouſly concludes, (*u*) "That had the moſt ſkilful *Mathe-*
"*maticians* and *Philoſophers* been ſet to
"conſult, what Proportions a Veſſel, de-
"ſign'd for ſuch an Uſe, as the Ark was,
"ſhou'd have in the ſeveral Parts of it,
"they cou'd not have pitch'd upon any
"other, more ſuitable to the Purpoſe,
"than theſe mention'd by *Moſes*, are; in-
"ſomuch, that the Proportion of the Ark
"(from which ſome weak and *Atheiſtical*
"Perſons have made ſome poor Efforts to
"over-throw the Authority of the ſacred
"Scriptures) does very much tend to con-
"firm and eſtabliſh the Truth, and Di-
"vine Authority of them. Eſpecially, if
"we only conſider, that in theſe Days,
"Men were leſs vers'd in Arts and Scien-
"ces; at leaſt, that the Ark was, in all
"Probability, the firſt Veſſel, of any Bulk,
"that was made to go upon the Water:
"Whence the Juſtneſs of the Proportion,
"obſerv'd in its ſeveral Parts, and the
"Exactneſs of its Capacity to the Uſe it
"was deſign'd for, are reaſonably to be
"aſcrib'd, not to bare human Invention
"and Contrivance, but to the Divine Di-
"rection, expreſsly given to *Noah* by God
"himſelf, as the ſacred Hiſtorian ac-
"quaints us."

THUS we have plac'd the ſeveral Kinds of Creatures in the Ark, and furniſh'd them with a competent Stock of Proviſion.

How the ſeveral Creatures were brought to the Ark.

AND now, if it ſhou'd be aſk'd, *How came they all thither?* the Reply in that Caſe will be this——(*x*) That the Country of *Eden* is very reaſonably ſuppos'd by learned Men to be next adjacent to the Garden of that Name, from whence *Adam* was expell'd; and that, as all early Accounts of that Country paint it out to us, as one of the moſt fruitful and delicious Regions in the Earth (though now greatly chang'd) there is no Reaſon to imagine, that *Adam* ſought for any Habitation beyond it. *There*, according to many concurring Circumſtances, was this famous Ark built: *There* is *Gopher-Wood* (very reaſonably ſuppos'd to be Cypreſs) found in great Abundance; *there* is *Aſphaltus*, wherewith the Ark, to defend it from the Impreſſion of the Waters, was daub'd, and ſmear'd over both within and without; and not far from thence is Mount *Ararat*, where the Ark, as the Waters began to abate, is known to have reſted: And in this Situation, there is not any Reaſon to imagine, that any one Species of Animals cou'd be out of *Noah*'s Reach. (*y*) There they were all Natives of the ſame Country, and he perhaps, ſome Time before the Flood, might have tam'd ſome of every Kind, ſo that, when the Deluge came on, they might eaſily be brought to the Ark, and every one rang'd in its proper Place, before that *Noah* ſhut it up.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

How they liv'd for want of Air and Light.

BUT now, that they are all ſhut up, what ſhall we do for Air to keep them alive, or for Light, to direct them in what they are to do? Mention indeed is made of a *Window*, left in the upper Part of the Ark, but this is ſaid to be no more than a *Cubit ſquare*, and what is this in Proportion to ſo vaſt a Fabrick? Either therefore we muſt deviſe ſome Relief for them in this Exigence, or we ſhall ſoon find the poor Remains of the Creation in *utter Darkneſs*, and in the *Shadow of Death*.

(*z*) AS the Word *Zohar*, which we render *Window*, is never mention'd in the *ſingular* Number, through the whole Compaſs of the Bible, but only this once, it perhaps may be no very eaſy Thing to find out its true Signification. Whether the LXX Interpreters underſtood the Meaning of it; whether they knew, in the *Greek* Language, any Word capable of expreſſing it; or, whether they might think it of ſo ſecret a Nature, as not proper to be publiſh'd at all; but ſo it is, that they prudently have omitted it in their Tranſlation, and will have the Precept, or Direction, which God gives *Noah*, to mean no more, than that he ſhou'd finiſh the

(*u*) *Wilkins*, ibid. (*x*) Revelation Examin'd, Part I. Bibliotheca Biblica, Vol. I. Occaſional Annot. xi. (*y*) *Howell*'s Hiſtory, Vol. I. l. 1. (*z*) *Vid.*

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Ark, by cloſing it on the Top, and *compacting it well together*.

THE Word has its Original from a Verb, which ſignifies to *burn*, or *ſhine like Oil*; and indeed wherever it occurs (as it ſometimes occurs in the *dual* Number) it always ſignifies ſome *bright* and *luminous Body*: And, accordingly, ſome of the *Jewiſh* Doctors were of Opinion, that this muſt have been a Kind of precious Stone, or *Carbuncle*, which was hung up in the Midſt of the Ark, to give Light all around: And to this Purpoſe *R. Levi* tells us, that, "during the whole 12 Months, "that *Noah* was ſhut up in the Ark, he "needed neither the Light of the Sun by "Day, nor the Light of the Moon by "Night; for there was a *Jewel*, belonging to him, which he hung up in the "Ark; and as it waxed dim, he knew "that it was Day, but as its Luſtre was "more intenſe, he knew that it was "Night." But this Opinion is not well founded; becauſe ſuch Authors, as have written beſt upon the Qualities of precious Stones, do all agree, that (whatever the *Antients* may ſay) there is no ſuch Thing as a *Night-ſhining* Carbuncle to be found in Nature.

THAT it is poſſible to make a *Self-ſhining Subſtance*, either *liquid* or *ſolid*, the *hermetical Phoſphor* of *Balduinus*, the *aërial* and *glacial Noctilucas* of Mr *Boyle*, and ſeveral other Preparations of the like Sort, together with the Obſervations of the moſt accurate Philoſophers upon the *Production* and *Propagation* of Light, and the prodigious *Ejaculation* of *inſenſible Effluviums*, are a ſufficient Demonſtration. The moſt ſurpriſing Subſtance of this Kind was the *Pantarba* of *Jarchus*, "which ſhone in "the Day, as Fire, or as the Sun, and, "at Night, did diſcover a Flame, or "Light, as bright as Day, though not "altogether ſo ſtrong; which was, in "ſhort, of that fiery and radiant Nature, "that if any one look'd on it in the Day-"Time, it wou'd dazzle the Eyes with "innumerable Gleams and Coruſcations:" Nor can we well doubt, but that *Noah*, who (as *oriental* Traditions ſay) was a profound Philoſopher; who was certainly a Perſon of much longer Experience, than any later Liver can pretend to; and, (what is more) was under the peculiar Favour and Direction of God, perceiving the Neceſſity of the Thing, ſhou'd be equally able to prepare ſome *perpetual Light*, which ſhou'd *centrally* ſend forth its Rays to all Parts of the Ark, and, by its kind *Effluviums*, cheriſh every Thing, that had Life in it. Now, if this be allow'd (and this is more conſonant to the Letter of the Text, † than any other Interpretation, that has hitherto been advanc'd) then will all the Difficulties, which either *are*, or *can* be rais'd about the Manner of Subſiſtence, in a cloſe Veſſel, by Creatures of ſo many different Species, vaniſh immediately. But, if it be not allow'd, then it is impoſſible, without admitting a whole Train of Miracles, to give the leaſt Account, how Reſpiration, Nutrition, Motion, or any other Animal Function whatever, cou'd be perform'd in a Veſſel ſo cloſely ſhut up: And therefore it is the ſafeſt to conclude, that, according

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

† *P. Lamy*, to evade ſome Difficulties, that he cou'd not ſo well ſolve, tells us, that the Form of the Ark is ſo little aſcertain'd by *Moſes*, that every one is left to his own Conjectures concerning it: And therefore he ſuppoſes, that, as the Ark was divided into three Stories or Floors, and the Word *Zohar*, which we tranſlate *Window*, ſignifies *Splendor*, *Light*, *Noon*, &c. the whole ſecond Story (in which he places the Animals) were quite open all round, except ſome Parts, which were grated, to hinder the Birds from flying in and out: Otherwiſe, he cannot conceive, how they cou'd have had ſufficient Light, and Air, and a free Paſſage for it, to prevent Stagnations, and many other Inconveniences, which, upon this Suppoſition, wou'd have been remov'd. The lower Story indeed was included within wooden Walls, and well guarded with Pitch, as being all under Water; but the two upper Stories, being above Water, were either entirely open, or ſecur'd with Lattices, and Grates; and the Top, or open Parts, cover'd with Goat-Skins and Sheep-Skins, ſew'd together (as the Tabernacle afterwards was) which *Noah* cou'd eaſily let down, or roll up, according as Rain, or Storm, or a Want of Air made it neceſſary. And then, as for keeping the Beaſts clean, he ſuppoſes, that the Stalls were ſo open and ſhelving at the Bottom, that Water might have been let in, high enough to have waſh'd the Feet of the Cattle, and to have cleans'd the Stalls of itſelf. *Vid.* his Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. and *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, *cap.* 11. But all this is pure Imagination, and inconſiſtent with the Notion, which the ſacred Hiſtory gives us of it.

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according to the Divine Direction, there muſt have been Something plac'd in the Ark, which, by its continual Emanation, might both *purify* and invigorate the included Air; might *correct* and ſweeten all noxious Vapours and Exhalations; and, like the Sun, ſend ſuch a *vivifying* Light, that nothing ſhou'd die, that was within the Ark, *i. e.* ſo far as the Beams thereof did reach.

How in the middle Region of the Air.

THUS we have reſcu'd *Noah* and his Family from the Danger of Suffocation in their Confinement, by the Supply of a *vicarious* Light, to purify the Air, and diſpel all Vapours, as well as enable them to go about their Work; but now, that the Waves ſwell, and the Veſſel mounts on high, even above the Top of the higheſt Hills under Heaven, they run into another quite different Danger, *viz.* that of being *ſtarv'd* to Death, amidſt the Colds, and extreme *Subtility* of the Air, in the *middle Region*, wherein no Creature can live. (*a*) But the middle Region of the Air, we ought to remember, is not to be look'd upon as a fix'd Point, which never either riſes or falls. It is, with reſpect to us, more or leſs elevated, according to the greater or leſs Heat of the Sun. In the Cold of Winter, it is much nearer to the Earth, than in the Warmth of Summer; or (to ſpeak more properly) the Cold, which reigns in the *middle* Region of the Air during the *Summer*, reigns likewiſe in the *lower* Region, during the *Winter*. Suppoſing the Deluge then to out-top the higheſt Mountains, it is evident, that the middle Region of the Air muſt have riſen higher, and remov'd to a greater Diſtance from the Earth, and Waters; and, on the contrary, that the lower Region muſt have approach'd nearer to *both*, in Proportion as the Waters of the Deluge increas'd or decreas'd: So that, upon the Whole, the Ark was all along in the lower Region of the Air, even when it was carry'd *fifteen Cubits* above the higheſt Mountains; and the Men and Beaſts, which were enclos'd in it, breath'd the ſame Air, as they would have done on Earth, a thouſand, or twelve hundred Paces lower, had not the Deluge happen'd.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

How Noah cou'd meaſure Time.

BUT during this whole Courſe of the Ark, ſince *Noah* was ſhut up in ſo cloſe a Place, where he was not capable of making any *Obſervations*, where indeed he cou'd ſee neither Sun, Moon, nor Stars, for many Months, it may very well be wonder'd, how he cou'd poſſibly have any juſt *Menſuration* of Time, had we not Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he certainly had, within the Ark, a *Chronometer* of one Kind or other, which did exactly anſwer to the Motion of the Heavens without. The Invention of our preſent *Horological Machines* indeed, and particularly of the *Pendulum* Watch (which is the moſt exact Corrector of Time) is but of modern Date; but it does not therefore follow, but that the ſame, or other equivalent Pieces of Art, might, in former Ages, have been perfectly known to ſome great Men. Suppoſe that Mr *Hugens*, or ſome other, was the Inventor of *Pendulums* in theſe Parts of the World, yet it is more than probable, that there was a *Pendulum-Clock* made, many Years before, at *Florence*, by the Direction of the great *Galileo*; and that, long before that, there was another at *Prague*, which the famous *Tycho Brahe* made uſe of, in his *Aſtronomical* Obſervations. And therefore, unleſs we fondly imagine, that we *Poſtdiluvians* have all the Wit and Ingenuity that ever was, we cannot but think, that *Noah*, who not only had long Experience himſelf, but ſucceeded to the Inventions of above 1600 Years (which, conſidering the Longevity of People then, were much better preſerv'd than they can be now) was provided with *horological* Pieces of various Kinds, before he enter'd the Ark. Or, if we can ſuppoſe him deſtitute of theſe, yet what we have ſaid of the *Zohar*, is enough to evince, that, by the Obſervation of That alone, there cou'd be no Difficulty in diſtinguiſhing the Nights from

(*a*) Vide *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Deluge*.

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How the Creatures, which left the Ark, might get into the Weſt-Indies.

from the Days, and keeping a Journal accordingly.

But now that the Flood ſubſides, and the Ark is landed, and all its Inhabitants are to diſembark, how can we ſuppoſe, that ſeveral of the Animals ſhall be able to find their Way from the Mountains of *Armenia*, into the diſtant Parts of the *Weſt-Indies*, which (as far as we can find) are join'd to no other Part of the known World, and yet have Creatures peculiar, and ſuch as cannot live in any other Climate? This is a Queſtion, that we muſt own ourſelves ignorant of, (*b*) in the ſame Manner, as we pretend not to ſay, by what Means that vaſt *Continent* was at firſt peopled. But, by what Method ſoever it was that its firſt Inhabitants came thither, whether by Streſs of Weather, or deſign'd Adventure, by long Voyages by Sea, or (ſuppoſing a Paſſage between one Continent and another) by long Journeyings by Land, it is plain, that by the ſame Means, ſome Creatures at firſt might have been convey'd thither: And, as their Number, at that Time, cou'd be but ſmall, we may ſuppoſe, that by a promiſcuous Copulation with one another, they might beget a *ſecond* Sort, which, in Proceſs of Time, the Nature and Temperature of the Climate might ſo far alter, as to make them paſs for a quite different Species, and ſo far affect their Conſtitution, as to make them live, not ſo commodiouſly, in any other Climate. To convey either Men or Beaſts, all on a ſudden, from the warmeſt Parts of *Africa*, to the coldeſt Places in the *North*, wou'd be a probable Means to make them both periſh; but the Caſe wou'd not be ſo, if they were to be remov'd, by inſenſible Degrees, nearer to theſe Places: Nor can we ſay, that there never were ſuch Creatures in thoſe Parts of *Aſia*, where *Noah* is thought to have liv'd, as are now to be found in *America*; becauſe it is very well known, that formerly there have been many Beaſts of a particular Species in ſome Countries, ſuch as the *Hippopotomi* in *Egypt*, Wolves in *England*, and Beavers in *France*, where at preſent, there are few or none of them to be found.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

Why God made uſe of this Method.

If after all it ſhou'd be aſk'd, why God made uſe of this, rather than any other Method, to deſtroy the Wicked, and preſerve the Righteous? the proper Anſwer is, that *whatever pleaſeth him; That hath he done, both in Heaven and in Earth*; for as his Will is not to be controul'd, ſo neither is it to be diſputed. For Argument's Sake, however, let us ſuppoſe, for once, that inſtead of drowning the World, God had been pleas'd to deſtroy by Plague, Famine, or ſome other ſore Judgment, all Mankind, except *Noah* and his Sons, who were to be Eye-Witneſſes of this terrible Execution: To live to ſee the Earth cover'd with dead Bodies, and none left to bury them, the Fields uncultivated, and the Cities lie waſte and deſolate without Inhabitants, who can conceive what the Horror of ſuch a Sight wou'd have been? And who wou'd have been content to live in ſuch a World, to converſe only with the Images of Death, and with noiſome Carcaſſes? But God, in Mercy, ſhut up *Noah* in the Ark, that he ſhou'd not ſee the Terrors and Conſternations of Sinners, when the Flood came; and he waſh'd away all the dead Bodies into the Caverns of the Earth, with all the Remains of their old Habitations. So that, when *Noah* came out of the Ark, he ſaw nothing to diſturb his Imagination, nor any Tokens of that terrible Vengeance, which had over-run the World, to offend his Sight: Only when he look'd about him, and ſaw every Thing gone, he cou'd not but fall into this Contemplation, —— that *God*, when he enters into Judgment with the Wicked, (*c*) *will not pity, nor ſpare, nor have Mercy, but deſtroy. He will daſh them one againſt another, even Father and Son together, and* (*d*) *cauſe his Fury to reſt upon them, until his Anger be accompliſh'd.*

(*b*) *Vid.* Univerſal Hiſtory. Of this however we ſhall give the Conjectures of the Learned, when we come to treat of the *Diſperſion* of Nations in our next Book. (*c*) Jer. xiii. 14. (*d*) Ezek. v. 13.

A. M. 1656, &c. Ant. Christ. 2349, &c.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

DISSERTATION VI.

Of Mount ARARAT.

BEFORE we conclude this *Chapter*, and this *Book* together, it may not be improper to give the Reader ſome Account of the *Mountains of Ararat* in general; in what Part of the World that particular one, which is here intended, is ſaid to be ſituate; and, according to the Relations both of *antient Geographers*, and *modern Travellers*, of what Form and Magnitude this Mountain is. But in this Enquiry, ſome Difficulties will ariſe, by Reaſon of the different Traditions concerning it.

Different Opinions concerning it.

THE Author of the Verſes, * which go under the Name of the *Sibylline Oracles*, places the Mountains of *Ararat* in the Borders of *Phrygia*, not far from *Celænæ*, at the Head of the two Rivers, *Marſyas* and *Meander*; but it appears from good Authorities, that there is, in Reality, no Mountain at all in that Place, or at moſt, but a ſmall Hill, and Eminence made by Art, and not by Nature: And therefore the learned *Bochart* has happily found out the Ground of this Miſtake, when he tells us, that not far from this City *Celænæ*, there is another Town, call'd *Apamea*, and ſirnam'd Κιβωτὸς, or *the Ark*; not from any Tradition that *Noah*'s Ark ever reſted there, but purely on Account of its Situation, becauſe it is encompaſs'd with three Rivers, *Marſyas*, *Obrimas*, and *Orgas*, which give it the Reſemblance of a Cheſt or *Ark*, in the ſame Manner, that the Port of *Alexandria* was ſo call'd, by Reaſon of the Bay, which enclos'd the Ships.

SIR *Walter Raleigh* (*e*), and from him, ſome later Writers (*f*) are of Opinion, that the Mountains of *Ararat* were thoſe of *Caucaſus*, towards *Bactria* and *Saga Scythia*. This, as they imagine, agrees with the general Notion, that the *Scythians* might contend for the Antiquity of their Original, with any other Nation; with the *Chaldean* Tradition, concerning the Actions of their great Man *Xiſuthrus*, who is commonly ſuppos'd to be the ſame with *Noah*; with the Language, Learning, and Hiſtory of the *Chineſe*, who are thought to be *Noah*'s immediate Deſcendants; and with the Journey, which ſome of his other Deſcendants are ſaid to have took, *viz.* (*g*) *from the Eaſt to the Land of* Shinar. A modern *Chronologer* has endeavour'd to prove, that the Place, where *Noah* built the Ark, was call'd *Cypariſſon*, not far from the River *Tigris*, and on the North-Eaſt Side of the City of *Babylon*; that, while the Flood continu'd, it ſail'd from thence to the *North-Eaſt*, as far as the *Caſpian* Sea, and when the Flood abated, the *North Wind* brought it back by a *Southern* Courſe, and landed it upon Mount *Caucaſus*, Eaſt of *Babylon*, and about nine Degrees diſtant from it in *Longitude*; and that this Opinion, as he imagines, is more agreeable to the Courſe, which the Ark, by meeting with contrary Currents, wou'd be forc'd to make; to the Senſe of Scripture,

* The Verſes, as they are ſet down by *Gallæus de Sybillis*, p. 589. are theſe:

Ἐσὶ δ' τις Φρυγίης ἐπὶ ἠπείροιο κελαινὴς
Ἡλίβατον ταύμνησε ὄρος, Ἀσσησὸν δ' καλεῖται——
Μαρσύε ἔνθα φλέβες μεγάλε πολύμοιο ῥέουσαι,
Τᾷ δ' Κιβωτὸς ἔμεινεν ἐν ὑψηλοῖο καρήνῳ.

But that which ſhews the Spurioufneſs of theſe Verſes, is this:——That the Sibyl, ſpeaking of herſelf as contemporary with *Noah*, takes Notice of the River *Marſyas*, which, whatever Name it had at firſt, was certainly after the Death of *Midas*, call'd the *Fountain of Midas*, and retain'd that Name, until the Time of *Marſias*, by whom it was alter'd; and this muſt be long after the Death of this Sibyl. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 2. c. 2.

(*e*) His Hiſtory of the World. (*f*) *Heylin*'s Coſmography, and *Shuckford*'s Connection, l. 2. (*g*) Gen. xi. 2.

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ture, in bringing the Sons of *Noah* from the *Eaſt*, and in ſettling the Children of *Shem* (who went not to *Shinar*) in this Place, and to the great Conveniency of *Noah*'s landing not too far from the Country, where he liv'd before the Flood, that thereby he might be capable of giving better Directions to his Family, how to diſperſe themſelves, and to repleniſh the new World as Occaſion did require. But, beſides that there appears little or no Authority for all this, the Obſervation of Travellers into thoſe Countries may make it be queſtion'd, whether ſuch a Veſſel, as the Ark is repreſented, drawing much Water, and very unfit for ſailing, cou'd be able to reach Mount *Caucaſus* from the Province of *Eden* (where it is generally thought to have been built) in the Space of the Flood's Increaſe, which was no more, than an hundred and fifty Days. The moſt probable Opinion therefore is, that, by the Word *Ararat*, the Holy Scriptures denote that Country, which the *Greeks*, and from them other Weſtern Nations do call *Armenia*. In this Senſe it is taken by the *Septuagint*, by the *Chaldee Paraphraſe*, by the *Vulgat*, by *Theodoret*, and by divers others. The learned *Bochart* has brought together a Multitude of Arguments, all tending to the ſame Concluſion: But then the Queſtion is, on what particular Mountain it was, that the Ark landed?

The moſt conſiderable.

1. The moſt prevailing Opinion, for ſome Time, was, that one of the Mountains, which divide *Armenia*, on the *South*, from *Meſopotamia*, and that Part of *Aſſyria* which is inhabited by the *Curds* (from whence the Mountains took the Name *Curdu*) which the *Greeks* chang'd into *Gordiæi*, * and ſeveral other Names, was the Place where the Ark landed: And what makes for this Opinion is, that whereas the Deluge was in a great Meaſure occaſion'd by the Overflowing of the Ocean, as the Scriptures tell us, that Flux of Waters, which came from the *Perſian* Sea, running from the *South*, and meeting the Ark, wou'd, of courſe, carry it *Northward* upon the *Gordiæan* Mountains, which ſeems to be Voyage enough for a Veſſel of its Bulk and Structure to make, in the ſtated Time of the Flood's Increaſe. From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

The Tradition, which affirms the Ark to have reſted on theſe Mountains, muſt have been very antient, ſince it is the Tradition of the *Chaldeans* themſelves, and, in former Ages, was very little queſtion'd, till Men came to enquire into the particular Part of theſe Mountains, whereon it ſettled, and then the Authors ſeem'd to place it out of *Armenia*; *Epiphanius* on the Mount *Lubar*, between the Country of the *Armenians* and *Gordiæans*; and all the *Eaſtern* Authors, both *Chriſtian* and *Mahometan*, on Mount *Themanin*, or *Al-Judi*, which overlooks the Country of *Diar-rhabia*, or *Mouſſal*, in *Meſopotamia*.

To confirm this Tradition however, we are told, that the Remainders of the Ark were to be ſeen upon theſe Mountains. *Beroſus* and *Abydenus* both declare, that there was ſuch a Report in their Time: The *former* obſerves farther, that ſeveral of the Inhabitants thereabouts ſcrap'd the Pitch off the Planks as a Rarity, and carry'd it about them for an *Amulet*; and the *latter* ſays, that they us'd the Wood of the Veſſel againſt ſeveral Diſeaſes with wonderful Succeſs; as the Relicks of this Ark were likewiſe to be ſeen in the Time of *Epiphanius*, if we may believe him. The Town of *Themanin*, which ſignifies *eight*, ſituate at the Foot of the Mountain *Al-Judi*, was built, we are told, in Memory of the *eight* Perſons, who came out of the Ark; and formerly there was a Monaſtery, call'd the *Monaſtery of the Ark*, upon the *Curdu* Mountains, where the *Neſtorians* us'd to celebrate a *Feſtival*, on the very Spot where they ſuppos'd the Ark ſtopp'd: But in the Year of *Chriſt* 776, that Monaſtery was deſtroy'd by Lightning, together with the Church, and a numerous Congregation in it; and ſince that Time,

* The *Greek* and *Latin* Writers name them *Carduchi*, *Cardiei*, *Cordiæi*, *Cordueni*, *Gordi*, *Cordæi*, *Curdi*, &c. The *Orientals* call them likewiſe *Cardon*, *Cordyn*, *Curud*, &c. *Bochart* ſuppoſes that they are the ſame, which are call'd by Miſtake in *Joſephus Caron*. Vid. Univer. Hiſt. *and* Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 3.

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Time, the Credit of this Tradition has, in ſome Meaſure, declin'd, and given Place to another, which at preſent prevails.

2. THIS Opinion places Mount *Ararat* towards the Middle of *Armenia*, near the River *Arexes*, or *Aras*, above 280 Miles diſtant from *Al-Judi*, to the North-Eaſt. (*b*) St *Jerom* ſeems to have been the firſt, who hath given us an Account of this Tradition. "*Ararat*, ſays he, is "a Champain Country, incredibly fertile, "through which the *Araxes* flows at the "Foot of Mount *Taurus*, which extends "ſo far; ſo that, by the Mountains of "*Ararat*, whereon the Ark reſted, we "are not to underſtand the Mountains of "*Armenia* in general, but the higheſt "Mountains of *Taurus*, which overlook "the Plains of *Ararat*." Since his Time, its Situation, in this Place, has been remark'd by ſeveral other Writers; and all the Travellers into theſe Places now make mention of no other Mount of *Ararat*, than what the *Armenians* call *Maſis*, (from *Amaſia*, the third Succeſſor of *Haikh*, the Founder of their Nation) and what the *Mahometans* do ſometimes name *Agri-dagh*, i. e. *the heavy* or *great Mountain*, and ſometimes *Parmak-dagh*, the *Finger-Mountain*, alluding to its Appearance; for, as it is ſtrait, very ſteep, and ſtands by itſelf, it ſeems to reſemble a Finger, when held up.

A Deſcription of Mount Ararat.

THE Mount *Ararat*, which the *Armenians*, as we ſaid, call *Maſis*, and ſometimes *Meſeſouſſar*, (becauſe the Ark was ſtopp'd there, when the Waters of the Flood began to abate) ſtands about twelve Leagues to the *Eaſt* (or rather *South-Eaſt*) of *Erivan* (a ſmall City ſeated in the upper *Armenia*) four Leagues from *Aras*, or *Araxes*, and ten to the North-Weſt of *Nakſcivan*; which, becauſe *Nak*, in *Armenian*, ſignifies a *Ship*, and *Schivan*, *ſtopp'd* or *ſettled*, is ſuppos'd to have its Name from the ſame Occaſion. This Mountain is encompaſs'd by ſeveral little Hills, and on the Top of them are found many Ruins, which are thought to have been the Buildings of the firſt Men, who might fear, for ſome Time, to go down into the Plains. It ſtands by itſelf, in the Form of a Sugar-Loaf, in the midſt of one of the greateſt Plains that is to be ſeen, and ſeparated from the other Mountains of *Armenia*, which make a long Chain. It conſiſts of two Hills, whereof the leſs is more ſharp and pointed; but the larger (which is that of the Ark) lies North-Eaſt of it, and rears it's Head far above the neighbouring Mountains. It ſeems ſo high and big indeed, that when the Air is clear, it does not appear to be above two Leagues from *Erivan*, and yet may be ſeen ſome four or five Days Journey off; but from the Middle to the Top, it is always cover'd with Snow, and for the Space of three or four Months in the Year, has its upper Part commonly hid in the Clouds.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

THE *Armenians* have a Tradition, that, on the Summit of this Mountain, there is ſtill a conſiderable Part of the Ark remaining, but that it is impoſſible to get up to the Top of it. (*i*) For they tell us of one Traveller, a Perſon of ſingular Piety, who endeavour'd to do it, and had advanc'd as far as the Middle of the Mountain; when, being thirſty, and wanting Water, he put up a Prayer to God, who caus'd a Fountain to ſpring out of the Ground for him, and ſo ſav'd his Life; but, at the ſame Time, he heard a Voice, ſaying, *Let none be ſo bold, as to go up to the Top of this Mountain.*

HOW difficult the Aſcent of this Mountain is (without any particular Revelation) we may inform ourſelves from the following Account which Mr *Tournefort* gives us of it.

Tournefort's Account of it.

"ABOUT two o'Clock in the After-"noon, (*k*) *ſays he*, we began to aſcend "the Mountain *Ararat*, but not without "Difficulty. We were forc'd to climb "up, in looſe Sand, where we ſaw no-"thing, but ſome *Juniper* and *Goats-"Thorn*. The Mountain, which lies "*South*, and *South-South-Eaſt* from *Ei-"miadzim*, or *the three Churches*, is one "of

(*b*) In Iſaiah xxxvii. (*i*) *La Boulaye*'s Voyages. (*k*) *Vide* his Voyages into the *Levant*, Letter VII.

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" of the moſt ſad and diſagreeable Sights " upon Earth; for there are neither Trees, " nor Shrubs upon it, nor any Convents " of *Religious*, either *Armenians*, or *Franks*. " All the Monaſteries are in the Plain, " nor can I think the Place inhabitable in " any Part, becauſe the Soil of the Moun- " tain is looſe, and moſt of it cover'd with " Snow.

" From the Top of a great Abyſs, " (as dreadful an Hole as ever was ſeen) " oppoſite to the Village of *Akurlu* (from " whence we came) there continually fall " down Rocks of a blackiſh hard Stone, " which make a terrible Reſound. This, " and the Noiſe of the Crows, that are " continually flying from one Side to the " other, has ſomething in it very fright- " ful; and, to form any Notion of the " Place, you muſt imagine one of the " higheſt Mountains in the World open- " ing its Boſom, only to ſhew one of the " moſt horrid Spectacles that can be thought " of. No living Animals are to be ſeen, " but at the Bottom, and towards the " Middle of the Mountain. They, who " occupy the loweſt Region are poor Shep- " herds, and ſcabby Flocks. The ſecond " Region is poſſeſs'd by Crows and Ty- " gers, which paſs'd by, not without " giving us ſome Dread and Uneaſineſs. " All the reſt of it, *i. e.* half of it, has " been cover'd with Snow, ever ſince the " Ark reſted there, and theſe Snows are " cover'd half the Year with very thick " Clouds.

" Notwithstanding the Amaze- " ment, which this frightful Solitude caſt " us into, we endeavour'd to find out the " Monaſtery, we were told of, and en- " quir'd whether there were any *Religious* " in Caverns. The Notion they have in " the Country, that the Ark reſted here, " and the Veneration, which all the *Arme-* " *nians* have for this Mountain (for they " kiſs the Earth, as ſoon as they ſee it, " and repeat certain Prayers, after they " have made the Sign of the Croſs) have " made many imagine, that it muſt be " fill'd with *Religious*. However, they " aſſur'd us, that there was only one for- " ſaken Convent, at the Foot of the Gulf; " that there was no Fountain throughout " the whole Mount; and that we cou'd " not go, in a whole Day, to the Snow, " and down again to the Bottom of the " *Abyſs*; that the Shepherds often loſt " their Way; and that we might judge, " what a miſerable Place it was, from the " Neceſſity they were under to dig the " Earth, from Time to Time, to find a " Spring of Water, for themſelves and " their Flocks; and, in ſhort, that it " wou'd be Folly to proceed on our Way, " becauſe they were ſatisfy'd our Legs " wou'd fail us, nor wou'd they be oblig'd " to accompany us, for all the Treaſures " of the King of *Perſia*.

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

" When we conſider'd what the Shep- " herds had told us, we adviſ'd with our " Guides; and they, good Men, unwil- " ling to expoſe themſelves to the Danger " of dying for Thirſt, and having no Cu- " rioſity, at the Expence of their Legs, " to meaſure the Height of the Moun- " tain, were, at firſt, of the ſame Senti- " ments with the Shepherds; but after- " wards concluded, that we might go to " certain Rocks, which were more pro- " minent and viſible than the reſt, and ſo " return by Night to the Place where we " were; and with that Reſolution, we " went to Reſt. In the Morning, after " that we had eat and drank very plenti- " fully, we began to travel towards the " firſt Ridge of Rocks, with one Bottle " of Water, which, to eaſe ourſelves, we " carry'd by Turns; but, notwithſtand- " ing we had made Pitchers of our Bel- " lies, in two Hours Time, they were " quite dry'd up; and, as Water ſhook " in a Bottle is no very pleaſant Liquor, " our Hopes were, that, when we came " to the Snow, we ſhou'd eat ſome of it " to quench our Thirſt.

" It muſt be acknowledg'd, that the " Sight is very much deceiv'd, when we " ſtand at the Bottom, and gueſs at the " Height of a Mountain; and eſpecially " when it muſt be aſcended thro' Sands,

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" as troubleſome as the *Syrtes* of *Africa*. " 'Tis impoſſible to take one firm Step " upon the Sands of Mount *Ararat*: In " many Places, inſtead of aſcending, we " are oblig'd to go back again, to the " Middle of the Mountain, and, in order " to continue our Courſe, to wind, ſome- " times to the Right, and ſometimes to " the Left.

" To avoid theſe Sands, which fa- " tigu'd us moſt intolerably, we made our " Way to the great Rocks, which were " heap'd one upon another. We paſs'd " under them, as through Caverns, and " were ſhelter'd from all the Injuries of " the Weather, except *Cold*, which was " here ſo keen and intenſe, that we were " forc'd to leave the Place, and come into " a very troubleſome Way, full of large " Stones, ſuch as Maſons make uſe of in " Building, and were forc'd to leap from " Stone to Stone, till I, for my Part, was " heartily weary, and began to ſit down, " and repoſe myſelf a little, as the reſt of " the Company did.

" AFTER we had reſted ourſelves, we " came, about Noon, to a Place, which " afforded us a more pleaſing Proſpect. " We imagin'd ourſelves ſo near, that we " cou'd have even touch'd the Snow (we " thought) with our Teeth; but our Joy " laſted not long, for, what we had taken " for Snow, prov'd only a *Chalk-Rock*, " which hid from our Sight a Tract of " Land, above two Hours Journey diſtant " from the Snow, and which ſeem'd to " have a new Kind of Pavement, made " of ſmall Pieces of Stones, broke off by " the Froſt, and whoſe Edges were as " ſharp as Flints. Our Guides told us, " that their Feet were quite bare, and " that ours, in a ſhort Time, wou'd be ſo " too; that it grew late, and we ſhou'd " certainly loſe ourſelves in the Night, or " break our Necks in the Dark, unleſs " we wou'd chuſe to ſit down, and ſo be- " come a Prey to the Tygers. All this " ſeem'd very feaſible; and therefore we " aſſur'd them, that we wou'd go no far- " ther than the Heap of Snow, which we " ſhew'd them, and which, at that Di- " ſtance, appear'd hardly bigger than a " *Cake*; but when we came to it, we " found it more than we had Occaſion for; " the Heap was above thirty Paces in Dia- " meter. We every one eat as much as " we had a mind for, and ſo, by Conſent, " reſolv'd to advance no farther. It can- " not be imagin'd, how much the eating " of Snow revives and invigorates: We " therefore began to deſcend the Mountain " with a great deal of Alacrity; but we " had not gone far, before we came to " Sands, which lay behind the *Abyſs*, and " were full as troubleſome as the former, " ſo that, about ſix in the Afternoon, we " found ourſelves quite tired out and ſpent. " At length, obſerving a Place cover'd " with *Mouſe-Ear*, whoſe Declivity ſeem'd " to favour our Deſcent, we made to it " with all Speed, and (what pleas'd us " mighty well) from hence it was that our " Guides ſhew'd us (tho' at a conſiderable " Diſtance) the Monaſtery, whither we " were to go to quench our Thirſt. I " leave it to be gueſs'd what Method *Noah* " made uſe of to deſcend from this Place, " who might have rid upon ſo many Sorts " of Animals, which were all at his Com- " mand: But as for us, we laid ourſelves " upon our Backs, and ſlid down for an " Hour together upon this green Plat, and " ſo paſs'd on very agreeably, and much " faſter, than we cou'd have gone upon " our Legs. The Night, and our Thirſt " were a Kind of Spurs to us, and made " us make the greater Speed. We conti- " nu'd therefore ſliding in this Manner, " as long as the Way wou'd permit; and, " when we met with ſmall Flints, which " hurt our Shoulders, we turn'd and ſlid on " our Bellies, or went backwards on *all four*. " Thus by Degrees we gain'd the Mona- " ſtery; but ſo diſorder'd and fatigu'd by " our Manner of travelling, that we were " not able to move Hand or Foot."

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

I HAVE made my Quotation from this learned *Botaniſt*, and moſt accurate Tra- veller, the longer, not only becauſe it gives us a full Idea of the Mountain, ſo far as

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he aſcended; but ſome Diſtruſt likewiſe of the Veracity (*l*) of a certain *Dutch* Voyager, who ſeems to aſſure us, that he went five Days Journey up Mount *Ararat* to ſee a *Romiſh* Hermit; that he paſs'd through three Regions of the Clouds, the firſt dark and thick, the next cold and full of Snow, and the third colder ſtill; that he advanc'd five Miles every Day, and when he came to the Place, where the Hermit had his Cell, he breath'd a very ſerene and temperate Air; that the Hermit told him, he had perceiv'd neither Wind nor Rain, all the five and twenty Years that he had dwelt there; and that, on the Top of the Mountain, there ſtill reign'd a greater Tranquillity, which was a Means to preſerve the Ark without Decay or Putrefaction.

An Objection ſtated and anſwer'd.

There is one Objection, which may be made to all that we have ſaid concerning the Situation of this famous Mountain, and that is,——Whereas the *Sons of Noah*, when they quitted the Country where the Ark reſted, are ſaid to (*m*) *journey from the Eaſt into the Land of* Shinar, it is plain, that if they remov'd from any Part of *Armenia*, they muſt have gone from the North, or North-Weſt; but this we ſhall take Occaſion to examine, when we come to treat of their Migration. In the mean Time, 'tis worthy our Obſervation, and ſome Argument of our being in the right, (*n*) that the Situation of *Ararat*, as we have ſuppos'd it, whether it be Mount *Maſis*, or the Mountain of *Cardu*, was very convenient for the Journey of the Sons of *Noah*, becauſe the Diſtance is not very great, and the Deſcent eaſy, eſpecially from the latter, into the Plains of *Meſopotamia*, whereof *Shinar* is a Part. Nor ſhould we forget, that the Neighbourhood, which the ſacred Hiſtory, by this Means, preſerves between the Land of *Eden*, where Man was created; that of *Ararat*, where the Remains of Mankind were ſav'd; and that of *Shinar*, where they fix'd the Center of their Plantations, is much more natural, and ſeems to have a better Face and Appearance of Truth, than to place theſe Scenes at ſo vaſt a Diſtance, as ſome *Commentators* have done. From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

That there were Mountains before the Deluge.

One Enquiry more, not concerning Mount *Ararat* only, but every other Mountain, that is diſpers'd over the whole Earth, is this,——Whether they were in Being before the Induction of the Flood. The ingenious Author of the *Theory*, ſo often quoted, is clearly of Opinion, that (*o*) the *Face of the Earth, before the Deluge, was ſmooth, regular, and uniform, without Mountains, and without a Sea*; and that the Rocks and Mountains, which every where now appear, were made by the violent Concuſſions, which then happen'd, and are indeed nothing elſe but the Ruins and Fragments of the old World. But all this is confuted by the Teſtimony of *Divine Wiſdom*, who declaring her own Preexiſtence, (*p*) *I was ſet up from everlaſting*, ſays ſhe, *from the Beginning, or ever the Earth was; when there was no Depth, I was brought forth; when there were no Fountains abounding with Water, before the Mountains were ſettled, before the Hills was I brought forth; while, as yet, God had not made the Earth, nor the Fields, nor the higheſt Part of the Duſt of the World.* So that, according to this Declaration, not only the *Fountains of Waters*, which we ſee upon the Face of the Earth, but even Mountains (which ſome have accounted its greateſt Deformities) and all Hills were Part of the original Creation, and contemporary with the firſt Foundations of the Earth: And though a Deluge can ſcarce be ſuppos'd to over-ſpread the Globe, without making ſome Tranſmutation in it; yet, that it could not ſhock the *Pillars* of the round World, or cauſe a total Diſſolution in Nature, we have the ſame Divine Teſtimony, aſſuring us, that at the Time of the firſt Creation, (*q*) *God laid the Foundation of the Earth ſo ſure, that it ſhould not be remov'd for ever.*

Their Uſe and Pleaſantneſs.

'Tis a groundleſs Imagination then, to aſcribe the Origin of Mountains, and other lofty Eminences, to a certain Diſruption of

(*l*) *Struys*'s Voyages, Chap. xvii. (*m*) Gen. xi. 2. (*n*) Univerſ. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 1. p. 110. (*o*) *Burnet*'s Theory, l. 1. c. 5. (*p*) Prov. viii. 23, &c. (*q*) Pſal. civ. 5.

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of the Earth, in the Time of the Deluge; when God, from the very firſt Beginning, deſign'd them for ſuch excellent Purpoſes. For, beſides that ſeveral of theſe Rocks and Mountains (as well as the *broad Sea*) are really an awful Sight, and fill the Mind with juſt Notions of God's tremendous Majeſty, which a ſmall River, or a ſmooth Surface does not do ſo well; and beſides that, they yield Food for ſeveral Animals, form'd by Nature to live upon them, and ſupply us from *without* with many wholeſome Plants, and from *within* with many uſeful Metals; by condenſing the Vapours, and ſo producing Rain, Fountains, and Rivers, they give the very Plains and Valleys themſelves the Fertility, which they boaſt of. For this ſeems to be the Deſign of Hills, *ſays* (r) *a learned Enquirer into the Original of Springs and Fountains*, "That their Ridges, being plac'd through "the midſt of the *Continent*, might ſerve, "as it were, for *Alembicks*, to diſtil freſh "Water for the Uſe of Man and Beaſt; "and their Heights, to give a Deſcent to "thoſe Streams, which run gently, like "ſo many Veins of the *Microcoſm*, to be "the more beneficial to the Creation."

(s) NAY, we may appeal to the Senſe of Mankind, whether a Land of Hills and Dales has not more Pleaſure and Beauty both, than any uniform *Flat*, which *then* only affords Delight, when it is view'd from the Top of an Hill. For what were the *Tempe* of *Theſſaly*, ſo celebrated in antient Story for their unparallell'd Pleaſantneſs, but a Vale, divided by a River, and terminated with Hills? Are not all the Deſcriptions of *Poets* embelliſh'd with ſuch Ideas, when they wou'd repreſent any Places of *ſuperlative* Delight, any bliſsful Seats of the *Muſes* and *Nymphs*, any ſacred Habitations of *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*? They will never admit, that a wild *Flat* can be pleaſant, no not in the * *Elyſian* Fields: They too muſt be diverſify'd. Swelling Deſcents, and declining Valleys are their chief Beauties; nor can they imagine * even Paradiſe, a Place of Pleaſure, or Heaven itſelf * to be Heaven without them. So that ſuch a Place, as our preſent Earth is, diſtinguiſh'd into Mountains, Rivers, Vales, and Hills, muſt, even in Point of Pleaſure, claim a Preheminence before any other, that preſents us with no more than a ſingle Scene, and, in one continu'd *plain* Superficies, muſt of Neceſſity pall the Proſpect. But then, if we conſider farther, the Riches that are repoſited in theſe Mountains, the Gold and precious Stones, the Coal, the Lead, the Tin, and other valuable Minerals, that are dug out of their Bowels, all uſeful in their Kinds, and fitted for the Accommodation of human Life, we ſhall be apt to over-look the *fantaſtical* Pleaſantneſs of a ſmooth Outſide, and to think with *Moſes*, the Man of God, that (t) *Bleſſed of the Lord is* any *Land, for the chief Things of the antient Mountains, and for the precious Things of the laſting Hills.*

From Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

(r) Dr *Halley*.

(s) *Bentley*'s Sermons at *Boyle*'s Lectures.

* At Pater Anchiſes penitus convalle virenti.
Hoc ſuperate jugum — & tumulum capit. VIR. *Æn.* 6.

* Flowers worthy of Paradiſe, which not wiſe Art,
In Beds and curious Knots, but Nature boon,
Pour'd forth profuſe, on Hills, and Dale, and Plain.

* For Earth hath this Variety from Heav'n
Of Pleaſure, ſituate on Hill, or Dale.
MILTON's Paradiſe Loſt, Book IV.

(t) Deut. xxxiii. 13, 15.

The End of the Firſt Book.

Hulett Sculp.

THE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE.

BOOK II.

Containing an Account of Things, from the Flood *to the Call of* ABRAHAM. In all 426 Years, and ſix Months.

CHAP. I.

The Remainder of what is recorded of Noah, *to his Death.*

The HISTORY.

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Noah's Sacrifice, and the Promiſes and Grants, which God gives him.

AS ſoon as *Noah* and his Family were landed, and all the Creatures, committed to his Charge, were come ſafe out of the Ark, he ſelected ſome of every Kind, both Beaſts and Birds, but ſuch only as were *clean*, and, by God's Appointment, proper for Sacrifice; and, having built the firſt Altar, that we read of, reſtor'd the antient Rite of Divine Worſhip, and † offer'd Burnt-Sacrifices thereon. And this he did with ſo grateful a Senſe of the Divine Goodneſs, and ſo reverential a Fear of the Divine Majeſty,

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

† *Joſephus* tells us, that *Noah*, in a Perſuaſion that God had doom'd Mankind to Deſtruction, lay under a mortal Dread for fear of the ſame Judgment over again, and that it wou'd end in an *Anniverſary* Inundation; ſo that he preſented

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Majeſty, as procur'd him a gracious Acceptance, and, in Teſtimony of that Acceptance, ſeveral Grants and Promiſes.

God's *Promiſes* were, that, ‡ though Mankind were naturally wicked, and apt to go aſtray from the very Womb, yet, be their Iniquities ever ſo great, he wou'd not any more deſtroy the Earth † by a general Deluge, or diſturb the Order of Nature, and ‡ the ſeveral Seaſons of the Year, and their regular Viciſſitudes: And in Confirmation of this, he appointed the *Rainbow* for a *Token*, which (whether it us'd to appear before the Flood, or no) was *now* to be the Ratification of the Truth of his Promiſe, and *his faithful Witneſs in Heaven.*

The *Grants* which God gave *Noah* and his Sons were, not only * the ſame Dominion, which our firſt Parents, before the

ſented himſelf before the Lord with Sacrifices and Prayers, "humbly beſeeching him, in Mercy, to preſerve the Order "of the World in its Frame; to puniſh the Guilty, and ſpare the Lives of the Innocent; and not to proceed with "Rigour, for the Wickedneſs of ſome Particulars, to the Deſtruction of the Whole; otherwiſe, the Survivors of this "Calamity wou'd be more wretched, than thoſe that were waſh'd away in the common Ruin, if, after having ſuf-"fer'd Horror of Thought, and the Terror of ſo diſmal a Spectacle, they ſhou'd only be deliver'd from one Cala-"mity, to be conſum'd by another." *Antiq.* I. 1. c. 4. But that this ſhou'd be the Purport of his Prayer is not very likely, becauſe we find no ſuch Indications of Terror in *Noah*, who knew the great and criminal Cauſes of the Deluge to be ſuch, as cou'd not happen every Year, and who, having found Favour in the Eyes of God, and a miraculous Preſervation from a general Deſtruction, can hardly be ſuppos'd to have *caſt away his Confidence* in him ſo ſoon, and, inſtead thereof, to be poſſeſs'd with an abject and ſervile Fear: And therefore we may conclude, that the Nature of his Prayer and Sacrifice was *euchariſtical*, and not *deprecatory*. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Exercit. 19.

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation are, *I will not again curſe the Ground any more for Man's Sake*, for *the Imagination of Man's Heart is evil*; which is certainly very injuriouſly render'd, becauſe it makes the ſacred Author ſpeak quite contrary to what he deſign'd, and is an Affront to the Juſtice, Goodneſs, and Wiſdom of God, who, by this Tranſlation of *for*, inſtead of *tho'*, might ſeem to bleſs Man for his evil Imaginations. *Eſſay for a new Tranſlation.*

† For particular Inundations there have been at ſeveral Times, in divers Places, whereby Towns and Countries have been over-whelm'd with all their Inhabitants. *Pool*'s Annotations.

‡ All the Verſions do manifeſtly, in this Place, confound *the four Seaſons* of the Year, which *Moſes* exactly diſtinguiſhes. For the *Hebrew* Word *Kor*, which they render *Cold*, ſignifies the *Winter*, becauſe of the Cold that then reigns. The Word *Chom*, which they render *Heat*, ſignifies the *Spring*, becauſe of the Heat, which abounds in *Judea* about the End of the Spring, in the Months of *May* and *June*, which are the Harveſt-Time in that Country. The Word *Kajts*, which they render *Summer*, does indeed ſignify ſo; but then the Word *Choroph*, which they term the *Winter*, ſhou'd be render'd *Autumn*, which is the Time of plowing, and cultivating the Ground, as may be ſeen *Prov.* xx. 4. So that the whole Sentence, which contains the Promiſe of God, *Gen.* viii. 22. if render'd juſtly, ſhould run thus,——*While the Earth remaineth, Seed-Time and Harveſt, Winter and Spring, Summer and Autumn, Day and Night, ſhall not ceaſe.* An Eſſay for a new Tranſlation. We cannot but obſerve however, that this Viciſſitude of Times and Seaſons, which is here promis'd as a Bleſſing to Mankind, is a full Computation of the Dreams of ſuch Writers, as are apt to fancy, "That in the *primordial* Earth there was every where a perpetual Spring and Equi-"nox; that all the Parts of the Year had one and the ſame Tenor, Face, and Temper; and that there was no "Winter or Summer, Seed-Time or Harveſt, but a continual Temperature of the Air, and Verdure of the Earth;" which, if it were true, wou'd make this Promiſe of God a Puniſhment, rather than a Bleſſing to Mankind. Vid. *Burnet*'s Theory, l. 2. c. 3. and *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Exercit. 19.

* A learned and right Reverend Author, to ſhew the Renovation of the Earth after the Deluge, and its Deliverance from the Curſe, inflicted upon it by Reaſon of *Adam*'s Tranſgreſſion, runs the Parallel between the Bleſſings and Privileges, granted to *Adam*, ſoon after his Creation, and thoſe reſtor'd to *Noah* and his Poſterity, ſoon after the Flood. To our firſt Parents it is ſaid, *Have Dominion over the Fiſh of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over every living Thing, that moveth on the Earth*, Gen. i. 28. To *Noah* and his Sons it is ſaid, *The Fear of you, and the Dread of you ſhall be upon every Beaſt of the Earth, and upon every Fowl of the Air, and upon all that moveth upon the Earth, and upon all the Fiſhes of the Sea, into your Hand are they delivered*, Gen. ix. 2. To *Adam* and *Eve* are granted for Food *every Herb, bearing Seed——and every Tree, in the which is the Fruit of the Tree, yielding Seed*, Gen. i. 29. But *Noah* and his Sons have a larger Charter,——*Every moving Thing, that liveth, ſhall be Meat to you, even, as the green Herb, have I given you all Things*, Gen. ix. 3. The Bleſſing upon the Earth, at the Creation was,——*Let the Earth bring forth Graſs, and Herb yielding Seed, and the Fruit-Tree yielding Fruit after his Kind*, Gen. i. 11. The Bleſſing after the Flood is,——*While the Earth remaineth, Seed-Time and Harveſt ſhall not ceaſe*, Gen. viii. 22. In the Beginning, *the Lights in the Firmament were appointed to divide the Day from the Night, and to be for Seaſons, and for Days, and Years*, Gen. i. 14. After the Flood, the new Bleſſing is,——*That Spring and Autumn, Summer and Winter, and Day and Night, ſhall not ceaſe*, Gen. viii. 22. Whereupon our Author aſks, What is beſtow'd in the firſt Bleſſings, that is wanted in the ſecond? What more did *Adam* enjoy in his happieſt Days? What more did he forfeit in his worſt, with reſpect to this Life, than that, which is contain'd in theſe Bleſſings? If he neither had more, nor loſt more, all theſe Bleſſings you ſee expreſsly reſtor'd to *Noah* and his Poſterity: And, from all this laid together, he concludes, that the old Curſe upon the Ground was, after the Deluge, finiſh'd and compleated. *Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, p.* 91.

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the Fall, had over the Animal-Creation, and a full Power to keep them in Submiſſion and Subjection; but a Privilege likewiſe to kill any of theſe Creatures for Food; only with this Reſtriction, that they were not to † put them to unneceſſary Torture, or to eat any Part of their Blood, which might be a Means to introduce the ſhedding of human Blood. The human Kind, notwithſtanding their *Apoſtacy*, did ſtill retain ſome *Lineaments* of the Divine Similitude, and, therefore, whoſoever murther'd any of them, did thereby deface the *Image of God*; and whether it were Man † or Beaſt, Stranger or near Relation, was appointed by the *Magiſtrate* to be put to Death: And, with theſe Grants and Promiſes, he gave them Encouragement (as he did our firſt Progenitors) to *be fruitful and multiply, and repleniſh the Earth*, which was now left almoſt deſtitute of Inhabitants.

BUT how much ſoever the Deluge might deprive the Earth of its Inhabitants, it had not ſo totally deſtroy'd the Trees, and Plants, and other Vegetables, but that, in a ſhort Time, they began to appear again; and, being encourag'd by the kindly Warmth of the Sun, diſcover'd their ſeveral *Species*, by the ſeveral *Fruits* they bore. *Noah* before the Flood † had apply'd himſelf to *Huſbandry*, and now, upon the Recovery of the Earth again, betook himſelf to the ſame Occupation. Among his other Improvements of the Ground, he had planted a Vineyard, and, perhaps, was the firſt Man, who invented a Preſs, to ſqueeze the Juice out of the Grape, and ſo make Wine. Natural Curioſity might tempt him to taſte the Fruit of his own Labour; but, being either unacquainted with the Strength of this Liquor, or, through Age and Infirmity, unable to bear it, ſo it was, that, drinking a little too freely, he became quite intoxicated with it; and ſo falling aſleep in his Tent, lay with his Body uncover'd, and, in a very indecent Poſture, was expos'd to the Eyes of his Children.

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HAM, who eſpy'd his Father in this Condition, inſtead of concealing his Weakneſs, proclaim'd it aloud, and to his other two Brothers, *Shem* and *Japhet*, made him the Subject of his Scorn and Deriſion: But, ſo far were they from being pleas'd with his Behaviour in this Reſpect, that, taking a Garment, and laying it upon both their Shoulders, they went backward, till, coming to their Father, they dropt the Garment upon him, and ſo cover'd the Nakedneſs, which their pious Modeſty wou'd not permit them to behold. Nor is it improbable, that, to prevent the like Indecency, they watch'd him, during the remaining Time of his Sleep, and might poſſibly, upon his awaking, acquaint him with

Ham's *Immodeſty to his Father* Noah.

† The Words in the Text are,——*But Fleſh with the Life thereof, which is the Blood thereof, ſhall you not eat.* This the *Hebrew* Doctors generally underſtand to be a Prohibition to cut off any Limb of a living Creature, and to eat it, while the *Life*, *i. e.* the Blood, was in it; *dum adhuc vivit, & palpitat, ſeu tremit*, as a modern Interpreter has truly explain'd their Senſe. And in this they are follow'd by ſeveral *Chriſtians*, who think (as *Maimonides* did) that there were ſome People, in the old World, ſo ſavage and barbarous, that they did eat raw Fleſh, while it was yet warm from the Beaſt, out of whoſe Body it was cut *Piece-meal*. *Plutarch* tells us, that it was cuſtomary, in his Time, to run red hot Spits through the Bellies of live Swine, to make their Fleſh more delicious; and I believe ſome among us have heard of *whipping* Pigs, and torturing other Creatures to Death, for the ſame Purpoſe. Now theſe Things cou'd not be committed, if ſuch Men thought themſelves bound in Conſcience to abſtain from all unneceſſary Cruelties to the Creatures, and to bleed them to Death, with all the Diſpatch they cou'd, before they touch'd them for Food. Vid. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Revelation Examin'd*, Vol. II. p. 20.

† If it here ſhou'd be aſk'd, How any Beaſt, that is neither capable of Virtue or Vice, can be deem'd culpable, in caſe it ſhou'd chance to kill any Man? The Anſwer is,——That this Law was ordain'd for the Benefit of *Men*, for whoſe Uſe all Beaſts were created. For, *1ſt*, ſuch *Owners*, as were not careful to prevent ſuch Miſchiefs, were hereby puniſh'd. *2dly*, Others were admoniſh'd by their Example to be cautious. *3dly*, God thereby inſtructed them, that Murther was a moſt grievous Crime, whoſe Puniſhment extended even to Beaſts; and, *4thly*, the Lives of Men were hereby much ſecur'd, when ſuch Beaſts, as might do the like Miſchief another Time, were immediately diſpatch'd, and taken out of the Way. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Anciently the greateſt Men eſteem'd nothing more honourable, and worthy their Study, than the Art of Agriculture. *Nihil homine libero dignius*, nothing more becoming a Gentleman, was the Saying of the *Roman Orator*; and for the Truth of this the *Fabii*, the *Cato*'s, the *Varro*'s, the *Virgil*'s, the *Pliny*'s, and other great Names, are ſufficient Witneſſes. *Biblioth. Biblica*, Vol. I, p. 251.

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with what had happen'd: Whereupon, perceiving how unworthily his Son *Ham* had ſerv'd him, † he curs'd his Race in the Perſon of *Canaan* his Grandſon, and reflecting how reſpectfully his other two Sons had behav'd, he rewarded their pious Care with each one a Bleſſing, which, in Proceſs of Time, was fulfill'd in their Poſterity.

And Noah's *Death.*

THIS is all that the Scripture informs us of concerning *Noah*, only we are given to underſtand, that he liv'd 350 Years after the Deluge, in all 950; and, if we will believe the Tradition of the *Orientals*, he was bury'd in *Meſopotamia*, where, not far from a Monaſtery, call'd *Dair-Abunah*, i. e. *the Monaſtery of our Father*, they ſhew us, in a Caſtle, a large Sepulchre, which, they ſay, belong'd to him: But, as for the common Opinion of his dividing the World among his three Sons before his Death, giving to *Shem Aſia*, to *Ham Africa*, and to *Japhet Europe*, there is no Manner of Foundation for it, either in Scripture, or Tradition.

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The OBJECTION.

"BUT how ſhort ſoever this *Poſt-diluvian* Part of *Noah*'s Hiſtory "may be thought, 'tis long enough, we "find, to contain many more Abſurdities, "and Miſrepreſentations of Things, than "can eaſily be digeſted. It might be the "Opinion of the *Heathen* World, per-"haps, that their Gods were pleas'd with "the Smell of Incenſe, and (as one (*b*) "expreſſes it) *wou'd leave their ordinary "Diet of Nectar and Ambroſia, to ſnuff "up the Smoak and Fat of Sacrifices*; "yet, ſurely it gives us too groſs and car-"nal a Notion of the great God of Hea-"ven and Earth, that he ſhou'd be ſo far "delighted with the *ſweet Savour* of any "Oblation, as to have his Heart atten-"der'd, his Relentings kindled, and him-"ſelf drawn into a haſty Reſolution, *never "to deſtroy the Earth any more*, when it "is apparent, that ſince that Time, he "has brought upon it ſeveral *Inundations*, "and, at the End, is reſolv'd to conſume "it with a general *Conflagration*.

"THE Rainbow indeed may be ac-"counted a very beautiful Sight in the "Heavens; but, as it proceeds from a "natural Cauſe, (*c*) from the *Reflection* "and *Refraction* of the Rays of the Sun "from innumerable Drops of Rain in a "Cloud, it can be no proper Token of a "*Covenant* commencing at that Time. "As there was a Sun and Clouds before "the Flood, the ſame *Phænomenon* muſt "have frequently appear'd, and conſe-"quently loſt its *Validity*; nor can we "ſuppoſe, that God ſhou'd ever be ſo *un-"mindful of his Covenant*, as to ſtand in "need of ſo ſlight, ſo common a Re-"membrancer.

"THE Permiſſion of *Animal-Food* to "*Noah* and his Poſterity may be thought "perhaps a *peculiar* Privilege; but, (*d*) "when we read of the ſame Dominion "over all Creatures, and the ſame Di-"ſtinction of clean and unclean Beaſts, in "the Times before the Flood, that we "find in the Times of *Noah*, either we "muſt ſuppoſe the Diſtinction to be fri-"volous, and the Dominion given to Man "more extenſive, after he had ſinn'd, than "it was before, or we muſt allow, that "this

† 'Tis a Tradition among the *Eaſtern* Writers, that *Noah*, having curs'd *Ham* and *Canaan*, the Effect of his Curſe was, that not only their Poſterity were made ſubject to their Brethren, and born, as we may ſay, in Slavery, but that likewiſe, all on a ſudden, the Colour of their Skin became black: (For they maintain, that all the *Blacks* deſcended from *Ham* and *Canaan*;) that *Noah*, ſeeing ſo ſurpriſing a Change, was deeply affected with it, and begg'd of God, that he wou'd be pleas'd to inſpire *Canaan*'s Maſters with a tender and compaſſionate Love for him; and that his Prayer was heard. For, notwithſtanding we may ſtill, at this Day, obſerve the Effect of *Noah*'s *Curſe*, in the Servitude of *Ham*'s Poſterity; yet we may remark likewiſe the Effect of his *Prayer*, in that this Sort of black Slaves is ſought for, and made much of in moſt Places. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Ham*.

(*b*) *Lucin.* de Sacrif. Vol. I. p. 306. (*c*) *Saurin*'s Diſſertation. (*d*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Exer. 15.

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" this is a Privilege no more, than what " all *Antediluvians* had, and, conſequent- " ly, that it is a Miſrepreſentation to call " it a *new Grant*.

" MAN, in his State of Innocence, and " while the Image of God ſhone radiently " about him, held all other Creatures un- " der a voluntary Subjection: But, the " many ſad Accidents, which we read of " continually, are too ſure a Teſtimony, " that this Part of the *Grant* is, in a Man- " ner, quite withdrawn, and that *the Fear " of us, and the Dread of us*, is ſo little " impreſs'd upon ſeveral Kinds of Beaſts, " that, on ſundry Occaſions, they turn " upon their Maſters, and rebel.

" THE Lord and Sovereign of the *Poſt- " diluvian* World was the Patriarch *Noah*, " who muſt, conſequently, be a Man of " Buſineſs, as having the chief Govern- " ment of Affairs devolv'd upon him; " and yet, after this Period of Time, we " hear no Manner of Tidings of him, " except it be in one ſcurvy Story of his " planting a Vineyard, getting ſcandalouſ- " ly drunk, and expoſing himſelf to the " Scorn and Deriſion of all about him. " 'Tis ſomewhat ſtrange, that, in all the " *Antediluvian* Ages, the Uſe of the Vine " ſhou'd not be found out, or, that *Noah*, " who was now about 600 Years old, " ſhou'd not be acquainted with its intoxi- " cating Quality; but, if he was not, " the more he was to be pity'd, and *Moſes*, " (one wou'd think) ſhou'd have imitated " his two dutiful Sons, and, in Compaſ- " ſion to his Infirmity, caſt the kind Veil " upon his Nakedneſs. But, inſtead of " that, to repreſent this Favourite of God, " and grave Sire of Mankind, lying in " his Tent in the ſhameful Manner, that " he does, and then, as ſoon as he awakes " from his Wine, to give him the *Spirit " of Prophecy*, and ſet him a venting his " Curſes and his Bleſſings at random, looks " as if he were acting the Part of *Ham*; " and expoſing a weak Man's Failings to " the Publick. For, according to this " Repreſentation, what other Reaſon can " we aſſign for the ſeveral notorious Blun- " ders that he makes; (*e*) for his miſ- " taking the Name of *Canaan* (who ſeems " to be innocent in the whole Affair) in- " ſtead of that of his guilty Son *Ham*, in " the *Curſe*; for preferring his younger " Son *Shem*, before the firſt-born *Japhet*, " in the *Bleſſing*; and for the many un- " accountable Reveries of *enlarging* Ja- " phet, *making him dwell in the Tents of* " Shem, and *Ham* to become the *Servant " of Servants?* What Account can we " give for theſe Extravagancies, I ſay, but " that of ſuppoſing that the good old *Pa- " triarch* was not yet got out of his *Cups*, " and return'd to his Senſes?"

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Anſwer'd, by ſhewing why Noah's *Sacrifice was accepted.*

'TIS a ſad Perverſion of the Uſe of human Underſtanding, and no ſmall Token of a ſecret Inclination to *Infidelity*, when Men make the Condeſcenſions of Scripture an Argument againſt its Divine Authority; and, from the *Figures* and *Alluſions*, which it employs, in Accommodation to their Capacities, draw Concluſions, unworthy of its ſacred Penmen, and unbecoming the Nature of God.

IN relation to Sacrifices, we find God declaring himſelf very fully in theſe Words: *(f) Hear, O my People, and I will ſpeak; I will teſtify againſt thee, O* Iſrael, *for I am God, even thy God. I will not reprove thee, becauſe of thy Sacrifices, or for thy Burnt-Offering, becauſe they were not always before me. I will take no Bullock out of thine Houſe, or He-Goats out of thy Fold;——for thinkeſt thou that I will eat Bull's Fleſh, or drink the Blood of Goats? Offer unto God Thankſgiving, and pay thy Vows unto the Moſt High, and call upon me in the Time of Trouble, ſo will I hear thee, and thou ſhalt praiſe me.* So that it is not the *Oblation* itſelf, but the grateful Senſe and Affections of the Offerer, that are acceptable to God, and which, by an eaſy Metaphor, may be ſaid to be as grateful to him, (*g*) as Perfumes, or *ſweet Odours* are to us.

AND indeed, if either the Senſe of Gratitude or Fear, if either the Apprehenſion

(*e*) *Vid.* Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27. (*f*) Pſal. l. 7, &c. (*g*) *Patrick's* Commentary.

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of God's peculiar Kindness, or of his wrathful Indignation against Sin did ever produce a sincere Homage, (*b*) it must have been upon this Occasion, when the *Patriarch* call'd to Remembrance the many Vows he had made to God *in the Bitterness of his Soul*, and in the Midst of his Distress; when, coming out of the Ark, he had before his Eyes the Ruins of the old World, so many dreadful Objects of the Divine Vengeance; and, at the same Time, saw himself safe amidst his little Family, which must have all likewise perish'd, had they not been preserv'd by a miraculous Interposition. And, with such Affections of Mind, as this Scene cou'd not but excite, it wou'd be injurious not to think, that his Prayers and Oblations were answerably *fervent*, and his Joy and Thanksgiving such, as became so signal a Deliverance.

BUT it was not upon Account of these only, that his Service found so favourable a Reception. Sacrifices, (*i*) (as we shewed before) were of Divine Institution, and prefigurative of that great *Propitiation*, which God, in due Time, wou'd exhibit in the Death of his Son. Whatever Merit they have, they derive from Christ, (*k*) *who gave himself for us, as an Offering, and a Sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling Savour*. 'Twas in the Sense of this therefore, that *Noah* approach'd the Altar, which he had erected; and while he was offering his appointed Sacrifices, fail'd not to commemorate *this Lamb of God, which was slain from the Foundation of the World*, and so found his *Acceptance in the Beloved*; for he is the (*l*) *Angel, which comes, and stands at the Altar, having a golden Censer, and to whom is given much Incense, that he may offer it with the Prayers of the Saints, upon the golden Altar, which is before the Throne.*

That the Covenant hereupon restrain'd God, neither from particular Inundations,

WE mistake the Matter however very much, if we imagine, that the Merit of *Noah*'s Sacrifice, (even when purify'd with the Blood of *Christ*) was the *procuring* Cause of the *Covenant* here mention'd. The Covenant was in the Divine Counsel *from everlasting*, and God only here takes an Occasion to acquaint *Noah* with it: But then we may observe, that he expresses himself in such Terms, as lay no Restraint upon him from sending a Judgment of Waters, or from bringing a general *Conflagration* upon the World at the last Day. He binds himself only *never to smite any more every living Thing in the Manner he had done*, i. e. with an universal Deluge; but, if any Nation deserves such a Punishment, and the Situation of their Country well admits of it, he may, if he pleases, without Breach of this Covenant, bring a *local* Inundation upon them; though it must be acknowledg'd, that, whenever we find him threatning any People with his (*m*) *sore Judgments*, he never makes mention of this.

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Nor the general Conflagration.

IT was a general Tradition among the *Heathens*, that the World was to undergo a double Destruction, one by *Water*, and the other by *Fire*. The Destruction by Fire St *Peter* has given us a very lively Description of. (*n*) *The Heavens and the Earth, which are now*, says he, *are kept in Store, reserv'd unto Fire, against the Day of Judgment*; for then *shall the Heavens pass away with a great Noise, and the Elements melt with fervent Heat, and the Earth also, and the Works that are therein, shall be burnt up*. But all this is no Infraction upon the Covenant made with *Noah*, which relates to the Judgment of a Flood: And, though this *Catastrophe* will certainly be more terrible than the other, yet it has this great Difference in it, (*o*) that it is not sent as a *Curse*, but as a *Blessing* upon the Earth, not as a Means to deface and destroy, but to renew and refine it; and therefore the same Apostle adds, (*p*) *Nevertheless we, according to his Promise, look for new Heavens and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth Righteousness.*

THUS

(*b*) *Saurin*'s Dissertations. (*i*) Vid. p. 76, &c. (*k*) Eph. v. 2. (*l*) Revel. viii. 3.
(*m*) *Vid.* Ezek. xiv. 21. (*n*) 2 Pet. iii. 7, 10. (*o*) *Heidegger*'s Hist. Patriar. Vol. I. Exer. 19.
(*p*) 2 Pet. iii. 13.

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That the Rainbow, *the Sign of the Covenant, did not exiſt before the Flood.*

THUS the Covenant of God ſtandeth ſure: But then, in relation to the *Sign*, or *Sacrament* of it, whether it was *previous*, or *ſubſequent* to the Deluge, this has been a Matter much debated among the Learned. It cannot be deny'd indeed, but that * this curious Mixture of Light and Shade, diſcernable in the *Rainbow*, ariſes naturally from the Superficies of thoſe Parts, which conſtitute a Cloud, when the Rays of the Sun, from the adverſe Part of the *Hemiſphere*, are darted upon it; and, for this Reaſon, (*q*) whenever there is the like Diſpoſition of the Sun to the Cloud, it may be imagin'd, that the ſame *Phænomenon* may be ſeen, and, conſequently, at certain Times, has been ſeen, not from the Deluge only, but from the firſt Foundation of the World. (*r*) But, as this Opinion has nothing in Scripture to enforce it, ſo are there no Grounds in Nature to give it any Sanction, unleſs we will aſſert this manifeſt Untruth,——That every *Diſpoſition* of the Air, and every *Denſity* of a Cloud is fitly qualify'd to produce a Rainbow.

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THIS *Meteor* (as the Scripture informs us) * was appointed by God to be a Witneſs of his Covenant with the new World, and a Meſſenger to ſecure Mankind from Deſtruction

* The learned *Heidegger* has given an Account of the Nature and Colours of the Rainbow, and by what different Cauſes they are produc'd, in Words ſo very expreſſive, that I chuſe to give them in the Original, rather than run the Hazard of injuring their *Emphaſis* by a bad Tranſlation. "Efficit Iridem potiſſimum Sol, ſeu Radius Solaris in "vaporem receptus, inque eo refractus propter diverſa Receptacula; unum rarius, area; alterum denſius, vaporem; "qui & ſolarem recipit Radium, & in Oculum reflectit: Ita ut in Iride ſit partim ἀνάκλασις, ſivè radii luminoſi, in "Profunditate vaporis, Refractio; partim ἀνάκλασις, ſeu Radii ejus ad Oculum Reflectio, quæ non poſſent ſociari "niſi in nube roridâ, & in pluvias jam reſolvendâ; quippe in tantum ratâ, ut eum aliquantum Radius Solaris pene"tret, & in tantum etiam denſâ, ut ubi Radius ſeſe paululum inſinuarit, eundem repercutiat. Circularis & arcuata eſt "ejus figura ob figuram Solis ipſius, quia ſemper Iris apparet ex adverſo Solis, repercuſſis ejus Radiis ab oppoſitâ "nube. Colores Iridis, ex variâ Lucis & umbrarum Mixturâ, ſunt tres poſſimum; φοινίκεος, *puniceus* & *rubicundus*; "πράσινος, *porraceus*, ſive viridis, & ἀλυκρυσος, *cæruleus*. Cum enim Solares Radii primum ſubeunt Nubem, quia "minus tranſitur opaci, Color eſt *rubicundus*, ſeu *puniceus*: Ubi paulo magis penetrârit, impeditur aliquantum Coloris "Ardor, atque ſic fit *viridis*; at in profundum Vaporis admiſſus, uſque ad infimam Arcûs Curvaturam, ob Opacita"tem remittit Color, eſtque *cæruleus*. Exercit. 19." This Deſcription is pretty lively, and gives us ſome Idea of this ſtrange Phænomenon; and yet we muſt own, that the Nature of *Refraction*, on which the Colours of the *Rainbow* do depend, is one of the abſtruſeſt Things, that we meet with in the Philoſophy of Nature. Our renown'd *Boyle*, who wrote a Treatiſe on the Subject of *Colours*, after a long and indefatigable Search into their Natures and Properties, was not able ſo much as to ſatisfy himſelf *what Light is*, or (if it be a Body) what kind of *Corpuſcles*, for Size and Shape, it conſiſts of, or how theſe inſenſible *Corpuſcles* cou'd be ſo differently, and yet withal ſo regularly refracted; and he freely acknowledges, that however ſome Colours might be plauſibly enough explain'd, in the general, from Experiments he had made, *yet whenſoever he would deſcend to the minute and accurate Explication of Particulars, he found himſelf very ſenſible of the great Obſcurity of Things.* Dr *Halley*, the great Ornament of his Profeſſion, makes the ſame Acknowledgment; and, after having, from the *given* Proportion of Refraction, accounted both for the Colours and Diameter of the Rainbow, with its ſeveral Appearances, he cou'd hence diſcern (as he tells us) farther Difficulties laying before him: Particularly, from whence aroſe the *refractive Force of Fluids*, which is a Problem of no ſmall Moment, and yet deſervedly to be plac'd among the Myſteries of Nature, *nondum Senſibus, aut Ratiociniis noſtris objecta:* And the noble *Theoriſt of Light* himſelf, after his many ſurpriſing Diſcoveries, built even upon vulgar Experiments, found it too hard for him to reſolve himſelf in ſome Particulars about it; and, notwithſtanding all his prodigious Skill in Mathematicks, and his dexterous Management of the moſt obvious Experiments, he concludes it at laſt to be a Work too arduous for human Underſtanding, abſolutely to determine *what Light is, after what Manner refracted, and by what Modes and Actions it produceth in our Minds the Phantaſies of Colours.* Biblioth. Biblica, Vol. II. Occaſional Annot. 2. in the Appendix.

(*q*) Vid. *Brown*'s Pſeudodoxia Epidemica. (*r*) Dr *Jackſon* upon the Creed, l. 1. c. 16.

* That this *Rainbow* was thought to be of ſomewhat more than mere *natural* Extraction, the *phyſical Mythology* of the antient Heathens ſeems to teſtify, and 'tis not improbable, that, from the Tenor of God's Covenant here, made with *Noah*, which might be communicated to them by Tradition, *Homer*, the great Father of *Ethnick* Poetry, does, by an eaſy and lively Fiction, bring in *Jupiter*, the King of Heaven, ſending *Iris*, his Meſſenger, with a peremptory Command to *Neptune*, the Prince of Waters, to deſiſt from any farther aſſiſting the *Grecians*, and annoying the *Trojans*; and, at the ſame Time that *Iris* is ſent with this Meſſage to the watery Deity, the Poet has ſo contriv'd the Matter, that *Apollo*, or the Sun, which is the Parent, and efficient Cauſe of the Rainbow, be ſent with another Meſſage to *Hector*, and the *Trojans*, in order to encourage them to take the Field again, and renew their Attack. The Meaning of all which fine Machinery is no more than this,——That, after a great deal of Rain, which had caus'd an Inundation, and thereby made the *Trojan* Horſe uſeleſs, the Sun began to appear again, and the Rainbow in a Cloud oppoſite to the Sun, which was a ſure Prognoſtick of fair Weather. *Bibliotheca Biblica*, Vol. I. *Occaſional Annot.* 2. in the Appendix.

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Deſtruction by Deluges; ſo that, had it appear'd before the Flood, the Sight of it afterwards wou'd have been but a poor Comfort to *Noah* and his Poſterity, whoſe Fear of an Inundation was too violent, ever to be taken away by a common and ordinary Sign.

For, ſuppoſe that God Almighty had ſaid to *Noah*; (ſ) "I make a Promiſe to "you, and to all living Creatures, that "the World ſhall never be deſtroy'd by "Water again; and, for Confirmation of "this, behold, *I ſet the Sun in the Fir-"mament*;" would this have been any ſtrengthening of *Moſes*'s Faith, or any Satisfaction to his Mind? "Why, *ſays Noah*, "the Sun was in the Firmament, when "the Deluge came, and was a Spectator "of that ſad Tragedy; and, as it may be "ſo again, † what Sign, or Aſſurance in "this, againſt a ſecond Deluge?" But now, if we ſuppoſe, on the other Hand, that the Rainbow firſt appear'd to the Inhabitants of the Earth after the Deluge, nothing cou'd be a more proper and appoſite Sign for Providence to pitch upon, in order to confirm the Promiſe, made to *Noah* and his Poſterity, that the World ſhou'd no more be deſtroy'd by Water. The Rainbow had a ſecret Connection with the Effect itſelf, and ſo far was * a *natural* Sign; and, as it appear'd *firſt* after the Deluge, and was form'd in a thin, watry Cloud, there is, methinks, a great Eaſineſs and Propriety of its Application for ſuch a Purpoſe. For, if we ſuppoſe, that, while God Almighty was declaring his Promiſe to *Noah*, and what he intended for the Sign of it, there appear'd, at the ſame Time, in the Clouds, * a fair Rainbow, that marvellous and beautiful *Meteor*, which *Noah* had never ſeen before, it cou'd not but make a moſt lively Impreſſion upon him, quickening his Faith, and

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(ſ) *Burnet*'s Theory.

† When God gives a Sign, in the Heavens, or on the Earth, of any Prophecy or Promiſe to be fulfill'd, it muſt be by ſomething *new*, or by ſome Change wrought in Nature, whereby he teſtifies to us, that he is able and willing to ſtand to his Promiſe. Thus God puts the Matter to *Ahaz*, *Aſk a Sign of the Lord, aſk it either in the Depth, or in the Height above*: And when *Ahaz* wou'd aſk no Sign, God gives him one unaſk'd; *Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive, and bear a Son*. Thus when *Abraham* aſk'd a Sign, whereby he might be aſſur'd of God's Promiſe, that his Seed ſhou'd inherit the Land of *Canaan*, 'tis ſaid, that *when the Sun went down*, and it was dark, *behold a ſmoaking Furnace, and a burning Lamp paſs'd between the Pieces of the Beaſts*, which he had cut aſunder, *Gen.* xv. 17. And, in like Manner, in the Sign given to *Hezekiah* for his Recovery, and to *Gideon* for his Victory; in the former Caſe, the Shadow *went back ten Degrees in* Ahaz's *Dial*, Iſa. xxxviii. 8. and, in the latter, *the Fleece was wet, and all the Ground about it dry*; and then (to change the Trial) *it was dry, and all the Ground about it wet*, Judg. vi. 38, 39. Theſe were all Signs, proper, ſignificant, and ſatisfactory, having ſomething new, ſurpriſing, and extraordinary in them, denoting the Hand, and Interpoſition of God: But where every Thing continues to be as it was before, and the Face of Nature, in all its Parts, the very ſame, it cannot ſignify any Thing *new*, nor any new Intention of the Author of Nature; and, conſequently, cannot be a Sign or Pledge, a Token or Aſſurance of the Accompliſhment of any new Covenant, or Promiſe made by him. *Burnet*'s Theory, l. 2. c. 5.

* Common Philoſophy teaches us, that the Rainbow is a *natural* Sign, that there will not be much Rain after it appears, but that the Clouds begin to diſperſe. For, as it never appears in a thick Cloud, but only in a *thin*; whenever it appears, after Showers, which come from thick Clouds, it is a Token that they now grow thin; and therefore the God of Nature made Choice of this Sign, rather than any other, to ſatisfy us, that he wou'd never ſuffer the Clouds to thicken again to ſuch a Degree, as to bring another Deluge upon the Earth. *Patrick*'s Commentary. "Fit Iris ab adverſo Sole, mittente Radios in nubem non denſum; ſignificat ergo naturaliter, quod & juſſu Dei, "Imbrem nunquam obruturum mundum: Quî enim poſſit, cum neque cœlum totum obductum nubibus ſit, neque, "quæ adſunt, ſunt valde denſæ?" *Valeſius*, de S. Philoſ. c. 9.

* The ingenious *Marcus Marci* is of Opinion, that the *Rainbow*, which firſt appear'd to *Noah* after the Flood, and was ſo particularly dignify'd by God, as to be conſecrated for a Divine Sign, was not the common one, but a *great* and *univerſal Iris*, inimitable by Art, which he has defin'd by *a Segment of a Circle, diſſected into ſeveral Gyrations* (or Rounds) *by the Diverſity of the Colours, differing one from another, begotten by the Sun-beams refracted in the Atmoſphere, and terminated with an opaque Superficies*. But whether this ſerves to explain the Matter any better, or whether the common Rainbow be not an Appearance illuſtrious enough to anſwer the Purpoſes for which it was intended, we leave the Curious to enquire; and ſhall only obſerve farther, that, whether it was an ordinary, or extraordinary Bow, which appear'd to *Noah*, 'tis the Opinion of ſome, that the Time of its firſt appearing, was not immediately after he had ſacrific'd (as is generally ſuppos'd) but on the 150th Day of the Flood, *when God remember'd* Noah, upon which very Day of the Year they likewiſe calculate the Birth of *Chriſt* (as pretypified thereby) to have exactly fallen out, and that even *the Glory of the Lord*, which *ſhone round about the Shepherds*, was a gracious Phænomenon, correſponding with this *Sign of the Covenant*. Bibliotheca Biblica, *ibid.*

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and giving him Comfort and Aſſurance, that God wou'd be ſtedfaſt to his Purpoſe.

And for whoſe Sake *it was appointed.*

FOR God did not *ſet this Bow in the Clouds for his own Sake*, to engage his Attention, and revive his Memory, whenever he *look'd on it* (though that be the Expreſſion, which the Holy Spirit, ſpeaking after the Manner of Men, has thought fit to make uſe of) but for *our Sakes* was it plac'd there, as an illuſtrious Symbol of the Divine Mercy and Goodneſs, and to confirm our Belief and Confidence in God: And therefore, whenever (*t*) *we look upon the Rainbow*, we ſhou'd do well to *praiſe him, who made it*; *for very beautiful is it in the Brightneſs thereof. It compaſſeth the Heaven with a glorious Circle, and the Hands of the Moſt High have bended it.*

That Fleſh *was not eat before the Flood.*

AND as the Goodneſs of God was very conſpicuous to *Noah* and his Poſterity, in giving them a *new Sign* for the Confirmation of his *Promiſes*; ſo was it no leſs remarkable in the *new Charter*, which he granted them, for the Enlargement of their *Diet*. That our firſt Parents, * in their State of Integrity, had not the Liberty of eating Fleſh, is very evident, becauſe they were limited by that Injunction, which appoints Herbs and Fruits for their Food: (*u*) *Behold I have given you every Herb, bearing Seed, which is upon the Face of the Earth, and every Tree, in the which is the Fruit of the Tree, yielding Seed; to you it ſhall be for Meat.* Nay, ſo far was Mankind from being indulg'd the Liberty of eating Fleſh at that Time, that we find *the Beaſts of the Field*, Creatures, that, in their Nature, are voracious, *and the Fowl of the Air, and every Thing that creeped upon the Earth*, under the ſame Reſtraint, as having nothing allow'd them for their Food, but the *Herbage* of the Ground; becauſe it was the *Almighty*'s Will, that, in the State of Innocence, no Violence ſhou'd be committed, nor any Life maintain'd at the Loſs and Forfeiture of another's.

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THIS was the original Order and Appointment, and ſo it continu'd after the Fall; for we can hardly ſuppoſe, that God wou'd allow a greater Privilege to Man, after his Tranſgreſſion, than he did before. On the contrary, we find him (*x*) *curſing the Ground* for Man's Sake, and telling him expreſsly, that *in Sorrow he ſhou'd eat of it all the Days of his Life*; and, though it ſhou'd bring forth *Thorns* and *Thiſtles* to him, yet here the Reſtriction is ſtill continu'd, *Of the Herbs of the Field thou ſhalt eat*, which is far from implying a Permiſſion to make Uſe of living Creatures for that Purpoſe.

NAY, farther we may obſerve, that ſuch a Permiſſion had been inconſiſtent with God's Intention of puniſhing him by impoveriſhing the Earth; ſince, had God indulg'd him the Liberty of making uſe of what Creatures he pleas'd for his Food, he might eaſily have made himſelf an Amends for the Unfruitfulneſs of the Earth, by the many good Things which Nature had provided for him. The *Dominion* therefore, which God at firſt gave Mankind over Brute-Animals, cou'd not extend to their ſlaying them for Food, ſince another Kind of Diet was enjoin'd them; nor cou'd the Diſtinction of *Clean* and *Unclean* reſpect them as Things to be *eaten*, but as Things to be *ſacrific'd*. The firſt Per-

(*t*) Eccleſiaſticus, xliii. 11, 12.

* This Notion the Pagan *Poets* and *Philoſophers* had receiv'd: For *Ovid*, in his Deſcription of theſe Times, gives us to underſtand, that they fed on no Fleſh, but liv'd altogether on Herbs and Fruits, when he introduces *Pythagoras*, a great Enquirer into the antient and primitive Practices of the World, expreſſing himſelf in this Manner:

At vetus illa ætas, cui fecimus *Aurea* nomen,
Fœtibus arboreis, &, quas humus educat, herbis
Fortunata fuit; nec polluit ora Cruore.
Tunc & Aves tutæ movere per aëra pennas,
Et Lepus impavidus mediis erravit in arvis;
Nec ſua Credulitas piſcem ſuſpenderat hamo.
Cuncta ſine Inſidiis, nullamque timentia fraudem,
Plenaque Pacis erant. *Met.* l. 15.

Porphyry, in his Book *de Abſtinentiâ*, aſſerts the ſame Thing, *viz.* That in the Golden Age, no Fleſh of Beaſts was eaten, and he is to be pardon'd in what he adds afterwards, *viz.* That War and Famine introduc'd this Practice. He was not acquainted with *Geneſis*; he knew not, that God's Order to *Noah*, after the Flood, was, that *every living Creature ſhou'd be Meat for him. Edwards*'s Survey of Religion, Vol. I. p. 117.

(*u*) Gen. i. 29, 30. (*x*) Ch. iii. 17, 18.

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miſſion to eat them was given to *Noah* and his Sons, and is plainly a diſtinct Branch of Power, from what God grants, when he tells them, (*y*) *The Fear of you, and the Dread of you ſhall be upon every Beaſt of the Earth*, &c.

Why it was granted to Noah and his Poſterity.

If it be aſk'd, for what Reaſon God ſhou'd indulge *Noah* and his Poſterity in the eating of Fleſh after the Flood, which he had never permitted before it; the moſt probable Anſwer is,——That he therefore did it, becauſe the Earth was corrupted by the Deluge, and the Virtue of its Herbs, and Plants, and other Vegetables, ſadly impair'd by the Saltneſs, and long Continuance of the Waters, ſo that, they cou'd not yield that wholeſome and ſolid Nutriment, which they did before: Tho' others rather think, that God indulg'd them in this, (*z*) *becauſe of the Hardneſs of their Hearts*; and that, perceiving the Eagerneſs of their Appetites towards carnal Food, and deſigning withal to abbreviate the Term of human Life, he gave them a free Licence to eat it; but knowing, at the ſame Time, that it was leſs *ſalutary*, than the natural Products of the Earth, he thence took Occaſion to accompliſh his Will and Determination, of having the Period of human Life made much ſhorter. Nor is the Reaſon, which (*a*) *Theodoret* aſſigns, for God's changing the Diet of Men from the Fruits of the Earth, to the Fleſh of Animals, much amiſs, *viz.* That, "foreknowing, in future Ages, they wou'd "idolize his Creatures, he might aggra- "vate the Abſurdity, and make it more "ridiculous ſo to do, by their conſuming "at their Tables, what they ſacrific'd at "their Altars; ſince nothing is more ab- "ſurd, than to worſhip what we eat."

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That Man's Dominion over Brute-Creatures ſtill continues.

It cannot be deny'd indeed, but that the Grant of Dominion, which God gave *Adam*, in his State of Innocence, is now much impair'd; and that the Creatures, which to him were ſubmiſſive through Love, by us muſt be us'd with Severity, and ſubjected by Fear: But ſtill it is no ſmall Happineſs to us, that we know how to ſubdue them; that the Horſe and the Ox patiently ſubmit to the Bridle and the Yoke; and ſuch Creatures, as are immorigerous, we have found out Expedients to reclaim. For, though Man's Strength be comparatively ſmall, yet is there no Creature in the Earth, Sea, or Air, but what, * by ſome Stratagem or other, he can put in Subjection under him.

But (*b*) *canſt thou draw out* Leviathan *with an Hook? or his Tongue with a Cord, which thou letteſt down? Canſt thou put an Hook into his Noſe? or bore his Jaw thro' with a Spear? Will he make many Supplications unto thee? Will he ſpeak ſoft Words unto thee? Wilt thou take him for a Servant for ever?* All theſe Queſtions, how expreſſive ſoever of the ſeveral Qualities of this *portentous* Creature, may, nevertheleſs, be anſwer'd in the *Affirmative*, *viz.* That how large ſoever in Bulk, and how tremendous ſoever in Strength this Animal may be, yet the *Greenland* Fiſhermen, who every Year return with its Spoils, do literally perform what our Author ſeems to account impoſſible; they (*c*) *fill his Skin with barbed Irons, and his Head with Fiſh-Spears*, and ſo they *play with him, as with a Bird*; *they bind him for*

(*y*) Gen. ix. 2. (*z*) Matth. xix. 8. (*a*) In Gen. Quæſt. 55. p. 44.

* This Superiority of Man, over all other Creatures, his holding them in Subjection, and making them ſubſervient to his Uſes, we find elegantly deſcrib'd by *Oppianus*, in the following Verſes:

——ἐ γάρ τι πέλει Καθυπέρτερον ἀνδρῶν,
Νόσφι Θεῶν· μένεσι δ' ὑπείξομεν ἀθανάτοισιν.
Ὅσσοι μὲν κατ' ὄρεσφι βίην ἄτρεστον ἔχοντας
Θῆρες ὑπερφιάλως βεβρῶς ἔσθουσιν· ὅσα ἢ φῦλα
Οἰωνῶν πεφέλησι καὶ ἠέρι δινεύοντα
Εἶλε, καμαίζηλόν πες ἔχων δέμας; ἠδὲ λέοντα
Ῥύσατ' ἀγηνορίη δεμνηθέμεναι· ἠδ' ἐσάωσεν
Αἰετὸν ἠνεμόεις πτερύγων ῥόθῳ· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰνδὸν
Θῆρα κελαινόῤῥινον ὑπέρβιον ἄχθῳ ἀνάγκη
Κλῖναν ἐπιβρίσαντες, ὑπὸ ζεύγλῃσι δ' ἔθηκαν
Οὐρῆων ταλαεργὸν ἔχειν πόνον ἑλκυστῆρα. Lib. 5. Halieuticon. ver. 10, &c.

(*b*) Job xli. 1, &c. (*c*) Ver. 5, &c.

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for their Maidens, and part him among their Merchants.

IN ſhort, God has implanted in all Creatures, a Fear and Dread of Man. (*d*) This is the Thing, which keeps Wolves out of our Towns, and Lions out of our Streets; and tho' the Sharpneſs of Hunger, or Violence of Rage, may, at certain Times, make them forget their natural *Inſtinct* (as the like Cauſes have ſometimes diveſted Man of his *Reaſon*) yet, no ſooner are theſe Cauſes remov'd, but they return to their ordinary Temper again, without purſuing their Advantage, or combining with their Fellow-Brutes to riſe up in Rebellion againſt Man, their Lord and Maſter.

Why Moſes *makes ſo little Mention of* Noah *after the Flood.*

(*e*) SOME modern Writers of no ſmall Note are clearly of Opinion, that the *Ararat*, where the Ark reſted, was Mount *Caucaſus*, not far from *China*, where *Noah* and ſome Part of his Family ſettled, without travelling to *Shinar*, or having any Hand in the Building of *Babel*; and the Arguments they alledge for the Support of this Opinion, are ſuch as theſe,—— That the *Moſaick* Hiſtory is altogether ſilent, as to the peopling of *China* at the Diſperſion, and wholly confines itſelf within the Bounds of the then known World; that the *Chineſe* Language and Writing are ſo entirely different from thoſe among us, (introduc'd by the Confuſion at *Babel*) that it cannot well be ſuppos'd, they were ever deriv'd from them; and that (taking their firſt King *Fohi* and *Noah* to be the ſame Perſon) there are ſeveral (*f*) Traditions, relating to them, wherein they ſeem to agree, that the Reign of *Fohi* coincides with the Times of *Noah*, and the Lives of his Succeſſors correſpond with the Men of the ſame Ages recorded in Scripture; and from hence they infer, that the true Reaſon why *Moſes* makes ſo little mention of *Noah*, in the Times ſubſequent to the Flood, is this,——That he liv'd at too great a Diſtance, and had no Share in the Tranſactions of the Nations round about *Shinar*, to whom alone, after the Diſperſion of Mankind, he is known to confine Hiſtory. This indeed is ſolving the Difficulty at once: But then, as this Opinion is only *conjectural*, the Hiſtories and Records of *China* are of a very uncertain and precarious Authority, and ſuch as are reputed *genuine*, of no older Date, than ſome few Centuries before the Birth of Chriſt, the major Part of the learned World has ſuppos'd, either that *Noah*, ſettling in the Country of *Armenia*, did not remove from thence, nor had any Concern in the Work of *Babel*, and ſo falls not under the Hiſtorian's Conſideration; or that, if he did remove with the reſt, into the Plains of *Shinar*, being now *ſuperannuated*, and unfit for Action, the Adminiſtration of Things was committed to other Hands, which made his Name and Authority the leſs taken Notice of.

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Why he records the Account of his Drunkenneſs.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd however, that the Deſign of the *ſacred* Penman is, to be very ſuccinct in his Account of the Affairs of this *Period*, becauſe he is haſtening to the Hiſtory of *Abraham*, the great Founder of the *Jewiſh* Nation, and whoſe Life and Adventures he thinks himſelf concern'd, upon that Account, to relate more at large. However this be, 'tis certain, from the Tenor of his Writing, that he is far from leading us into any Suſpicion of his having a private Malignity to *Noah*'s Character. He informs us, that, amidſt the Corruption of the *Antediluvian* World, he preſerv'd himſelf immaculate, and did therefore *find Favour in the Sight of God*, and was admitted to the Honour of his immediate Converſe: that, to preſerve him from the general Deſtruction, God

(*d*) *Miller*'s Hiſtory of the Church, l. 1. c. 1.

(*e*) Dr *Alix*, in his Reflections on the Books of the Holy Scriptures. Mr *Whiſton*, in his Chronology of the Old Teſtament. *Shuckford*, in his Connection, and *Bedford*, in his Scripture Chronology.

(*f*) Thus, in the *Chineſe* Hiſtory, *Fohi* is ſaid to have had no Father, which agrees well enough with *Noah*, becauſe the Memory of his Father might be loſt in the Deluge; that *Fohi*'s Mother conceiv'd him, as ſhe was encompaſs'd with a Rainbow, which ſeems to allude to the Rainbow's firſt appearing to *Noah* after the Flood; and that *Fohi* carefully bred up *ſeven* Sort of Creatures, which he us'd to ſacrifice to the ſupreme Spirit of Heaven and Earth, which is an imperfect Tradition of *Noah*'s taking into the Ark, of every *clean Beaſt by ſevens*, and of his making uſe of none but theſe, in all his Burnt-Offerings. *Shuckford*'s Connection, *Lib.* 2.

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God inſtructed him how to build a Veſſel of Security, undertook the Care and Conduct of it himſelf, and, amidſt the Ruins of a ſinking World, landed it ſafe on one of the Mountains of *Armenia*; that, as ſoon as the Deluge was over, God accepted of his Homage and Sacrifice, and not only renew'd to him the ſame *Charter*, which he had originally granted to our firſt Progenitor, but, over and above that, gave him an Enlargement of his *Diet*, which he had not granted to any before; and with him made *an everlaſting Covenant*, never to deſtroy the World by Water any more, whereof he conſtituted his *Bow* in the Clouds to be a glorious *Symbol*. In this Point of Light it is that *Moſes* has, all along, plac'd the Patriarch's Character; and therefore, if, in the Concluſion of it, he was forc'd to ſhade it with one Act of *Intemperance*, this, we may reaſonably conclude, proceeded from no other Paſſion, but his Love of Truth; and, to every impartial Reader, muſt be * a ſtrong Argument of his *Veracity*, in that he has interſpers'd the Faults with the Commendations of his *Worthies*, and, through his whole Hiſtory, drawn no one Character ſo very fair, as not to leave ſome Blemiſhes, ſome Inſtances of human Frailty ſtill abiding on it. And indeed, if we conſider the Thing rightly, we ſhall find it an Act of ſingular Kindneſs, and Benefit to us, that God has order'd the Faults and Miſcarriages of his Saints ſo conſtantly to be recorded in Scripture; ſince *they are written for our Inſtruction*, to remind us of our Frailty, and to alarm our Caution and Fear.

NOAH, we read, had eſcap'd the Pollutions of the *old* World, and approv'd his Fidelity to God in every trying Juncture; and yet we ſee him here falling of his own Accord, and ſhamefully overcome in a Time of Security and Peace, when he had no Temptations to beſet him, nor any boon Companions to allure him to Exceſs: And therefore his Example calls perpetually upon (*g*) *him, that thinketh he ſtandeth, to take heed leſt he fall.* More eſpecially it informs us, that (*h*) *Wine is a Mocker, ſtrong Drink is raging, and, whoſoever is deceived thereby, is not wiſe*; and therefore it exhorts, in the Words of the *wiſe Man*, (*i*) *Look not thou upon Wine, when it is red, when it giveth its Colour in the Cup, when it moveth itſelf aright. At the laſt it will bite like a Serpent, and ſting like an Adder. Thine Eyes ſhall behold ſtrange Women, and thine Heart ſhall utter perverſe Things; yea, thou ſhalt be as he, that lieth down in the midſt of the Sea, and as he, that lieth upon the Top of a Maſt.* From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

THERE is not however all the Reaſon that is imagin'd, to ſuppoſe, that *Noah* was drunk to any ſuch exceſſive Degree. The ſame Word, which is here us'd, occurs (*k*) in another Place in this Book of *Geneſis*, where we read, that *Joſeph*'s Brethren *drank, and were merry with him*; and yet the Circumſtances of the Entertainment will not ſuffer us to think, that they indulg'd themſelves in any Exceſs, in the Preſence of him, whom, as yet, they knew to be no other, than the Governor of *Egypt*. And, in like manner, if we may be allow'd to take the Word here in an innocent Senſe, its Import will only be, that *Noah* drank of the Wine *plentifully* perhaps, but not to a Debauch, and ſo fell aſleep. For we muſt obſerve, that *Moſes*'s Deſign is, not to accuſe *Noah* of Intemperance, but only to ſhew, upon what Occaſion it was, that the *Canaanites*, whom the People under his Command were now going *And in what Senſe it may be underſtood.*

* To confirm, in ſome Meaſure, the Truth of this Account of *Moſes*, we have an Heathen Story, which ſeems to have ſprung from ſome Tradition concerning it; for it tells us, that, on a certain Day, *Myrrha*, Wife, or (as others ſay) Nurſe to *Hammon*, and Mother of *Adonis*, having her Son in her Company, found *Cyniſtas* ſleeping in his Tent, all uncover'd, and in an indecent Poſture. She ran immediately, and inform'd *Hammon* of it; he gave Notice of it to his Brothers, who, to prevent the Confuſion which *Cyniſtas* might be in, to find himſelf naked, cover'd him with ſomething. *Cyniſtas*, underſtanding what had paſs'd, curs'd *Adonis*, and purſu'd *Myrrha* into *Arabia*; where, after having wander'd nine Months, ſhe was chang'd into a Tree, which bears Myrrh. *Hammon* and *Ham* are the ſame Perſon, and ſo are *Adonis* and *Canaan*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Ham*.

(*g*) 1 Cor. x. 12. (*h*) Prov. xx. 1. (*i*) Ch. xxiii. 31, &c. (*k*) Ch. xliii. 34.

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going to engage, were accurs'd, and reprobated by God, even from the Days of *Noah*, and, consequently, in more Likelihood to fall into their Hands.

WITHOUT perplexing ourselves therefore to find out such Excuses, as several Interpreters have devis'd; as, that *Noah* was unacquainted with the Nature of the Vine in *general*, * or with the Effects of This in *particular*, or that the Age and Infirmity of his Body, or the deep Concern and Melancholy of his Mind, made him liable to be overcome with a very little; we may adventure to say, that he drank *plentifully*, without impeaching his *Sobriety*; and that, while he was asleep, he chanc'd to be *uncover'd*, without any Stain upon his *Modesty*. There is a great deal of Difference between *Satiety* and *Intemperance*, between refreshing Nature, and debauching it; and, considering withal, that the Fashion of Men's Habits was at that Time *loose*, (as they were likewise in subsequent Ages, before the Use of Breeches was found out) such an Accident might have easily happen'd, without the Imputation of any Harm.

Why Noah *curs'd* Canaan, *and not* Ham.

(*l*) THE *Jewish* Doctors are generally of Opinion, that *Canaan*, * having first discover'd his Grandfather's Nakedness, made himself merry therewith, and afterwards expos'd it to the Scorn of his Father. Whoever the Person was, 'tis certain, that he is call'd (*m*) the *younger*, or *little* Son of *Noah*; which cannot well agree with *Ham*, because he was neither *little*, nor his *younger* Son, but the second, or middlemost, as he is always plac'd; (*n*) nor does it seem so pertinent to the Matter in Hand, to mention the Order of his Birth, but very fit (if he speaks of his Grandson) to distinguish him from the rest. So that, if it was *Canaan*, who treated his Grandsire in this unworthy Manner, the Application of the Curse to him, who was first in the Offence, is far from being a Mistake in *Noah*. 'Tis no random *Anathema*, which he let fly at all Adventures, but a cool, deliberate Denunciation, which proceeded, not from a Spirit of *Indignation*, but of *Prophecy*. The History indeed takes Notice of this Malediction immediately upon *Noah*'s awaking out of his Sleep, and being inform'd of what had happen'd; but this is occasion'd by its known *Brevity*, which (as we have often remark'd) relates Things, as instantly *successive*, when a considerable Space of Time ought to interfere. In all Probability, these Predictions of *Noah*, which point out the different Fates of his Posterity, were such, as (*o*) we find † *Jacob* pronouncing

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K k k

* It is a *Jewish* Tradition or Allegory, that the Vine, which *Noah* planted, was not of ordinary, terrestrial Growth, but was carry'd down the River out of *Paradise*, or at least out of *Eden*, and found by him: And, as some have imagin'd, that the *Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil* was a Vine; so, by the Description given thereof, and the fatal Consequences attending it, there seems to be a plain Allusion to it, and some Reason to believe, that it was one and the same Tree, by which the Nakedness both of *Adam* and *Noah* was expos'd to Derision. *Targ. Jonath.*

(*l*) *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Canaan*.

* Interpreters have invented several other Reasons, why the Curse, which properly belong'd to *Ham*, was inflicted on his Son *Canaan*; as 1*st*, When *Canaan* is mention'd, *Ham* is not exempted from the Malediction, but rather more deeply plung'd into it, because Parents are apt to be more affected with their Childrens Misfortunes, than their own; especially, if themselves brought the Evil upon them by their own Fault or Folly. 2*dly*, God having bless'd the three Sons of *Noah*, at their going out of the Ark, it was not proper, that *Noah*'s Curse shou'd interfere with the Divine Blessing, but very proper, that it shou'd be transferr'd to *Canaan*, in regard to the future Extirpation of the the People, which were to descend from him. But, 3*dly*, Some imagine, that there is here an *Ellipsis*, or Defect of the Word *Father*, since such relative Words are frequently omitted, or understood in Scripture. Thus *Mat.* iv. 21. *James* of *Zebedee*, for *the Son of Zebedee*; John xix. 25. *Mary of Cleopas*, for *the Wife of Cleopas*; and *Acts* vii. 16. *Emmor of Sychem*, for *the Father of Sychem*, which our Translation rightly supplies; and, in like Manner, *Canaan* may be put for *the Father of Canaan*, as the *Arabick* Translation has it, *i. e. Ham*, as the *Septuagint* here render it. And, tho' *Ham* had more Sons, yet he may here be describ'd by his Relation to *Canaan*, because in him the Curse was more fix'd and dreadful, reaching to his utter Extirpation, whilst the rest of *Ham*'s Posterity, in After-Ages, were bless'd with the saving Knowledge of the Gospel. *Pool*'s Annotations.

(*m*) Gen. ix. 24. (*n*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*o*) Gen. xlix.

† That which may confirm us in this Opinion, is,—That *Jacob*, when he calleth his Children together, acquaints them, that his Purpose is *to tell them that which shall befal them in the last Days*; and that he does not always presage Blessings,

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pronouncing over his Sons, a little before his Death; and 'tis not unlikely, that the common Opinion, of *Noah*'s dividing the Earth among *his*, might take its Original from theſe *laſt* Words, that we read of him, which were certainly accompliſh'd in their Event.

The Curſe *verify'd.*

THE Curſe upon *Canaan* is, that he ſhou'd *be a Servant to* Shem: And, (*p*) about 800 Years after this, did not the *Iſraelites*, Deſcendants of *Shem*, take Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*, ſubdue thirty of its Kings, deſtroy moſt of its Inhabitants, lay heavy Tributes upon the Remainder, and, by Oppreſſions of one Kind or other, oblige ſome to flee into *Egypt*, * others into *Africa*, and others into *Greece*? He was doom'd likewiſe to be a *Servant to* Japhet; and did not the *Greeks* and *Romans*, deſcended from *Japhet*, utterly deſtroy the Relicks of *Canaan*, who fled to *Tyre*, built by the *Sidonians*; to *Thebes*, built by *Cadmus*; and to *Carthage*, built by *Dido*? For who has not heard of the Conqueſts of the *Romans* over the *Africans*?

The Bleſſing *upon* Japhet.

THE Bleſſing upon *Japhet* is, that his Territories ſhou'd be *enlarg'd*: (*q*) And can we think otherwiſe, when (as we ſhall ſhew anon) not only all *Europe*, and the *Leſſer Aſia*, but *Media* likewiſe, and Part of *Armenia*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, and the vaſt Regions towards the *North*, which antiently the *Scythians*, but now the *Tartars* inhabit, fell to the Share of his Poſterity? It was likewiſe declar'd, that he ſhou'd *dwell in the Tents of* Shem; and is it not notorious, that the *Greeks* and *Romans* invaded, and conquer'd that Part of *Aſia*, where the Poſterity of *Shem* had planted themſelves; that both *Alexander* and *Cæſar* were Maſters of *Jeruſalem*, and made all the Countries thereabout tributary? "You, "ſays (*r*) *Juſtin Martyr*, (ſpeaking to "*Trypho* the *Jew* concerning his Nation) "who are deſcended from *Shem*, accord- "ing as God had appointed, came into "the Land of the Children of *Canaan*, "and made it your own; and, in like "Manner, according to the Divine De- "cree, the Sons of *Japhet* (the *Romans*) "have broke in upon you, ſeiz'd upon "your whole Country, and ſtill keep Poſ- "ſeſſion of it. Thus the Sons of *Shem*, "*ſays he*, have over-power'd, and reduc'd "the *Canaanite*; and the Sons of *Japhet* "have ſubdu'd the Sons of *Shem*, and "made them their Vaſſals; ſo that the "Poſterity of *Canaan* are become, in a "literal Senſe, *Servants of Servants*."

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And upon Shem, *verify'd.*

THERE is ſomething peculiar in the Bleſſing which *Noah* gives *Shem*; for (*s*) *bleſſed*, ſays he, *be the Lord God of* Shem: But why the God of *Shem*, and not the God of *Japhet*? As to the Behaviour of theſe two Sons towards their Father, it was the ſame. They join'd in the pious Office done to him; ſo that in this reſpect they were equal, and equally deſerving of a Bleſſing. Nay, if any Preference was due to either from the Father, it was to *Japhet*, his *Firſt-born*; for ſo he was, tho' commonly laſt nam'd, when the Sons of *Noah* are mention'd together. Now this being the Caſe, how comes *Shem* to be preferr'd? And what is the Bleſſing conferr'd on him? A temporal Bleſſing it cou'd not be; for that was before confirm'd with all the Sons of *Noah*. Day and Night, Summer and Winter, Seed-Time and Harveſt, were a common Gift to the World, and beſtow'd (as our Saviour obſerves

Bleſſings, but ſometimes ill Luck to their Poſterity, and (in the ſame Manner that *Noah* does) now and then drops a Note of his Diſpleaſure, according as their Behaviour has been: For thus he ſays of *Simeon* and *Levi*, in regard to the Slaughter of the *Shechemites*, *Curſed be their Anger, for it was fierce; and their Wrath, for it was cruel*, Gen. xlix. 7.

(*p*) *Patrick*'s Comment. in Locum.

* *Procopius* [de Bello Vandal. l. 2. c. 10.] tells us, that, in the Province of *Tingitana*, and in the very antient City of *Tingis*, which was founded by them, there are two great *Pillars* to be ſeen, of white Stone, erected near a large Fountain, with an Inſcription in *Phœnician* Characters, to this Purpoſe, *We are People preſerv'd by Flight from that Rover* Jeſus, *the Son of* Nave, *who purſu'd us*. And, what makes it very probable, that they bent their Flight this Way, is the great Agreement, and almoſt Identity of the *Punick*, with the *Canaaniticſh*, or *Hebrew* Language. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Canaan*.

(*q*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*r*) Dial. contra Tryp. Jud. p. 288. (*s*) Gen. ix. 26.

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obſerves) *on the Evil, as well as on the Good.* We may therefore preſume, that the Bleſſing, here given to *Shem*, was of a different Kind, founded upon (*t*) a *better Covenant*, and *eſtabliſhed upon better Promiſes*, than any temporal Grant can be. And, accordingly, we may obſerve, that the ſame Promiſe, which was given to *Adam* after the Fall, *viz.* that the *Seed of the Woman* ſhould finally prevail, was renew'd to *Noah* before the Flood; for (*u*) *with thee will I eſtabliſh my Covenant*, ſays God; and therefore, as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* tells us of this Patriarch, (*x*) *that he was Heir of Righteouſneſs, which is by Faith*; he certainly foreſaw, that in *Seth*'s Family, God wou'd ſettle his Church; that of his Seed Chriſt ſhou'd be born *according to the Fleſh*; and, that the Covenant, which ſhou'd reſtore Man to himſelf and to his Maker, ſhou'd be convey'd through his Poſterity. And this accounts for the Preference given to *Shem*; for *Noah* ſpake not of his own Choice, but declar'd the Counſel of God, who had now, as he frequently did afterwards, *choſen the Younger before the Elder*.

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THUS it appears upon Enquiry, that theſe Prophecies of *Noah*, were not the Fumes of indigeſted Liquor, but (*y*) *the Words of Truth and Soberneſs:* And tho' their Senſe was not ſo apparent at the Time of their being pronounc'd, yet their Accompliſhment has now explain'd their Meaning, and verify'd that Obſervation of the Apoſtle (which very probably alludes to the very Predictions now before us) *No Prophecy is of any private Interpretation; for the Prophecy came not of old Time by the Will of Men, but holy Men of God ſpake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt.*

DISSERTATION I.

Of the Prohibition of Blood.

The Meaning of the Prohibition.

THE Grant, which God was pleas'd to give *Noah* and his Poſterity, to eat the Fleſh of all living Creatures, has this remarkable Reſtriction in it, (*z*) *But Fleſh, with the Life thereof, which is the Blood thereof, ſhall you not eat.* Whether this Prohibition related to the eating of *Things ſtrangled*, and ſuch as *died of themſelves*, in which the Blood was ſettled, (as (*a*) ſome will have it) or to the eating of the Fleſh of Creatures, reaking in Blood, and their Limbs cut off, while they themſelves were yet alive, (as others (*b*) imagine) is not ſo material here to enquire; ſince the *former* was prohibited by *ſubſequent* Laws, both (*c*) in the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Church, and the *latter* was a Practice too abhorrent to human Nature, one wou'd think, to need any Prohibition at all. Whether therefore it be Blood congeal'd, or Blood mingled in the Fleſh, that is here primarily intended, the Injunction muſt at leaſt equally extend to Blood *ſimple* and *unmixt*; nor can any Interpretation imaginable be more natural, and obvious than this: —— "Though I "give you the Fleſh of every Creature, "that you ſhall think proper to make uſe "of for Food, yet I do not, at the ſame "Time, give you the Blood with it. *The* "*Blood is the Life*, or the Vehicle and "chief Inſtrument of Life, in every Crea"ture; it muſt therefore be reſerv'd for "another Uſe, and not be eaten."

The Queſtion thereupon.

THIS is the true Senſe of the Prohibition, compar'd with theſe Parts of the *Levitical* Law, wherein we find it re-injoin'd: But then the Queſtion is, whether this Injunction be obligatory upon us now, under the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel; or whether

(*t*) Heb. viii. 6. (*u*) Gen. vi. 18. (*x*) Heb. xi. 7. (*y*) Acts xxvi. 25. (*z*) Gen. ix. 4.
(*a*) St *Chryſoſtom*, and *Ludovicus* de Dieu. (*b*) *Maimonides*, and our *Selden* de Jure Gentium. (*c*) *Vid.* Lev. xvii. 12. *and* Acts xv. 20.

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whether the Goſpel, which is *the Law of Liberty*, has ſet us free from any ſuch Obſervance? And a Queſtion it is, that ought the rather to be determin'd, becauſe ſome have made it a Matter of no ſmall Scruple to themſelves, whilſt others have paſs'd it by with Neglect, as a Law of temporary Duration only, and now quite abrogated.

That therefore the Reader may, in this Matter, chiefly judge for himſelf, I ſhall fairly ſtate the Arguments on both Sides; and, when I have done this, by a ſhort Examination into the Merits of each Evidence, endeavour to convince myſelf, and others, on which Side of the Queſtion it is, that Truth preponderates; and, conſequently, what ought to be the Practice of every good Chriſtian, in relation to this Law.

The Arguments for the eating of Blood.

Those, who maintain the Lawfulneſs of eating Blood, do not deny, but that this Prohibition oblig'd *Noah* and his Poſterity, *i. e.* all Mankind, to the Time of the Promulgation of the Law; do not deny, but that, at the giving of the *Law*, this Prohibition was renew'd, and more *explicit* Reaſons were given for the Obſervation of it; nay, do not deny, but that under the *Goſpel* it was enjoin'd by a very competent Authority, to ſome particular Chriſtians at leaſt, for ſome determinate Time. But then they contend, that, during theſe ſeveral Periods, there cou'd be no *Moral Obligation* in the Injunction, but that, (ſetting aſide the Divine Authority) (*d*) *neither if they did eat, were they the worſe, neither if they did not eat, were they the better.*

For, if there was any moral *Turpitude* in the Act of eating Blood, or Things commix'd with Blood, how comes it to paſs, *ſay they*, that, though God prohibited his own People the *Jews*, yet he ſuffer'd other Nations to eat (*e*) *any Thing that died of itſelf*, and, conſequently, had the Blood ſettled in it? *If* (*f*) *Meat commendeth us to God*, the ſame Providence, which took Care to reſtrain the *Jews* (*g*) (*for is he the God of the* Jews *only*; *is he not alſo of the* Gentiles?) from what was deteſtable to him, as well as abhorrent to human Nature, wou'd have laid the ſame Inhibition upon all Mankind; at leaſt he wou'd not have enjoin'd his own People *to give* to a *Proſelyte* of the Gate, or *to ſell to an Alien*, or Heathen, ſuch Meat, as wou'd neceſſarily inſnare them in Sin.

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The Law therefore, which enjoin'd *Noah* and his Children to abſtain from *Blood*, muſt neceſſarily have been a Law peculiar to that Time only. (*h*) *Cain*, in the firſt Age of the World, had ſlain *Abel*, while there were but few Perſons in it: God had now deſtroy'd all Mankind, except eight Perſons; and, to prevent the Fate of *Abel* from befalling any of them, he forbids Murther under a capital Puniſhment; and, to this Purpoſe, forbids the Uſe of Blood, as a proper Guard upon human Life, in the Infancy of the World. Under the *Moſaick* Covenant he renews this Law indeed, but then he eſtabliſhes it upon another Foundation, and makes Blood *therefore* prohibited, becauſe he had appointed it (*i*) *to be offer'd upon the Altar, and to make an Atonement for Mens Souls; for it is the Blood*, ſaith he, *that maketh an Atonement for the Soul*; and what was reſerv'd for religious Purpoſes was not at that Time convenient to be eat. But now, that theſe Purpoſes are anſwer'd, and theſe Sacrifices are at an End, the Reaſon of our Abſtinence has ceas'd, and, conſequently, our Abſtinence itſelf is no longer a Duty.

Blood, we allow, had ſtill ſomething more ſacred in it: It was a Type of the Sacrifice of *Chriſt*, who was to be offer'd upon the Altar of his Croſs; but that Oblation being now made, the Reaſon of its Appropriation, and being with-held from common Uſe, is now no more. And, though the Council at *Jeruſalem* made a Decree, even ſubſequent to the Sacrifice of *Chriſt*, that the *Brethren, who were of the Gentiles, ſhou'd abſtain from Things ſtrangled, and from Blood*; yet before we can determine any Thing from this Injunction,

(*d*) 1 Cor. viii. 8.
(*b*) Miſcellanea Sacra, Vol. II.
(*e*) Deut. xiv. 21.
(*i*) Lev. xvii. 11.
(*f*) 1 Cor. viii. 8.
(*g*) Rom. iii. 29.

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Injunction, the Occaſion, Place, Time, and other Circumſtances of it, muſt be carefully look'd into.

THE *Occaſion* of the Decree was this, ——while *Paul* and *Barnabas* were preaching the Goſpel at *Antioch*, certain Perſons, converted from *Judaiſm*, came down from *Jeruſalem*, and, very probably, pretending a Commiſſion from the Apoſtles, declar'd it their Opinion, that, whoever embrac'd the Chriſtian Religion, was oblig'd, at the ſame Time, to be circumcis'd, and obſerve the whole Law.

THE *Place*, where the Queſtion aroſe, was *Antioch*, where (as *Joſephus* tells us) there was a famous *Jewiſh* Univerſity, full of *Proſelytes of the Gate*, (as they were call'd) and who, in all Probability, were converted by the Men of (*k*) *Cyprus* and *Cyrene*, who were among thoſe, that were diſpers'd, at the firſt Perſecution, which immediately enſu'd the Martyrdom of *Stephen*.

THE *Perſons*, who mov'd this Queſtion, were (*l*) *ſome of the Sect of the Phariſees*, converted to Chriſtianity; but ſtill ſo prejudic'd in Favour of their old Religion, or at leaſt of the Divine Rite of *Circumciſion*, that they thought there was no coming to *Chriſt*, without entering in at that Gate.

THE *Perſons*, to whom the Queſtion related, (*m*) were *Proſelytes of the Gate*, i. e. *Gentiles* by Birth, but who had renounc'd the *Heathen* Religion, as to all Idolatry, and were thereupon permitted to live in *Paleſtine*, or wherever the *Jews* inhabited; and had ſeveral Privileges allow'd them, upon Condition, that they wou'd obſerve the Laws of Society, and conform to certain Injunctions, that (*n*) *Moſes* had preſcrib'd them.

THE *Time*, when this Queſtion aroſe, was not long after the Converſion of *Cornelius*; ſo that, this Body of *Proſelytes* was, very probably, the firſt large Number of *Gentiles*, that were receiv'd into the Chriſtian Church, and this the firſt Time that the Queſtion was agitated,—— "Whether "the *Proſelytes of the Gate*, who (as the "Zealots pretended) cou'd not ſo much "as live among *Jews* without Circumci-"ſion, cou'd be allow'd to be a Part of "the Chriſtian Church without it?"

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UNDER theſe Circumſtances the Council at *Jeruſalem* conven'd, and accordingly made their Decree, that the *Proſelytes of the Gate* (for 'tis Perſons of this Denomination only, which their Decree concerns) *ſhould* (*o*) *abſtain from the Meats offer'd to Idols, and from Blood, and from Things ſtrangled, and from Fornication*; the very Things, which, (*p*) according to the Law of *Moſes*, they engag'd themſelves to abſtain from, when they were firſt admitted to the Privilege of ſojourning among the *Jews*. So that, in Effect, the Decree did no more than declare the Opinion of thoſe, who made it, to thoſe to whom it was ſent, *viz.* that Chriſtianity did not alter the Condition of the Proſelytes, in Reſpect of their *civil* Obligations, but that, as they were bound by theſe Laws of *Moſes* before their Converſion, ſo were they ſtill; and conſequently, that the Senſe of St *Paul* is the ſame with the Senſe of the Council at that Time; (*q*) *let every one abide in the Calling*, i. e. in the civil State and Condition, *wherein he is called*. But, ſuppoſing the Decree to extend farther than the Proſelytes of *Antioch*, yet there was another Reaſon why the Council at *Jeruſalem* ſhou'd determine in this Manner, and that was——the ſtrong Averſion, which, they knew, the *Jewiſh* Converts wou'd have conceiv'd againſt the *Gentiles*, had they been indulg'd the Liberty of eating Blood; and therefore, to compromiſe the Matter, they laid on them this prudent Reſtraint, from the ſame Principle, that we find St *Paul* declaring himſelf in this Manner: (*r*) *Though I am free from all Men, yet have I made myſelf a Servant unto all, that I might gain the more. Unto the* Jew, *I became as a* Jew, *that I might gain the* Jew;——*to the Weak, became I as weak,*

(*k*) Acts xi. 20. (*l*) Ch. xv. 5. (*m*) Miſcellanea Sacra, Vol. II. (*n*) Lev. xvii. (*o*) Acts xv. 29. (*p*) *Vid.* Lev. xvii. *and* xviii. (*q*) 1 Cor. vii. 20. (*r*) Ch. ix. 19, 20, 22.

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that I might gain the Weak. I am made all Things to all Men, that I might by all Means save some.

NAY, admitted the Decree was not made with this View, yet, being founded on Laws, which concern'd the *Jewish Polity* only, it cou'd certainly last no longer than that Government lasted; and consequently, ever since the Temple-Worship has expir'd, and the *Jews* have ceas'd to be a *political* Body, it must have been repeal'd; and accordingly, if we look into the Gospel, *say they*, we may there find a Repeal of it in full Form. For therein we are told, (*s*) that *the Kingdom of God is not Meat and Drink, but Righteousness, and Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost*; (*t*) that *Meat commendeth us not unto God*; (*u*) that *what goeth into the Mouth defileth not the Man*; (*x*) that *to the Pure, all Things are pure*; and (*y*) that *there is nothing unclean of itself, but only to him, that esteemeth it to be unclean, it is unclean*; for *every Creature of God is good, and nothing is to be refus'd, if it be receiv'd with Thanksgiving, for it is sanctify'd with the Word of God and Prayer* (*z*): And therefore we are order'd, (*a*) that *whatever is sold in the Shambles*, even though it be a Thing *offer'd to Idols, that to eat, asking no Questions for Conscience sake*; and are told, that (*b*) *whoever commandeth us to abstain from Meats, which God has created to be receiv'd with Thanksgiving of them that believe, and know the Truth*, ought to be rank'd in the Number of *Seducers*.

IN a Word, the very Genius of the Christian Religion, *say they*, is a Charter of Liberty, and a full Exemption from the Law of *Moses*. It debars us from nothing, but what has a *moral* Turpitude in it, or at least, what is too base and abject for a Man, that has the Revelation of a glorious and immortal Life in the World to come: And, as there is no Tendency of this Kind in the eating of Blood, they therefore conclude, that this Decree of the Apostles, either concern'd the (*c*) *Jewish Proselytes* only, who, in Virtue of the Obedience they ow'd to the *Civil* Laws of *Palestine*, were to abstain from Blood; or oblig'd none, but the *Gentiles* of *Antioch*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, to whom it was directed; was calculated for a certain Season only, either to prevent giving Offence to the *Jews*, who were then *captious*, or to reconcile *Gentile* and *Jewish* Converts, who were then at some Variance; but was to last no longer, than till the *Jews* and *Gentiles* were form'd into one Communion. So that now, the Prohibition given by God to *Noah*, the Laws given by *Moses* to the *Israelites*, and the Decree sent by the *Apostles* to the Christians at *Antioch*, are all repeal'd and gone, and a full Licence given us to eat Blood with the same Indifference, as any other Food; if so be we thereby (*d*) *give no Offence* to our weaker Brethren, *for whom* Christ *died*.

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THOSE, who maintain the contrary Opinion, *viz.* That the eating of Blood, in any Guise whatever, is wicked and unlawful, found the chief of their Arguments upon the Limitation of the Grant given to *Noah*, the Reasons that are commonly devis'd for the Prohibition, and the literal Sense of the *Apostolick* Decree.

The Arguments against the eating of Blood.

(*e*) WHEN Princes give Grants of Lands to any of their Subjects, *say they*, they usually reserve some Royalties (such as the Mines, or Minerals) to themselves, as Memorials of their own Sovereignty, and the others Dependance. If the Grant indeed be given without any Reserve, the Mines and Minerals may be suppos'd to be included in it; but when it is thus expresly limited, "You shall have such and such "Lordships and Manors, but you shall "not have the Mines and Minerals with "the Lands, for several good Reasons spe-"cify'd in the Patent;" it must needs be an odd Turn of Thought to imagine, that the *Grantee* has any Title to them; and yet this is a parallel Case. For, when God has thus declar'd his Will to the Children of Men, —— "You shall have the Flesh "of

(*s*) Rom. xiv. 17. (*t*) 1 Cor. viii. 8. (*u*) Matth. xv. 11. (*x*) Tit. i. 15. (*y*) Rom. xiv. 14.
(*z*) 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5. (*a*) 1 Cor. x. 25, 28. (*b*) 1 Tim. iv. 1, 3. (*c*) Miscellanea Sacra, Vol. II.
(*d*) 1 Cor. viii. 11, &c. (*e*) *Vid.* Revelation Examin'd, Vol. II.

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"of every Creature for Food, but you "ſhall not eat the Blood with it;" it is every whit as ſtrange an Inference, to deduce from hence a general Right to eat Blood.

THE Commandment given to *Adam*, is —— (*f*) *Of every Tree in the Garden thou ſhalt freely eat; but of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, thou ſhalt not eat.* This is the firſt Law: And the ſecond is like unto it, (*g*) *Every moving Thing, that moveth, ſhall be Meat for you; even as the green Herb, have I given you all Things; but Fleſh, with the Life thereof, which is the Blood thereof, ſhall you not eat. This*, upon his Donation both to *Adam* and *Noah*, God manifeſtly reſerves to himſelf, as an Acknowledgment of his Right, to be duly paid; and when it was relax'd or repeal'd, *ſay they*, we cannot tell.

NAY, ſo far from being repeal'd, that it is not only in his Words to *Noah*, that God has declar'd this Inhibition, but in the Law, deliver'd by his Servant *Moſes*, he has explain'd his Mind more fully concerning it. (*h*) *Whatſoever Man there is, of the Houſe of* Iſrael, *or of the Strangers, that ſojourn among you, that eateth any Manner of Blood, I will even ſet my Face* againſt that Soul, *and will cut him off from among his People.* This is a ſevere Commination, *ſay they*; and therefore obſerve, how oft, in another Place, he reiterates the Injunction, as it were, with one Breath. (*i*) *Only be ſure, that thou eat not the Blood, for the Blood is the Life, and thou mayeſt not eat the Life with the Fleſh. Thou ſhalt not eat it; thou ſhalt pour it upon the Earth, as Water; thou ſhalt not eat it, that it may go well with thee, and thy Children after thee.*

NOW there are ſeveral Reaſons, *continue they*, why God ſhou'd be ſo importunate in this Prohibition. For, having appointed the Blood of his Creatures to be offer'd for the Sins of Men, he therefore requires, that it ſhou'd be religiouſly ſet apart for that Purpoſe; and, having prohibited the Sin of Murther under a ſevere Penalty, he therefore guards againſt it, by previouſly forbidding the eating of Blood, leſt that ſhou'd be an Inlet to Savageneſs and Cruelty.

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THE *Scythians* (as (*k*) *Herodotus* aſſures us) from drinking the Blood of their Cattle, proceeded to drink the Blood of their Enemies; and were remarkable for nothing ſo much, as their horrid and brutal Actions. The Animals that feed on Blood, are perceiv'd to be much more furious, than others that do not; and thereupon they obſerve, that Blood is a very hot, inflaming Food; that ſuch Foods create Choler, and that Choler eaſily kindleth into Cruelty. Nay, they obſerve farther, that eating of Blood gave Occaſion to one Kind of early Idolatry, among the *Zabii*, in the *Eaſt*, viz. the Worſhip of *Dæmons*, whoſe Food, as they imagin'd, was Blood; and therefore they, who ador'd them, had Communion with them by eating the ſame Food. Good Reaſon therefore, ſay they, had God in the *Goſpel*, as well as the *Law*, to prevent a Practice, which he cou'd not but foreſee wou'd be attended with ſuch pernicious Effects.

FOR the Apoſtolick Decree, *as they argue farther*, did not relate to one Sect of People only, *the Proſelytes of the Gate*, who were lately converted to Chriſtianity; nor was it directed to ſome particular Places only, and with a Deſign to anſwer ſome particular Ends, the Prevention of *Offence*, or the Reconciliation of contending Parties; to ſubſiſt for a determinate Time, and then to loſe all its Obligation: But it concern'd all Chriſtians, in all Nations, and in all future Ages of the Church; was enacted for a general Uſe and Intent; and has never ſince been repeal'd: And, to ſupport theſe Aſſertions, they proceed in this Method.

BEFORE the paſſing of this Decree, *ſay they*, St *Paul* preach'd Chriſtianity to the whole Body of the *Gentiles* at *Antioch*. For he had not long preach'd in the *Synagogues*, before the *Gentiles* (*l*) *beſought* him, that

(*f*) Gen. ii. 16, 17. (*g*) Ch. ix. 3, 4. (*h*) Lev. xvii. 10. (*i*) Deut. xii. 23, &c.
(*k*) Lib. IV. (*l*) Acts xiii. 42, &c.

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that he wou'd preach to them *the ſame Words*, i. e. the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, *on the next Sabbath-Day*; and accordingly we are told, that on the *Sabbath-Day*, *came almoſt the whole City together to hear the Word of God*, which certainly implies a Concourſe of People, more than the *Proſelytes of the Gate*, nay, more than the whole Body of the *Jews*, who were but a Handful, in Compariſon of the reſt of the Inhabitants of that great City; and that this large Company was chiefly made up of *Gentiles*, the Sequel of the Hiſtory informs us. For when the (*m*) *Jews ſaw the Multitude, they were fill'd with Envy, and ſpake againſt thoſe Things, which were ſpoken by* Paul, *contradicting and blaſpheming*; Paul *and* Barnabas *waxed bold, and ſaid, it was neceſſary that the Word of God ſhou'd firſt have been ſpoken to you, but ſeeing ye put it from you, and judge yourſelves unworthy of everlaſting Life, lo, we turn to the* Gentiles. *And when the* Gentiles *heard this, they were glad, and glorified the Word of the Lord; and as many as were ordain'd to eternal Life, believed; and the Word of the Lord was publiſh'd throughout all the Region.*

Now this Tranſaction at *Antioch*, *ſay they*, happen'd ſeven Years before the Decree againſt Blood, and Things ſtrangled was paſs'd at *Jeruſalem*; and therefore, as the *Gentiles*, not in *Antioch* only, but in all the Region round about, were no Strangers to the Doctrine of *Jeſus Chriſt*, there is Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that this Decree, when paſs'd, was not confin'd to one particular Set of Men, but directed to all *Gentile* Converts at large. For hear what the *Preſident* of the Council ſays upon this Occaſion; (*n*) *Wherefore my Sentence is, that we trouble not them, who from among the* Gentiles *are turned to God; but that we write unto them, that they abſtain from Pollutions of Idols, and from Fornication, and from Things ſtrangled, and from Blood: For* Moſes *of old Time hath in every City them that preach him, being read in the Synagogue every Sabbath-Day.*

My Sentence (ſays the Apoſtle) *is*, that ye write unto the *Gentile* Converts upon theſe Points; *for* Moſes *has thoſe of old in every City that preach him*, i. e. there is no Neceſſity of writing to any *Jewiſh* Convert, or any *Proſelyte* Convert to Chriſtianity, to abſtain from theſe Things, becauſe all, that are admitted into Synagogues, (as the *Proſelytes* were) know all theſe Things ſufficiently already. And accordingly, upon this Sentence of St *James*, the Decree was founded, and directed (according to the Nature of the Thing) to thoſe, whom it was fitting and neceſſary to inform in theſe Points, *i. e.* to thoſe, who were unacquainted with the Writings of *Moſes*.

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The *Letter* indeed, which contain'd the Decree, was directed *to the Brethren at* Antioch, Syria, *and* Cilicia; but it wou'd be ſhocking, and unchriſtian to think, that the Precepts of an *apoſtolick Epiſtle* were obligatory to thoſe only, to whom the Epiſtle was directed. The Purport of it concern'd all. It was to apprize the heathen Converts to Chriſtianity, that they were exempted from the Obſervance of the Law of *Moſes*, except in four Inſtances laid down in that Canon; and, as it was of general Concern for all Converts to know, the Apoſtles, we may preſume, left Copies of it in all the Churches: For ſo we are told expreſly of St *Paul*, and his Companions, that (*o*) *as they went thro' the Cities, they deliver'd them the Decrees for to keep, which were ordain'd of the Apoſtles and Elders, that were at* Jeruſalem; *and ſo were the Churches eſtabliſh'd in the Faith, and increas'd in Number daily.*

The Apoſtles, *ſay they*, out of Chriſtian Prudence, might do many Things to prevent *Offences*, and to accommodate Matters to the People's Good-liking: But certainly it looks below the Dignity of a *Synod*, to meet, and debate, and determine a Queſtion, with the greateſt Solemnity, merely to ſerve a preſent Exigence; to leave upon Record a Decree, which they knew

(*m*) Acts xiii. 45, &c. (*n*) Acts xv. 19, to 22. (*o*) Ch. xvi. 4, 5.

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knew wou'd be but of temporary Obligation; and yet, cou'd not but foreſee, wou'd occaſion endleſs Scruples, and Diſputes in all future Ages of the Church. If it was to be of ſo ſhort a Continuance, why was not the Repeal notify'd, and why were not ſo many poor, ignorant People ſav'd, as died *Martyrs* in the Atteſtation of it? But, above all, how can we ſuppoſe it conſiſtent with the Honour and Juſtice of the Apoſtles, to impoſe *Things as neceſſary*, which were but of tranſient and momentary Duration?

OBSERVE the Words of the Decree, (cry they) *It ſeemed good unto the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, to lay upon you no greater Burthen, than theſe neceſſary Things*, viz. *that ye abſtain from Meats offer'd to Idols, and from Blood, and from Things ſtrangled, and from Fornication.* If theſe Abſtinences were only intended to be enjoin'd for a Seaſon, cou'd they properly be enjoin'd under the Denomination of *neceſſary Things?* Is *that* the Appellation for Duties of a tranſient and temporary Obſervation? Did neither the Apoſtles, nor the Holy Ghoſt, know the Diſtinction between *neceſſary* and *expedient?* Or, ſuppoſe it not convenient to make the Diſtinction at that Time, how come Things of a *temporary*, and thoſe of an *eternal* Obligation, to be plac'd upon the ſame Foot of *Neceſſity* in the ſame Decree? Or, were *Fornication*, and Idol-*Pollutions* to be abſtain'd from, only for a Seaſon, in Compliment to the Infirmity of the *Jews*; or in order to make up a Breach between ſome newly initiated *Converts?* Theſe are Abſurdities, *ſay they*, which cannot be avoided, when Men will aſſert the *temporary* Obligation of this Decree.

SOME general Declarations in Scripture, eſpecially in St *Paul*'s Epiſtles, ſeem indeed like a Repeal of it; but then, if we conſider the Scope and Occaſion of theſe Declarations, we ſhall ſoon perceive, that they were intended to be taken in a *limited* Senſe, otherwiſe they are not conſiſtent with the Decree itſelf. Our bleſſed Saviour, for Inſtance, tells the People, that, not *that which goeth into the Mouth defileth the Man, but that which cometh out of it:* But now, if this Declaration of his deſtroys the Validity of the *Apoſtolick* Decree, it will follow, *1ſt*, That this Decree was repeal'd juſt twenty Years before it was made, which is a Suppoſition ſomewhat extraordinary: And, *2dly*, That the whole Body of the Apoſtles did, after full Debate, make a moſt ſolemn Decree, and that under the Influence of the Spirit of God, in direct Contradiction to the expreſs Declaration of their Lord and Maſter, which is a little too contiguous to Blaſphemy; and therefore let us conſider the Occaſion of our Saviour's Words.

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THE *Phariſees*, it ſeems, were offended at his Diſciples, for ſitting down to Meat before they had waſh'd their Hands, as being a Violation of one of their *traditional* Precepts. Whereupon our Saviour tells the Company, *Not that which goeth into the Mouth defileth the Man*; never meaning to give them a Permiſſion to eat any Thing, prohibited by the Law, but only to inſtruct them in this,——That there was not all that Religion, or Profanation of Religion, as the *Phariſees* pretended, in obſerving, or not obſerving the *Tradition of the Elders*, by eating with *waſh'd, or unwaſh'd Hands*; that the Thing itſelf was of an indifferent Nature; nor cou'd a little Soil, taken in at the Mouth, by eating with dirty Hands, defile the Man, becauſe nothing of that Kind cou'd properly be call'd a Pollution.

St *PAUL* himſelf was one of the Council of *Jeruſalem*, when the Prohibition of Blood was ratified by the Spirit of God, and impos'd on the *Gentiles*, who were converted to the Chriſtian Faith; and therefore we can hardly think, that, in his Epiſtles, which were written not many Years after, he ſhould go about to aboliſh the Obſervation of thoſe Precepts, which, after mature Deliberation, were enacted by a general Aſſembly of the Church. And therefore, when he tells us, that *the Kingdom of God*, i. e. the Chriſtian Religion, *conſiſteth not of Meat and Drink*,

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and that *Meat commendeth us not unto God*; he muſt be underſtood in a *comparative* Senſe, *viz.* That it neither conſiſts in, nor commendeth us ſo much, as Holineſs and Purity of Life. When he declares, *That every Creature of God is good*, that *nothing is unclean of itſelf*, and that *to the Pure, all Things are pure*, &c. he muſt neceſſarily be underſtood with this reſtraining Clauſe,——*In caſe there be no particular Statute to the contrary*; for where there is one, all the Sanctity in the World will not give a Man a Toleration to break it. And, when he complains of ſome Mens *commanding us to abſtain from certain Meats*, as an Infringement upon our Chriſtian Liberty, and a Branch of the *Doctrine of Devils*; the Meats, which they forbad, muſt be ſuppos'd to be *lawful* in their Kind, and under no Divine Prohibition; otherwiſe, we bring the *Apoſtles*, who inhibited the Uſe of Blood, under the like Imputation.

It cannot be deny'd indeed, that (*p*) St *Paul* allows Chriſtians to eat *Things offer'd to Idols*, which may ſeem to invalidate this *Apoſtolick* Decree. But, the Anſwer to this is,——(*q*) That the plain Intention of the Council at *Jeruſalem*, in commanding to abſtain from Meats offer'd to Idols, was to keep *Chriſtians* from Idolatry, or, as St *James* expreſſes it, *from Pollutions of Idols*; and the true Way to effect this, they knew, was by prohibiting all Communion with Idols, and Idolators in their Feaſts, which were inſtituted in Honour of their Idols, and were always kept in their Temples: But how is this Command defeated by St *Paul*'s permitting the *Corinthians* to eat any Part of a Creature *ſold in the Shambles*, or *ſet before them* in private Houſes, (though that Creature might chance to have been ſlain in Honour to an *Idol*) ſince the *Chriſtian*, who eat it in this Manner, did not eat it in Honour to the *Idol*, but merely as common Food?

To illuſtrate this by a parallel Inſtance. Suppoſe that the Apoſtolick Decree had commanded *Chriſtians* to abſtain from *Things ſtolen*. Wou'd not any one conceive, that the Deſign of this Command was to prohibit Theft, and all Communion with Thieves in their Villainy? Yes, ſurely:——Suppoſe then, that any one of the *Council* ſhou'd, after this, tell the People, whom he preach'd to, that they might buy any Meat, publickly *ſold in the Shambles*, or ſet before them in private Houſes, *aſking no Queſtions for Conſcience ſake*, tho' poſſibly the Butcher, or the Hoſt might have ſtolen the Meat; wou'd any one think, that this Permiſſion was intended to invalidate the Decree of abſtaining from *Things ſtolen?* And if ſuch a Conſtruction wou'd be abſurd in the one Caſe, why ſhou'd it not be deem'd ſo in another? Eſpecially, when St *Paul* himſelf ſo expreſly, ſo ſolemnly deters *Chriſtians* from all Participation in *idolatrous* Feaſts; (*r*) *The Things, which the* Gentiles *ſacrifice*, ſays he, *they ſacrifice to Devils, not to God; and I wou'd not that ye ſhou'd have Fellowſhip with Devils. Ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord and of Devils; ye cannot be Partakers of the Lord's Table, and of Devils.*

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

In a Word, *ſay they*, whatever the Senſe of certain Paſſages in St *Paul*'s Writings may ſeem to be, they cannot be ſuppos'd to contradict the Decree at *Jeruſalem:* A Decree, to which himſelf conſented, nay, which he himſelf principally occaſion'd, and which he himſelf actually carry'd about, and depoſited with the ſeveral Churches. For to imagine, that with his own Hands he depoſited the Decree in one Church, under the Sanction of a *Canon* ratify'd by the Spirit of God, and then immediately went to another, and preach'd againſt that very *Canon*, and decried it as inconſiſtent with Chriſtian Liberty, is to charge the Apoſtle with ſuch an Inconſiſtency of Behaviour, Folly, and Prevarication, as but badly comports with the Character of an *Ambaſſador of Jeſus Chriſt*. And therefore, unleſs we are minded to impair the Authority, and ſap the

(*p*) 1 Cor. x. 27. (*q*) Revelation Examin'd, Vol. II. p. 66. (*r*) 1 Cor. x. 20, 21.

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the Fountain of Reveal'd Religion, we muſt allow the Decree to be ſtill in Force; and the Command, which prohibits the eating of Blood, ſtill chargeable upon every Man's Conſcience. A Command, given by God himſelf to *Noah*, repeated to *Moſes*, and ratify'd by the Apoſtles of *Jeſus Chriſt*: Given immediately after the Flood, when the World, as it were, began anew, and the only one given on that Occaſion; repeated, with awful Solemnity, to *the People*, whom God had ſeparated from the Reſt of the World to be his *own*; repeated with dreadful Denunciations of Divine Vengeance upon thoſe, who ſhou'd dare to tranſgreſs it; and ratify'd by the moſt ſolemn and ſacred Council, that was ever aſſembled upon Earth, acting under the immediate Influence of the Spirit of God; tranſmitted, from that ſacred Aſſembly, to the ſeveral Churches of the neighbouring Nations, by the Hands of no meaner Meſſengers, than two Biſhops, and two Apoſtles; aſſerted by the beſt Writers, and moſt philoſophick Spirits of their Age, the *Chriſtian Apologiſts*, and ſeal'd with the Blood of the beſt Men, the *Chriſtian Martyrs*; confirm'd by the unanimous Conſent of the Fathers, and reverenc'd by the Practice of the whole *Chriſtian* Church for above 300 Years, and of the *Eaſtern* Church, even to this very Day.

The Deciſion of the Queſtion.

THESE are ſome of the chief Arguments on both Sides of the Queſtion: And, to form a Judgment hereupon, we may obſerve,——That, tho' this Prohibition of eating Blood can hardly be deem'd a Commandment of *moral* Obligation, yet is it a *poſitive* Precept, which cannot but be thought of more Weight and Importance, for being ſo oft, and ſo ſolemnly enjoin'd; that, tho' the Reaſons, alledg'd for its Injunction, are not always ſo convincing, yet the Prevention of Cruelty and Murder, which is immediately mention'd after it, will, in all Ages, be ever eſteem'd a good one; and tho' the Liberty granted in the Goſpel ſeems to be great, yet can it hardly be underſtood without ſome Reſtriction.

From Gen. viii. 20. to the End of Ch. ix.

IT *ſeem'd* once *good to the Holy Ghoſt*, among other *neceſſary Things*, to preſcribe an Abſtinence from Blood; and when it ſeem'd *otherwiſe* to him, we are no where, that I know of, inſtructed. Cou'd it be made appear indeed, that this Preſcription was *temporary* and *occaſional*, deſign'd to bind one Set of Men only, or calculated for the Infant-State of the Church, the Queſtion wou'd be then at an End: But ſince there are no proper Marks in the Apoſtles Decree, to ſhew the temporary Duration of it; and the Notion of *Proſelytes of the Gate*, to whom alone it is ſaid to be directed (how commodious ſoever it may be to ſolve all Difficulties) upon Examination is found to be groundleſs or uncertain, the Obligation, I fear, lies upon every good Chriſtian ſtill. But as this is not every one's Sentiment; (*s*) *as one believeth that he may eat all Things, and another thinketh it* the ſafe Side of his Duty *to abſtain, ſo let not him that eateth, deſpiſe him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth; but judge this rather, that no Man put a Stumbling-Block, or an Occaſion to fall, in his Brother's Way.*

(*s*) Rom. xiv. 2, 3, 13.

Vide Conſtitutiones Apoſtolor. Lib. 7. & Beati Irenæi adv. Hæreſ. Lib. 4. Cap. 30.

CHAP.

A. M. 1757, &c. Ant. Christ. 2247, &c.

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

CHAP. II.

Of the Confusion of Languages.

The History.

FOR some Years after the Flood, 'tis highly probable, that *Noah* and his Family liv'd in the Neighbourhood of the Mountains of *Armenia*, where the Ark rested: That, as they began to multiply and spread, they thence remov'd into the Countries of *Syria*; then crossing the *Tygris* into *Mesopotamia*, and so shaping their Course *Eastward*, came at length to the pleasant Plain of *Babylon*, on the Banks of the River *Euphrates*. The Fertility of the Soil, the Delightfulness of the Place, and the Commodiousness of its Situation made them resolve to settle there, and to build a City, which shou'd be the *Metropolis* of the whole Earth, and in it a vast high *Tower*, which shou'd be the *Wonder* of the World; for the present Use, a Kind of *Pharos*, or Land-mark, and, to future Ages, a Monument of their great Power and Might.

Reasons for building the Tower of Babel.

BY this Project they promis'd themselves mighty Matters; but that which chiefly ran in their Heads, was, their keeping together in one Body, that by their united Strength and Counsels, as the World encreas'd, they might bring others under their Subjection, and make themselves *universal Lords:* But one great Discouragement to this their Project, was,——That in the Place, which they had chose for the *Scene* of all their Greatness, there was no Stone to build with. Perceiving, however, that there was Clay enough in the Country, whereof to make Bricks, * and Plenty of a pitchy Substance, call'd *Bitumen*, which wou'd serve instead of Mortar; with one Consent they went to work, and, in a short Time, every Hand was employ'd in making Bricks, building the City, and laying the Foundation of a prodigious *Pile*, which they purpos'd to have carry'd up to an immense Height; and had already made a considerable Progress in the Work, when God, dissatisfy'd with their Proceedings, thought proper to interpose, and, at the Expence of a Miracle, quash'd all their Project at once; insomuch, that this first Attempt of their Vanity and Ambition, became the Monument of their Folly and Weakness.

THE

* The Word, which our Translators make *Slime*, is in *Hebrew Hhemar*, in *Greek* ἄσφαλτος, in *Latin Bitumen*; and that this *Plain* did very much abound with it, which was of two Kinds, *liquid* and *solid*; that liquid Bitumen here swam upon the Waters; that there was a Cave and Fountain, which was continually casting it out; and that this famous *Tower*, at this Time, and the no less famous Walls of *Babylon* were afterwards built with this Kind of Cement, is confirm'd by the Testimony of several profane Authors. For thus *Strabo* tells us, "In Babyloniâ Bitumen multum "nascitur, cujus duplex est Genus, Authore *Eratosthene*, liquidum & aridum. *Liquidum* vocant *Naphtam*, in Susiano "Agro nascens, *aridum* vero, quod etiam congelescere potest, in Babyloniâ, Fonte propinquo Naphtæ," *Lib.* 16. Thus *Justin*, speaking of *Semiramis:* "Hæc Babyloniam condidit, *says he*, Murumque Urbis cocto Latere circumde- "dit, Arenæ vice Bitumine interstrato, quæ Materia in illis Locis passim è Terris exæstuat," *Lib.* 1. And thus *Vitruvius*, who is elder than either, "Babylone Locus est amplissimâ Magnitudine, habens supranatans liquidum Bitu- "men, quo Bitumine, & Latere testaceo Structum Murum Semiramis Babyloni circumdedit," *Lib.* 8. To these we may add some modern Testimonies, which tell us, that these Springs of Bitumen are called *Oyum Hit*, the *Fountains of Hit*; and that they are much celebrated by the *Persians* and *Arabs*. All modern Travellers, except *Rauwolf*, who went to *Persia* and the *Indies* by the Way of *Euphrates*, before the Discovery of the *Cape of Good Hope*, mention these Fountains, as a very strange and wonderful Thing. *Vid.* Biblioth. Biblica, Vol. I. p. 281. *Heidegger*'s Hist. Patr. Exercit. 21. *and* Univers. Hist. Lib. 1. c. 2.

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And for the Confuſion of Languages.

THE Bleſſing, which God had given *Noah* and his Sons, *to increaſe and multiply, and repleniſh the Earth*, had now, for above an hundred Years, exerted itſelf to good Purpoſe; but tho' the Number of their Deſcendants was very large, yet the Language, which they all ſpake was but *one*, the ſame which had deſcended to them † from their great Progenitor, *Adam*, and, very probably, was pronounc'd in the ſame common Manner. To fruſtrate their Undertaking therefore, God determin'd with himſelf † to *confound their Language*; by which Means it came to paſs, that, though their Tongues ſtill retain'd the Faculty of Speech, yet, having loſt the Pronunciation of their native Language, on a ſudden they were ſo chang'd, and *modified* to the Expreſſion of another, (which was of a Sound quite different) that the next *Stander-by* cou'd not comprehend what his Neighbour meant, and this, in a ſhort Time, ran them into the utmoſt Diſorder and Confuſion. For theſe different Dialects produc'd different Ideas in the Minds of the Builders, which, for Want of underſtanding one another, they employ'd to improper Objects, and ſo were oblig'd to deſiſt from their Enterprize. And not only that, but, being by this Means depriv'd of the Pleaſure and Comfort of mutual Society, (except with ſuch as ſpake the ſame Language) all thoſe, who were of one Dialect, join'd themſelves together, and leaving the devoted Place, (as they then thought it) departed in *Tribes*, † as their Choice, or their Chance led them, to ſeek out freſh Habitations. Thus God not only defeated their Deſign, but likewiſe accompliſh'd his own, of having the World more generally, and more ſpeedily peopled, than it otherwiſe wou'd have been: And, to perpetuate the Memory of ſuch a miraculous Event, the Place, which was firſt call'd *Babel*, and, with ſmall Variation, afterwards *Babylon*, from this *Confuſion* of Languages, receiv'd its Denomination.

From Gen xi. to Ver. 10.

THIS Confuſion of Tongues (if not Diſperſion of the People) is ſuppos'd by moſt Chronologers to have fallen 101 Years after the Flood; for *Peleg*, the Son of *Eber*, (who was Great Grandſon to *Shem*) was certainly born in that Year, and is ſaid to have had the Name *Peleg* given him, becauſe *that in his Time the Earth was divided.*

† That the Children of *Noah* did ſpeak the ſame Language with *Adam*, is very manifeſt; becauſe *Methuſelah*, the Grandfather of *Noah*, liv'd a conſiderable Time with him, and queſtionleſs ſpake the ſame Language. And that this Language was no other than the *Hebrew*, is very probable from this Argument,——That *Shem*, the Son of *Noah*, was for ſome Time contemporary with *Abraham*, who deſcended from him, and whoſe Family continu'd the ſame Language that they both ſpake, until the Time of *Moſes*, who recorded the Hiſtory of his own Nation in his native Language; ſo that, what we have now in the *Pentateuch*, according to the Opinion of all *Hebrew*, and moſt *Chriſtian* Writers, is the very ſame with what God taught *Adam*, and *Adam* his Poſterity. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Some Commentators, from the Word *confound*, are ready to infer, that God did not make ſome of theſe Builders ſpeak new, different Languages, only that they had ſuch a confus'd Remembrance of the original Language, they ſpake before, as made them ſpeak it in a quite different Manner: So that by the various Inflections, Terminations, and Pronunciations of divers Dialects, they cou'd no more underſtand one another, than thoſe, who underſtand *Latin*, can comprehend thoſe, who ſpeak *French*, *Italian*, or *Spaniſh*, though theſe Languages do certainly ariſe from it. But this we conceive to be a great Miſtake, not only becauſe it makes all Languages extant to be no more than ſo many different Dialects of the ſame Original, and conſequently reducible to it; but becauſe, upon Examination it will appear, that there are certain Languages in the World ſo entirely different from each other, that they agree in no one eſſential Property whatever, and muſt therefore, at this Time, have been of immediate Infuſion.

† The Diſperſion of *Noah*'s Sons was ſo order'd, that each Family, and each Nation dwelt by itſelf; which cou'd not well be done (as Mr *Mede* obſerves) but by directing an orderly Diviſion, either by caſting of Lots, or chuſing according to their Birthright, after that Portions of the Earth were ſet out, according to the Number of their Nations and Families; otherwiſe, ſome wou'd not have been content to go ſo far *North*, as *Magog* did, whilſt others were ſuffer'd to enjoy more pleaſant Countries.

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From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

The OBJECTION.

" BUT upon the Suppoſition, that " the Ark reſted on the Mountains " of *Armenia*, and the Family of *Noah*, " for ſome Time, continu'd in that Coaſt; " how can they, with any tolerable Pro- " priety, be ſaid to have *journey'd from the* " *Eaſt*, into the *Land of Shinar*, when, " if by *Shinar* we are to underſtand the " Land of *Chaldea*, or *Babylon*, every Map " will inform us, that the Mountains of " *Armenia* lie in a Manner quite *North* of " *Babylon*, and conſequently they muſt " have travell'd from the *North*, and not " from the *Eaſt*, to have arriv'd at that " Place?

" BUT *Moſes* perhaps might not be ſo " good at *Geography*, as he is at the *Mul-* " *tiplication* of Mankind. According to " the *Hebrew* Computation, (which is " reckon'd true) *the new* World had now " ſubſiſted much about an hundred Years; " and can we ſuppoſe, that the Deſcendants " of no more than three *Couple* (for *Noah* " we may now ſuppoſe was become *effete*, " and unable to beget Children) were, in " ſo ſhort a Time, a Number ſufficient to " ſet about the Building of a City, which " was to be the *Metropolis* of the whole " World, and of a *Tower*, *whoſe Top was* " *to reach up to Heaven?*

" DESIGNS of this Nature are gene- " rally attempted by vaſt, extenſive Em- " pires, that are over-ſtock'd with People, " and have Multitudes of idle Hands to " employ; but, to ſuppoſe a ſmall Tribe of " Men, (and who of Neceſſity muſt ſome " of them be buſied in other Occupations) " and, much more, to ſuppoſe a *Colony*, " or Detachment only of them (as moſt " *Commentators* will have it) to have had " the Hardineſs to enterprize ſo prodigious " a Fabrick, as the Tower of *Babel* is re- " preſented, is ſomething ſo *Romantick*, " that it puts one in Mind of that fabu- " lous Stuff of the Giants piling one Moun- " tain upon another, to ſcale Heaven, and " wage War with the Gods.

" BUT, ſuppoſing the Story to be true; " yet where wou'd the Harm be in build- " ing a Town to dwell in, and a Tower " for its Ornament or Defence? 'Tis a " laudable Ambition, one wou'd think, " for a People to deſire to perpetuate their " *Name*; and for *a City to be at Unity* " *with itſelf*, how joyful a Thing is it! " What then can we conceive ſhou'd be " the Reaſon, that God ſhou'd be ſo high- " ly offended at theſe Builders, as himſelf " to interpoſe in diſappointing their De- " ſign? But to interpoſe in the Manner he " did, by ſubducting the *old*, and infuſing " *new* Languages, ſo as to make them un- " intelligible to one another, this is a " Thing ſo unaccountable, that it wou'd " tempt one to think, that there was a " Miſtake ſomewhere in our Tranſlation.

" THE *Hebrew* Word *Shaphah*, which " we render *Language*, (or *Lip*, as it is " in the Marginal Note) has doubtleſs, " very frequently that Signification; nor " is it to be deny'd, but that one univer- " ſal Language was ſpoken by *Noah*'s Fa- " mily. But then it appears from ſeveral " Paſſages in Scripture (particularly from " *Iſa.* xix. 18.) that the Word does not ſo " properly denote *Languages*, as it does " an *Agreement* in *Sentiments* and *Incli-* " *nations*, which ſeems every whit as ne- " ceſſary for the Building of a City, as " the greateſt *Similitude* of Dialect can " be. Now, taking the Word in this " Senſe, it may be, that, what we call " *confounding their Language*, may mean " confounding their *Minds*, and raiſing " a Spirit of Diſcord among them, which " might make them abandon their En- " terprize, and diſperſe into different " Countries; and then, tho' they might " ſpeak all the ſame Language at parting, " a conſiderable Diverſity wou'd *natu-* " *rally*, and without the Intervention of " a Miracle, in a ſhort Time enſue.

" WE ſee, in a thouſand Years, what " Alterations and Deviations have been

" made

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" made from the *Latin*, in *France*, *Italy*, " *Spain*, and the *Subalpine* Countries. " In *France*, the *Gascon* and *Provencial* " Dialects are hardly understood at *Paris*: " In *Spain*, besides the *Castilian*, there " are two large Idioms, the *Portuguese*, " and the *Catalan*, neither of which are " readily intelligible by a Person, that has " always liv'd at *Madrid*; and a Man may " know all the rest of the Dialects, which " are deriv'd from the *Latin*, and yet be " wholly to seek in the *Grisons* Language. " ——All these Tongues however, we " certainly know, have sprung from the " *Latin*, within these twelve hundred Years, " and the Nations, who speak them, have " constantly maintain'd a mutual Com- " merce and Intercourse together. If then " such Alterations are actually visible in " Dialects, (which have been form'd from " Languages, still extant,) in so few Years, " what may we reasonably suppose to have " been the Fate of Languages, that exist- " ed above three thousand Years ago? E- " specially, when Men were so totally di- " vided from one another, as we may " imagine the first Inhabitants of this " Globe were, after this great Dispersion. " In short, (*a*) the Cause of the Variety " of Languages in the World, is ground- " ed in Reason and Nature; in the Diffe- " rence of Climates, in the unsettled Tem- " per of Mankind, the necessary Muta- " bility of human Things, the Rise and " Fall of States and Empires, and Change " of Modes and Customs, which necessa- " rily introduce a proportionable Change " in Language: And therefore, supposing " the *Hebrew* to be the *primitive* Lan- " guage, in a proper Period of Time after " such a Dispersion, all other Languages " will be found as naturally springing from " it, as so many Branches from the same " Stock. 'Tis in vain then to have Re- " course to Miracles, when the Business " may as well be done without it; when " it is but supposing, that all Languages " now extant, sprung originally from one " common *Root*, and that they are no " more than different Forms and *Dialects* " of it, which the Force of Time, assist- " ed with some incidental Causes, with- " out the Intervention of any superior " Power, naturally produces; otherwise, " we can hardly imagine, how *Dialects*, " that are so near a-kin, came to be plac'd " so nearly to one another."

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

THOSE, who have undertaken to settle the *Geography* of the Holy Scriptures, tell us, that the Land of *Shinar* was all that Valley, which the River *Tygris* runs along, from the Mountains of *Armenia Northwards* to the *Persian Gulf*; or, at least, to the *Southern* Division of the common Channel of the *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. (*b*) So that the Country of *Eden* was Part of the Land of *Shinar*: And as *Eden* was probably situate on both Sides of the aforemention'd Channel, so it is not unlikely, that the Valley of *Shinar* did extend itself on both Sides (but on the *Western* Side, without all Doubt) of the River *Tygris*.

Answer'd, by shewing the proper Situation of Ararat, *from whence the People sojourn'd.*

NOW the Mountains of *Armenia*, according to the Account of most Geographers, lie *North*, and not *East* from *Shinar* and *Assyria*; but then it may be supposed, (*c*) either that *Moses*, in this Place, follow'd the *Geographical* Stile of the *Assyrians*, who call'd all, that lay beyond the *Tygris*, the *East Country*, tho' a great Part of it, towards *Armenia*, was really *Northward*; or (as some (*d*) others will have it) that, as Mankind multiplied, they spread themselves in the Country *Eastward* of *Ararat*; and so making small *Removes*, (from the Time of their Descent from the Mount, to the Time of their journeying into the Land of *Shinar*) they might probably enough be said to have begun their Progress from the *East*. But, without the Help of these Solutions, and taking *Moses* in a *literal* Sense, he is far from being mistaken. (*e*) Most Geographers indeed have drawn the Mountain of *Ararat* a good Way out of its Place, and Historians and Commentators, taking the Thing

(*a*) *Vid.* Sentimens de quelque Theologiens sur l'Histoire Critique, *p.* 435. and a Letter to Dr *Waterland*, p. 28, 29.
(*b*) *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I. p. 210. (*c*) *Bochart*'s Phaleg. l. 1. c. 7. (*d*) *Kercher*'s Turris Babel, *p.* 12.
(*e*) Universal History, l. 1. c. 2.

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Thing for Fact, have been much perplex'd to reconcile this Situation with its Description in Scripture: Whereas, by the Accounts of all Travellers for some Years past, the Mountain, which now goes under the Name of *Ararat*, lies about two Degrees more *East*, than the City of *Shinar*, or *Senjar*, from whence the Plain, in all Probability, takes its Name: And therefore, if the Sons of *Noah* enter'd it on the *North* Side, they must of Necessity have *journey'd from the East*, or, which is the same Thing, have travell'd *Westward* from the Place, where they set out, in order to arrive at the Plain of *Babylon*.

And that all Mankind were engag'd in the Building of Babel.

HISTORIANS indeed, as well as *Commentators*, have generally given in to the common Opinion, that *Shem* and his Family were not concern'd in this Expedition, but for what Reason we cannot conceive, since there is no Fact, in all the *Mosaick* Account, more firmly establish'd, than this: —— That the whole Race of Mankind, then in Being, were actually engag'd in it.

As soon as *Moses* has brought the three Sons of *Noah* out of the Ark, he takes Care to inform us, that (*f*) *of them was the whole Earth overspread:* After he has given us the Names of their Descendants, at the Time of their Dispersion, he subjoins, and (*g*) *by these were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood:* And then, proceeding to give us an Account of this memorable Transaction, he tells us, that (*h*) the *whole Earth was of one Language, and of one Speech*; and that as *they*, namely the whole Earth, (*i*) *journey'd from the East*, they *found a Plain in the Land of* Shinar, *and dwelt there*; &c. (*k*) so that, from the Beginning to the End of this Transaction, the Connection between the *Antecedent* and *Relative* is so well preserv'd, that there is no Room to suppose, that any less, than all Mankind, were gather'd together on the Plain of *Shinar*, and assisted in the Building of *Babel:* Nor seems it improbable, that *Moses* has made these unusual Repetitions, to inculcate the Certainty of that Fact, and to take away all Ground for supposing, that any other Branch of *Noah*'s Posterity was in any other Part of the Earth, at that Time.

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

What the Number *of them might then probably be.*

THE Time indeed, when this Transaction happen'd, is very differently computed by Chronologers, according as they follow the LXX *Interpreters*, who make it 531; the *Samaritan* Copy, which makes it 396; or the *Hebrew*, which allows it to be no more than 101 Years from the Flood to the Confusion of Tongues, and less, we may suppose, to the first Beginning to build the *Tower*. If we take either of the former *Computations*, the Thing answers itself: Upon a moderate Multiplication, there will be Workmen more than enough, even without the Posterity of *Shem:* But if we submit to the *Hebrew* Account of Time, we shall find ourselves straiten'd, if we part with one Third of our *Compliment*, in so laborious a Work. There is no Necessity however to suppose, (*l*) with some, that every one of these Progenitors, as soon as marry'd, (which was very early) had every Year *Twins* by his Wife, which, according to Arithmetic Progression, wou'd amount to no less than 1554420 Males and Females, in the shortest Period *given*. Half the Number wou'd be sufficient to be employ'd on this Occasion; and (*m*) half the Number will be no unreasonable Supposition, considering the Strength of Constitution Men had then, and the additional Blessing, which God bestow'd upon them, and whereby he interested his peculiar Providence, *Ut ad Incrementum sobolis humanæ, ad orbis vastitatem instaurandam, præcipua quædam in illis Fœcunditas inesset, quæ justam alioquin ætatem anteverteret; ut vel à pueris ipsis, quod nonnulli suspicantur, probabile esset, generandi vim illis & usum potuisse suppetere*; (*n*) as *Petavius* elegantly expresses it.

BUT, after all, there seems to be no Occasion for supposing an extraordinary Increase of People, or for confining the first Undertaking of this great Building to the Compass of one hundred Years after the

(*f*) Gen. ix. 19. (*g*) Ch. x. 32. (*h*) Ch. xi. 1. (*i*) *Ibid.* Ver. 2. (*k*) Univers. Hist. l. 1. c. 2. (*l*) Temporarius in Demonst. Chronol. l. 2. (*m*) *Usher*'s Chron. Sacra, p. 27. (*n*) Doct. Temp. l. 9. c. 14.

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the Flood. In the tenth Chapter of *Geneſis* 'tis ſaid indeed, that *unto* Eber *were born two Sons, and that the Name of one was* Peleg, which being deriv'd from an *Hebrew* Word, that ſignifies *to divide*, has this Reaſon annex'd to it, *for in his Days was the Earth divided.* Now by the ſubſequent Account of *Peleg*'s Anceſtors we find, that he was born in the 101ſt Year after the Flood; from whence it is concluded, that the Earth began to be divided at his Birth. But this is a Concluſion, that, by no Means, reſults from the Text, which only ſays, that *in his Days was the Earth divided*; Words, which can, with no Manner of Propriety, imply, that this Diviſion began at his Birth.

HIS Name indeed was call'd *Peleg*; but it does not therefore follow, that this Name was given him at his Birth. It might have been given at any Time after, from his being a principal *Agent* among his own Family, in the *Diviſion* made in his Days; as ſeveral Names have, throughout all Ages, been given upon the like Accidents, not only to private Perſons, but to whole Families. Or ſuppoſe the Name to be given at his Birth, yet no Reaſon can be aſſign'd, why it might not be given *prophetically*, as well as that of *Noah*, from an Event, then foreſeen, tho' it might not come to paſs for ſome conſiderable Time after the Name was given.

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

(*o*) SINCE *Peleg* then, according to the ſacred Account, liv'd two hundred and thirty-nine Years, and his younger Brother *Jochtan*, and his Sons, were a conſiderable Colony in the Diſtribution of the World; it is much more rational to ſuppoſe, that this Diſtribution did not begin till a good Part of *Peleg*'s Life was expended. Suppoſe it however to be no more than an hundred Years after his Birth; yet we may ſtill retain the *Hebrew* Computation, and have Time and Hands enough for the carrying on the great Work of *Babel*, before this Diſtribution, ſince Mankind might very well be multiply'd to ſome Millions, in the Compaſs of two hundred Years.

Why God diſlik'd and defeated their Undertaking.

PUTTING all theſe Conſiderations together then, we can hardly imagine, that there wanted a ſufficient Number of Men to go upon an Enterprize, which, though not ſtrictly chargeable with Sin, becauſe there was no previous Command forbidding it, yet, in the Senſe of God himſelf, bold and preſumptuous enough: (*p*) *Behold the People is one, and they have all one Language, and now this they begin to do*; this is their firſt Attempt, and after this, *nothing* ‡ *will be reſtrained from them*; they will think themſelves competent for any Thing, that they ſhall have a Fancy to do. For though God cou'd have no Reaſon to apprehend † any Moleſtation from their Attempts, (as the *Poets* make

(*o*) Revelation Examin'd, Vol. II. Differt. III. (*p*) Gen. xi. 6.

‡ The common Verſions ſay of the Builders of the Tower of *Babel*, *And now nothing* will, or ſhall, *be reſtrain'd from them, which they have imagin'd to do.* But this is falſe in Fact; becauſe God ſoon put a Stop to their Deſign by confounding them, and *ſcattering them abroad from thence, over the Face of the Earth.* We may obſerve therefore, that the ſame *Particle*, which is indeed ſometimes taken *negatively*, is evidently here to be taken *interrogatively*, and is equal to the moſt expreſs *Affirmation*: And therefore the Text ſhou'd thus be tranſlated, *Shall they not be reſtrain'd in all they imagine to do?* Yes, they ſhall; which accordingly was immediately executed. *Eſſay for a New Tranſlation.*

† What their Attempts were, the Hiſtorian has repreſented in their own Words: *And they ſaid, Go to, let us build us a City, and a Tower, whoſe Top may reach unto Heaven*, Gen. xi. 4. But far be it from any one to imagine, that theſe Builders cou'd be ſo ſtupidly ignorant, as ever to think by this Means to climb up to Heaven, or that they wou'd not have choſen a Mountain, rather than a Plain, or a Valley, for this, if they cou'd once have entertain'd ſo groſs an Imagination. 'Tis a common Hyperbole this in the ſacred Writings, to ſignify any great and lofty Building, as may be ſeen in *Deut.* i. 18. *Dan.* iv. 8. and in ſeveral other Places; nor is the like Manner of Expreſſion unuſual among profane Authors likewiſe: For *Homer*, ſpeaking of the Iſland of *Calypſo*, tells us, that in it was a Place:

——— ὅθι δένδρεα μακρὰ πέφυκεν
Καλύβης', αἴγειρος, ἐλάλη τ' ἴτέη τε ἐερσώδης. Odyſſ. ε. Ver. 238.

By a literal Interpretation of the *Hebrew* Idiotiſm however, it is a common Thing, for the greateſt Abſurdities to be receiv'd by the Unwary for Realities; and not at all a Wonder, that the Miſunderſtanding the Text ſhou'd give Riſe to what we are told of the Giants in the Fable attempting to ſcale Heaven, and of the Expedition of *Coſigna* and his Companions, who had contriv'd Ladders for that End; hoping, that ſo they might make their nearer Addreſſes to the Queen of Heaven. And thus even the ſillieſt of the Pagan Tales may be trac'd up to their Original; for there is generally ſome Foundation for them in Truth, either miſunderſtood, or miſapplied. Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. *Vaſſ.* Hiſt. Græc. Lib. 1. cap. 3. & Bibliotheca Biblica ad Locum.

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Heaven all in an *Uproar* upon the Invaſion of the *Giants*) yet, ſince they were contrary to his gracious Deſign of having the Earth repleniſh'd, it was an Act highly conſiſtent with his infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs to ſee them diſappointed.

The Divine Purpoſe was, that Men ſhou'd not live within the Limits of one Country only, and ſo be expos'd to perpetual Contentions, while every one wou'd pretend to make himſelf Maſter of the neareſt and moſt fertile Lands; but that, poſſeſſing themſelves of the Whole, and cultivating almoſt every Place, they might enjoy a proportionable Increaſe of the Fruits of the Earth. (*q*) Thorns and Briars were ſpringing up every where; Woods and Thickets ſpreading themſelves around; wild Beaſts increaſing; and all this while the Sons of *Noah* gathering together in a Cluſter, and deſigning ſo to continue; ſo that it was highly ſeaſonable for God to confound their miſ-tim'd Projects, and diſperſe them.

Their Purpoſe was to *make themſelves a Name* by enſlaving others: But God foreſaw, (*r*) that abſolute Power and univerſal Empire were not to be truſted in any *mortal* Hand; that the firſt Kings wou'd be far from being the beſt Men; but, as they acquir'd a Superiority by Fraud and Violence, ſo they wou'd not be backward to maintain it by Oppreſſion and Cruelty: And therefore, to remedy ſuch publick Grievances, he determin'd with himſelf, that there ſhou'd be a *Diverſity* of Governments in the World; that if the Inhabitants of any Place chanc'd to live under a *tyrannical* Power, thoſe, that were no longer able to endure the Yoke, might flee into other Countries and Dominions, (which they cou'd not do if *the Whole* was one entire *Monarchy*) and there find a Shelter from Oppreſſion. And as he knew, how conducive the bad Example of Princes wou'd be towards a general Corruption of Manners, he therefore took Care to provide againſt this Malady, by appointing ſeveral diſtinct Kingdoms, and Forms of Government, at one and the ſame Time; that if the Infection of Vice got Aſcendency, and prevail'd in one Place, Virtue and Godlineſs, and whatever is honourable and Praiſe-worthy, might find a ſafe Retreat, and flouriſh in another. Thus all the Miſchiefs, which might poſſibly ariſe from an *univerſal Monarchy*, and all the Advantages, that do daily accrue from *ſeparate* and *diſtinct* Governments, were in the Divine Foreſight and Conſideration, when he put a ſurpriſing Stop to the Building of theſe Men, and their ambitious Schemes of Empire together.

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

For in what Manner ſoever it was that he affected this; † whether it was by diſturbing their *Memories*, or perverting their

That this Defeat was immediately his Work.

(*q*) *Waterland*'s Scripture Vindicated, Part I. (*r*) *Le Clerc*'s Diſſertation.

† Since *Moſes* has no where acquainted us, *ſays the learned Heidegger*, (in his Hiſt. Patr. Lib. 1. Exercit. 211.) in what Manner the Confuſion of Languages was effected, every one is left to follow what Opinion he likes beſt, ſo long as that Opinion contains nothing incongruous to the receiv'd Rule of Faith: Nay, it may not be inconvenient to produce ſeveral Opinions upon this Subject, to the Intent that every one may embrace that, which ſeems to him moſt conformable to Truth. And therefore he inſtances in the Opinions of ſeveral learned Men, but in thoſe, more particularly, of *Julius Scaliger*, who aſcribes this Event to a Confuſion of Notions, which God miraculouſly ſent among the Builders; and that of *Iſaac Caſaubon*, who will needs have all the different Languages, now extant, to be no more than Derivatives from the *Hebrew*. *Scaliger*'s Words, as *Heidegger* quotes them, are theſe, " *Sic enim aiunt* (Hebræi " ſcilicet) *quo impii propoſiti Opus illud interciperetur atque prohiberetur, factum à Deo optimo maximo, ut Lapidem petenti " alius Calcem, alius Sabulum, alius Maltham, alius Bitumen, alius Aquam, ferret. Fortaſſe etiam non defuiſſe arbitor, " qui ſibi dictam putarent Contumeliam, atque propterea Manum conſererent, ubi maxima intercedit Occaſio Subtilitatis; " nam ſi Lapidem petenti alius aliud, multi multa, diverſa omnia afferebant, videretur unius Soni Modus, in varias Species " deductus, diverſis Mentibus ſeſe inſinuaſſe. Una igitur priſca adhuc extaret Lingua, varii vero Significatûs.*" The Words of *Caſaubon* are as follows: " Si in Babele Linguæ in totum diverſæ factæ ſunt, neceſſariò Chaldæi Aſſyrii, " ἀλλοκότες illas Linguas retinuiſſent, atqui contrarium videmus accidiſſe. Eſt enim veriſſimum, Linguas cæteras eò " manifeſtiora & magis expreſſa Originis Hebraicæ veſtigia ſervâſſe, nunc ſervare, & quo proprius ab antiquâ & primâ " Hominum Sede abfuerunt. Nam proximus quiſque Populus Genti Hebraicæ proximè ad illius Linguam acceſſit. " Longinquitas verè Alienationem ſubinde majorem intulit. Clarum hoc ex Comparatione Linguarum. *Syriacæ*, " *Chaldaicæ*, *Arabicæ*, *Punicæ*, &c. cum *Hebraicâ*: Clariſſimum item, ſi *Græcam* Linguam diligenter ſpectes Græci " primi in Aſiâ habitârunt: Inde *Iones*, vel ut *Æſculus* vocat Hebraicè, *Javones* in Europam trajecerunt; in antiquiſ-

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their Imaginations; by diverſifying their Hearing, or new-organizing their Tongues; by an immediate Infuſion of *new* Languages, or a Diviſion of the *old* into ſo many different Dialects; and again, whether theſe Tongues, or Dialects of Tongues, † were few or more; whether there were only ſo many *Originals* at firſt, (as many perhaps as there were either Tribes, or Heads of Families) and all the reſt were no more, than *Derivatives* from them; the Operations of an Almighty Power are equally viſible, and the Foot-ſteps of Divine Wiſdom apparent, in the very Method of his diſappointing theſe ambitious Builders.

(*s*) HE cou'd, no doubt, with the ſame Facility, have ſent down Fire from Heaven to conſume them; but then, that wou'd have been but a momentary Judgment, whereof we ſhou'd have known nothing, but what we read in the *dead Letter* of a Book: Whereas, by this Means, the Remembrance of God's Interpoſition is preſerv'd to all future Ages, and, in every new Language, that we hear, we recognize the Miracle.

And not a Confuſion of Minds, but of Tongues.

(*t*) IT was equally the Finger of God, we allow, whether the *Minds*, or the *Tongues* of the Workmen were *confounded*; but then, in that Caſe, the Miracle does not ſo plainly, and ſo flagrantly appear, nor wou'd it have had ſo good an Effect upon the Builders themſelves; becauſe Men may quarrel, and break off Society without a Miracle; whereas they cannot ſpeak with new Tongues by their own natural Strength and Ingenuity. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

NOR is the Formation of a new Language only more *miraculous*, but to the Imaginations of the Perſons, upon whom it was wrought, incredibly more ſurpriſing, than any Diſagreement in Opinion, or any Quarrel, that might thereupon enſue. And therefore I have always thought, that this Account of the Confuſion of Tongues, which God wrought at *Babel*, wou'd ſcarce have been told ſo particularly, and repreſented as God's own Act and Deed, had it only ariſen from a Quarrel among the Builders, which oblig'd them to leave off their Work, and ſcatter themſelves over the Face of the Earth. For, when God is here deſcrib'd as *coming down* in Perſon to view their Work, ſomething almoſt as ſolemn as the *Creation*, full as ſolemn as the Denunciation of the Flood, when *Noah* was commanded to build the Ark, is certainly intended by that Expreſſion: And therefore, when *Moſes* acquaints us, that *there was but one Language at that Time*, the Circumſtance wou'd be impertinent, if he did not intimate withal, that, very ſoon after, there were to be more.

THE Prophet *Iſaiah* indeed, ſpeaking of the Converſion of ſome *Egyptians* to the *Jewiſh* Faith, tells us, that, *in that Day, ſhall five Cities in the Land of* Egypt *ſpeak the Language* (or *Lip*, as it is in the Margin) *of* Canaan, *and ſwear to the Lord of Hoſts*. Speaking the Language of *Canaan* Iſa. xix. 18. *explain'd.*

" ſimis quibuſque *Græcorum* Scriptoribus multa propterea Vocabula *Hebraica*, quæ poſtea vel deſierunt eſſe in Uſu, vel " admodum ſunt mutata: Obſervamus etiam *Aſiaticos Græcos* magis ἑβραίσειν, quam *Europæos*."

† It is not to be thought, that there were as many ſeveral *Dialects*, as there were Men at *Babel*, ſo that none of them underſtood one another. This wou'd not have only *diſpers'd* Mankind, but utterly deſtroy'd them; becauſe it is impoſſible to live without *Society*, or to have any Society without underſtanding one another. It is likely therefore that every Family had its peculiar *Dialect*; or rather, that ſome common *Dialect*, or Form of Speaking was given to thoſe Families, whom God deſign'd to make one Colony in the following Diſperſion. Into how many Languages the People were divided, it is impoſſible to determine. The *Hebrews* fancy *ſeventy*, becauſe the Deſcendants of the Sons of *Noah*, as they are enumerated in Scripture, are juſt ſo many: The *Greek* Fathers make them *ſeventy-two*, becauſe the LXX Verſion adds two more, (*Eliſa* among the Sons of *Japhet*, and *Canaan* among the Sons of *Shem*) and the *Latin* Fathers follow them. But this is all Conjecture, and what is built upon a very weak Foundation. For, in many Places, ſo many People concurr'd in the Uſe of the ſame Speech, that of the *ſeventy* ſcarce *thirty* remain diſtinct, as *Bochart* has obſerv'd: And among theſe, others have ſuppos'd, that the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabick*, in the *Eaſt*; the *Greek* and *Latin*, in the *Weſt*; and the *Finniſh*, *Sclavonian*, *Hungarian*, *Cantabrick*, and the *antient Gauliſh*, in the *North*, are generally reputed *Originals*; beſides ſome more, that might be diſcover'd in *Perſia*, *China*, the *Eaſt-Indies*, the midland Parts of *Africk*, and all *America*, if we had but a ſufficient Knowledge of the Hiſtory of theſe People. Vid. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Wotten* of the Confuſion of Languages at *Babel*.

(*s*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. I. Exercit. 21.

(*t*) *Wotten* of the Confuſion of Languages at *Babel*.

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naan (*u*) is thought by ſome to mean no more, than being of the ſame Religion with the *Jews*, who inhabited the Land of *Canaan*; but why may it not be interpreted *literally*, as it is in our Tranſlation? Might not theſe five Cities particularly, to ſhew the Value and Reverence that they had for the Religion of the *Jews*, learn their Language; eſpecially, ſince they wou'd thereby be better enabled to underſtand the Books of *Moſes* and the *Prophets*, which were written in that Tongue? Do not the *Mahometans*, whatever they are, *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Perſians*, *Moguls*, or *Moors*, all learn *Arabick*, becauſe *Mahomet* wrote the *Alcoran* in that Language? Why then ſhou'd we be offended at the *literal* Senſe of the Words, when the *figurative* is ſo low and flat in Compariſon of it? (*x*) *In that Day* Egypt *ſhall be like a Woman; it ſhall be afraid and fear, becauſe of the ſhaking of the Hand of the Lord of Hoſts.* (*y*) *The Lord of Hoſts ſhall be a Terror unto* Egypt, and (*z*) *in that Day ſhall there be an Altar to the Lord in the midſt of the Land of* Egypt, i. e. they ſhall become *Proſelytes* to the Law of *Moſes*; and, that they may not miſtake in underſtanding the Senſe of the Law, which they ſhall then embrace, they ſhall agree to learn the Language, in which it is written. This is an eaſy and genuine Senſe of the Words: But, inſtead of that, to fly to a forc'd and abſtruſe one, merely to evade the Evidence of a Miracle, ſavours of Vanity, at leaſt, if not of Irreligion.

In ſhort, all Interpreters, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*, underſtood this Confuſion of *Babel* to be a Confuſion of Languages, not of Opinions. They ſaw the Texts, if literally underſtood, requir'd it; they obſerv'd a ſurpriſing Variety of Tongues, eſſentially different from one another; and they knew that *this* was not, in the leaſt, inconſiſtent with the Power of God. They did not queſtion, but that he, who made the Tongue, cou'd make it ſpeak what, and how he pleas'd; and they acquieſc'd (as all wiſe and honeſt Interpreters ſhou'd) in the *literal* Explication, perceiving that nothing unworthy of God, or trifling, or impoſſible in itſelf, reſulted from it. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

But to give this Part of the Objection a full and ſatisfactory Anſwer, we ſhall look a little into the Nature of Languages in *general*, and thereby endeavour to ſhew, that there are ſome Languages, now extant in the World, which are eſſentially *different* from each other; that Languages, when once eſtabliſh'd, are not ſo ſubject to *Variation*, as is pretended; and that, in the Ages ſubſequent to this extraordinary *Event*, they cou'd not, in any *natural* Way, undergo all the *Alterations*, we now perceive in them, ſuppoſing them all deſcended from one common Stock. *That, from the Time of this Confuſion, there were all along ſeveral Languages eſſentially different.*

(*a*) Now, in order to this, we muſt obſerve, that every Language conſiſts of two Things, *Matter* and *Form:* The *Matter* of any Language are the Words, wherein Men, who ſpeak the Language, expreſs their Ideas; and the ſeveral Ways, whereby its *Nouns* are declin'd, and *Verbs* conjugated, are its *Form*.

The *Latins* and *Greeks* vary their *Nouns* by Terminations; as *Vir*, *Viri*, *Viro*, *Virum*, ἄνθρωπος, ἀνθρώπου, ἀνθρώπῳ, ἄνθρωπον. We decline by the Prepoſitions *of*, *to*, *from*, *the*, in both Numbers; but the *Hebrews* have no different Terminations in the ſame Number, and only vary thus,——*Iſh*, *Man*; *Iſhim*, *Men*; *Iſhah*, *Woman*; *Iſhoth*, *Women*: The reſt are vary'd by Prepoſitions inſeparably affix'd to the Words, as *Ha-iſh*, *the Man*; *Le-iſh*, *to the Man*; *Be-iſh*, *in the Man*; &c. which Prepoſitions, thus join'd, make one Word with the Noun to which they are affix'd, and are herein different from all thoſe Languages, which come from a *Latin*, or *Teutonick* Original.

The *Weſtern* and *Northern* People conſider every *tranſitive* Verb, either *actively* or *paſſively*, and then they have done; as *Amo*, in *Latin*, is *I love*; *Amor*, *I am loved*; and ſo in *Greek*, ἀγαπῶ, ἀγαπῶμαι: But in *Hebrew*, every Word has, or is ſuppos'd to have, ſeven Conjugations; in

(*u*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*x*) Iſa. xix. 16. (*y*) Ver. 17. (*z*) Ver. 19. (*a*) *Wotton* of the Confuſion of Languages at *Babel*.

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in *Chaldee*, and *Syriack*, six; and in *Arabick*, thirteen, all differing in their Significations.

THE *Western* Languages abound with *Verbs*, that are compounded with *Prepositions*, which accompany them in all their Moods, and Tenses, and therein vary their Signification; but, in the *Eastern*, there is no such Thing; for, tho' they have (in *Arabick* especially) many different Significations, some *literal*, and some *figurative*, yet still their *Verbs*, as well as *Nouns* are uncompounded.

IN the *Greek*, both *antient* and *barbarous*, in the *Latin*, and the *Dialects* arising from it, and in all the Branches of what we call the old *Teutonick*, the *possessive* Pronouns, *my*, *thy*, *his*, *yours*, *theirs*, &c. make a distinct Word from the Noun, to which they are join'd, as Πατὴρ ἡμῶν, *Pater noster*, *Fader vor*, *Our Father*, &c. But, in all *Oriental* Tongues, the Pronoun is join'd to the End of the Noun, in such a Manner, as to make but one Word. Thus *Ab*, in *Hebrew*, is *Father*; *Abi*, *my Father*; *Abinu*, *our Father*. In *Chaldee*, from the same Root, *Abouna*, is *our Father*; in *Syriack*, *Abun*; in *Arabick* and *Æthiopick*, the same.

ONCE more. All *Western* Languages mark the *Degree of Comparison*, in their Adjectives, by proper Terminations, as *wise*, *wiser*, *wisest*; *sapiens*, *sapientior*, *sapientissimus*; σοφὸς, σοφώτερος, σοφώτατος: But none of the *Eastern* Tongues, already mention'd, have any Thing in them like this.

THESE are some of the Marks and Characters, which distinguish the *Eastern* from the *Western* Languages; and, what is farther observable, these Characters have none of them disappear'd, or shifted from one to another, for near three Thousand Years. They appear in every Book of the *Old Testament*, from *Moses* down to *Malachi*; in the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts, in the *Syriack* Versions, in the *Misna*, in the *Gemara*, and in every other *Rabbinical* Book, down to the *Jewish* Writers of the present Age: But, on the other Hand, if we consider *Homer*'s Poems, which are the oldest Monuments we have of the *Greek* Language; if we take *Theocritus* for the *Dorick* Dialect; *Euripides*, or *Thucydides*, for the *Attick*; *Herodotus*, or *Hippocrates*, for the *Ionick*; and *Sappho* for the *Æolick*, and so descend to the *Greek*, which is spoken at this Day, we shall see the general Marks of *Western* Languages running through them all. These Idioms shew themselves, at first Sight, to be nothing more, than Dialects manifestly springing from the same common Root, which never did, and (as far as we may judge from the Practice of above two thousand Years) never will *conjugate* Verbs, *decline* Nouns, or *compare* Adjectives, like the *Hebrew*, or *Arabick*. These Languages did always *compound* Verbs and Nouns with Prepositions, which essentially alter the Sense. These Languages had never any *possessive* Pronouns, affixt to their Nouns, to determine the Person or Persons, to whom of right they belong; nor do they affix any single Letter to their Words, which may be equivalent to Conjunctions, and connect the Sense of what goes before, with what follows; which any Person, but tolerably initiated in the *Eastern* Languages, must know to be their Properties.

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

AND indeed, if we cast but our Eye a little forward into the sacred History, it will not be long, before we may perceive some Instances of this Difference between Languages. For, when *Jacob* and *Laban* made a Covenant together, they erected an *Heap of Stones*, on which they eat, and *Laban* call'd it *Jegar-Sahadutha*, *but Jacob*, *Gal-Ed*, which Words signify, (those in *Chaldee*, which are *Laban*'s, and the other in *Hebrew*, which are *Jacob's*) *an Heap of Witnesses*; and, in like Manner, *Pharaoh* calls *Joseph*, *Tsophnath-Paaneahh*, which Words are neither *Hebrew* nor *Chaldee*. So that here we see three distinct Dialects form'd in *Jacob*'s Time, and yet we may observe, that the World was then thin, Commerce narrow, and Conquests few; so that the People were constrain'd to converse with those of their

That there cou'd not, in the first Ages, be all that Alteration in Languages, that is pretended.

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own Tribe, and, consequently, could keep their Dialect far more entire, than it is possible for any Nation to do now, when Commerce, Conquests, and Colonies, planted in Regions already peopled with Nations, that speak distinct Languages, may be suppos'd to bring in a *Deluge* of new Words, and make innumerable Changes. But Nations seldom trade much Abroad, or make Invasions upon their Neighbours, or send forth Plantations into remote Countries, until they are pretty well stock'd at Home, which could hardly be the Case of any one Country, for several Ages after the Dispersion.

'Tis a mistaken Notion, which some have imbib'd, that every little Thing, be it but the Change of Air, or Difference of Climate (which at most can but affect the Pronunciation of some Letters, or Syllables) can make a Diversity in Languages. Small and insensible Alterations, which perhaps will appear in an Age or two, will undoubtedly happen; but, unless People converse much with Strangers, their Language will subsist, as to its *constituent Form*, the same for many Generations.

The *Roman* Language, for Instance, was brought to a considerable Perfection before *Plautus*'s Time; and, tho' now and then some *obsolete* Words may appear in his Writings, yet any Man, that understands *Latin*, may read the Books, that were written in it, from *Plautus* down to *Theodorick* the *Goth*, which was near seven hundred Years; and, had not the barbarous Nations broken into *Italy*, it might have been an intelligible Language for several Ages more. And, in like Manner, we may say, that, had not the *Turks*, when they over-ran *Greece*, brought Darkness and Ignorance along with them, the *Greek* Tongue might have continu'd even to this Day, since it is manifest, from *Homer*'s *Poems*, and *Eustathius*'s *Commentaries* upon them, that it subsisted for above two thousand Years, without any considerable Alteration; for the Space of Time between the *Poet* and his *Commentator* was no less.

And if the Languages, which we are acquainted with, remain'd so long unchang'd to any great Degree, in Times of more Commerce and Action, than what cou'd be subsequent upon the Dispersion; there is reason to believe, that (tho' it be difficult to define the Number of them) there are many more *original* Languages in the World, than some Men imagine. For, if we consider their great *Antiquity*, their mutual Agreement in the *Fundamentals* (which we have describ'd) can be no Argument, that any one of them is deriv'd from the rest; since it is natural to suppose, that, when God confounded the Speech of the Builders of *Babel*, he made the *Dialects* of those People, who were to live near one another, so far to agree, that they might, with less Difficulty, and in a shorter Space of Time, mutually understand each other, and so more easily maintain an Intercourse together. For, tho' their *Association* (considering the Ends, that engag'd them in it) was certainly culpable; yet perhaps it might not deserve so severe a Punishment, as an entire Separation of every Tribe among them from their neareſt Kindred, with whom they had hitherto spent all their Time.

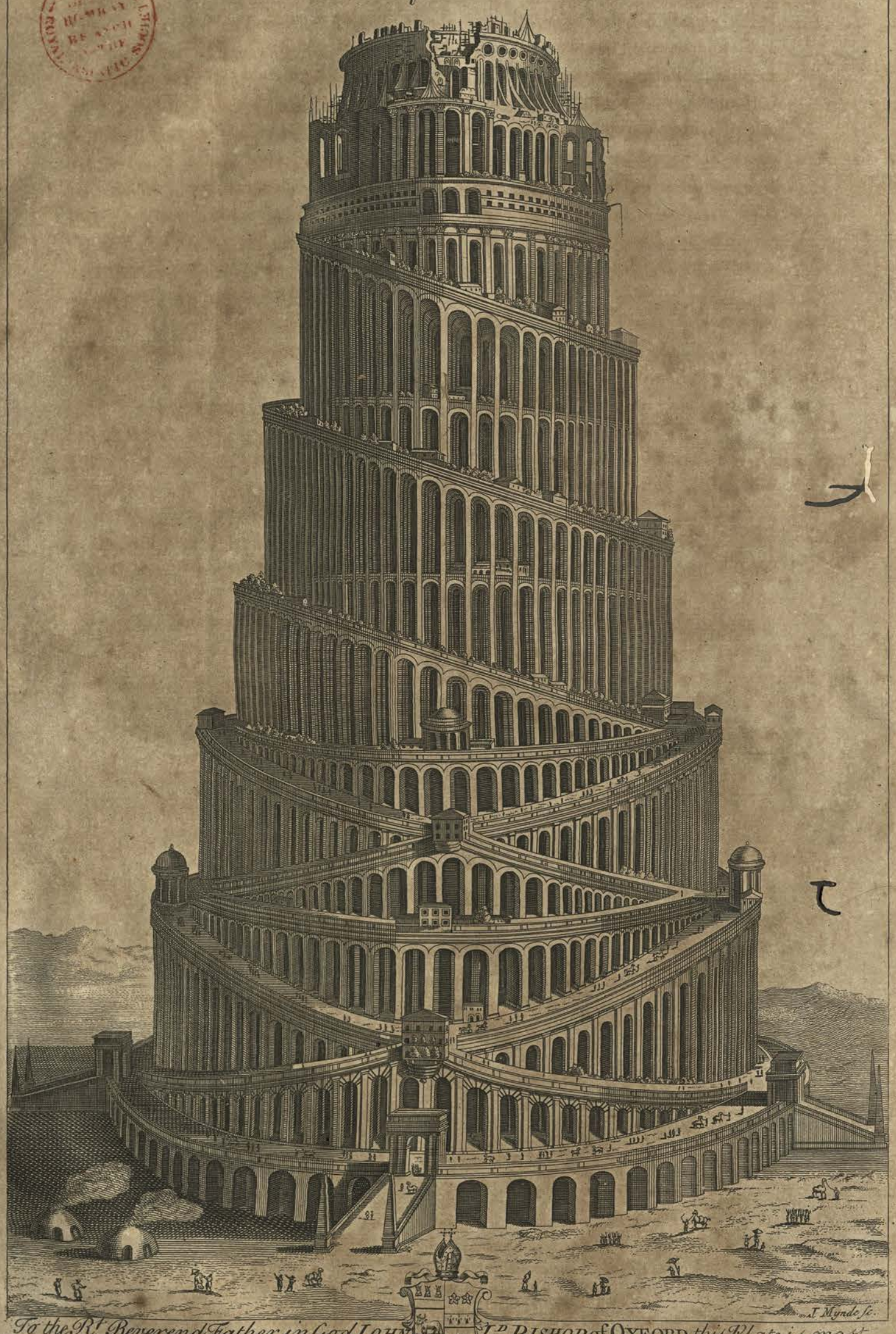
Gen. Ch. xi. to Ver. 10.

And that there are more original *Languages in the World, than is imagined.*

To sum up the Force of this Argument in a few Words. If we consider the Time, since the Building of the Tower of *Babel*, not yet 4000 Years, and the great Variety of Languages, that are at present in the World; if we consider, how entirely different some are to others, so that no Art of *Etymology* can reduce them to the least Likeness or Conformity; and yet, in those early Days, when the World was less peopled, and Navigation and Commerce not so much minded, there could not be that quick Progression of Languages; and if we examine the Alterations, which such Languages, as we are acquainted with, have made, in two or three Thousand Years past, where *Colonies* of different People have not been imported, we shall find the *Difference* between Language and Language to be so very *great*, and the *Alteration* of the same

A Recapitulation of the whole Argument.

A Prospect of the Tower of Babel



To the Rt. Reverend Father in God IOHN *L.d* BISHOP of OXFORD *this Plate is most Humbly Inscrib'd by his Lordship's most Dutyfull & Obedient Son & Servt.* Tho. Stackhouse

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Language, in a conſiderable Tract of Time, to be ſo very *ſmall*, that we ſhall be at a Loſs to conceive, whence ſo many, and ſo various Languages cou'd have proceeded, unleſs we take in the Account of *Moſes*, which unriddles the whole Difficulty, and juſtly aſcribes them to the ſame Almighty Power, which taught our firſt Parents to ſpeak *one* Tongue in the Beginning, and, in After-ages, inſpir'd the Apoſtles of *Jeſus Chriſt* with the Gift of *many*. Gen. Ch. xi. to Ver. 10.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the Tower of BABEL.

That there really was ſuch a Building as the Tower of Babel.

THAT there really was ſuch a Building as the Tower of *Babel*, erected ſome Ages after the Recovery of the Earth from the Deluge, is evident from the concurrent Teſtimony of ſeveral Heathen Writers. For when (beſides the particular Deſcription which (*b*) *Herodotus*, the Father of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, gives us of it) we find *Abydenus* (as he is (*c*) quoted by *Euſebius*) telling us, "That "the firſt Race of Men, big with a fond "Conceit of the Bulk and Strength of "their Bodies, built, in the Place where "*Babylon* now ſtands, a Tower of ſo "prodigious an Height, that it ſeem'd to "touch the Skies, but that the Winds "and the Gods overthrew the mighty "Structure upon their Heads:" When we find *Eupolemus* (as he is (*d*) cited by *Alexander Polyhiſtor*) leaving it upon Record, "That the City of *Babylon* was "firſt built by *Giants*, who eſcap'd from "the *Flood*; that theſe Giants built the "moſt famous Tower in all Hiſtory; and "that this Tower was daſh'd to Pieces "by the Almighty Power of God, and "the Giants diſpers'd, and ſcatter'd over "the Face of the whole Earth:" And laſtly, when (*e*) we find *Joſephus* mentioning it, as a receiv'd Doctrine among the *Sibyls*, "That, at a certain Time, when "the whole World ſpake all one Lan-"guage, the People of thoſe Days gather-"ed together, and rais'd a mighty Tow-"er, which they carried up to ſo extra-"vagant an Height, that it look'd as if "they had propos'd to ſcale Heaven from "the Top of it; but that the Gods let "the Winds looſe upon it, which, with "a violent Blaſt, beat it down to the "Ground, and, at the ſame Time, ſtruck "the Builders with an utter Forgetfulneſs "of their native Tongue, and ſubſtituted "new and unknown Languages in the "Room of it:" When we find theſe, and ſeveral other Authors, I ſay, that might be produc'd, bearing Teſtimony to *Moſes*, in moſt of the material Circumſtances attending the Building of this Tower, we cannot but conclude, that the Repreſentation, which he gives us of the whole Tranſaction, is agreeable to Truth.

THE Short is, all the Remains, now extant, of the moſt antient Heathen Hiſtorians (except *Sanchoniatho*) concur in confirming the *Moſaick* Account of this Matter, and the Sum of their Teſtimonies is, —— *(f)* That a huge Tower was built by gigantick Men at *Babylon*; that there was then but one Language among Mankind; that the Attempt was offenſive to the Gods; and that therefore they demoliſh'd the Tower, overwhelm'd the Workmen, divided their Language, and diſpers'd them over the Face of the whole Earth.

That it was not blown down, or deſtroy'd.

THERE is one Circumſtance indeed, wherein we find theſe ancient Hiſtorians differing with *Moſes*, and that is, in affirming, that the Tower was demoliſh'd by the Anger of God, and by the Violence of the Winds; but as it ſeems more conſiſtent with the Divine Wiſdom (for *the Admonition*

(*b*) Lib. 1. c. 181. (*c*) Præparat. Evang. l. 9. c. 14. (*d*) *Alex. Polyhiſt.* apud *Euſeb.* Præp. Evan. l. 9. c. 18. (*e*) Antiq. l. 1. c. 5. (*f*) Vid. *Joſephus*'s Antiq. l. 1. c. 5. *Euſebius*'s Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 14, &c. and *Huetius*'s Quæſt. Alnetan. l. 2. p. 189.

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Admonition of Poſterity) to have ſuch a Monument of Men's Folly and Ambition for ſome Time ſtanding; ſo we may obſerve, that (in Confirmation of our ſacred Penman, who ſpeaks of it as a Thing exiſting in his Time) *Herodotus*, the *Greek* Hiſtorian, tells us expreſly, that he himſelf actually ſaw it, as it was repair'd by *Belus*, or ſome of his Succeſſors; *Pliny*, the *Latin* Hiſtorian, that it was not deſtroy'd in his Days; and ſome modern Travellers (whom by and by we ſhall have Occaſion to quote) that there are ſome viſible Remains of it extant even now. And therefore the Fancy of its being beat down with the Winds is taken up, in pure Conformity * to ſome *Perſian* Tales, recorded of *Nimrod*, whom theſe Hiſtorians ſuppoſe to be the firſt Projector of it.

Who were the Builders of it.

It cannot be deny'd indeed, but that the Generality of Interpreters, meeting with the Expreſſion of (*g*) *the Children of Men*, whereby they underſtand bad Men and Infidels, as oppos'd to *the Children of God*, which uſually denote the Good and the Faithful, are apt to imagine, that none of the Family of *Shem*, which retain'd (as they ſay) the true Worſhip and Religion, were engag'd in the Work, but ſome of the worſer Sort of People only, who had degenerated from the Piety of their Anceſtors: But by *the Children of Men* in that Place, 'tis evident, that we are to underſtand all Mankind, becauſe, in the initial Words of the Chapter, they are call'd (*h*) *the whole Earth*; nor can we well conceive how, in ſo ſhort a Time, after that awakening Judgment of the Deluge, the major Part of Mankind, even while *Noah* and his Sons were ſtill alive, ſhou'd be ſo far corrupted in their Principles, as to deſerve the odious Character of *Unbelievers*. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

(*i*) *JOSEPHUS* indeed, and ſome other Authors are clearly of Opinion, that *Nimrod*, a Deſcendant from the impious *Ham*, was the great Abettor of this Deſign, and the Ringleader of thoſe, who combin'd in the Execution of it. But, tho' the Undertaking ſeems to agree very well with the Notion, which the Scripture gives us of that ambitious Prince; yet, beſides that (*k*) others, extreamly well vers'd in all *Jewiſh* Antiquities, have made it appear, that *Nimrod* was either very young at the Time, or even not yet born, when the Project of Building the Tower and City was firſt form'd, there is Reaſon to believe (even ſuppoſing him then alive, and in great Power and Authority among his People) that he was not in any tolerable Condition to undertake ſo great a Work. *Not* Nimrod.

The Account, which *Moſes* gives us of him is, —— That he (*l*) *began to be a mighty one in the Earth*, which the beſt Writers explain, by his being the firſt, who laid the Foundation of *regal* Power among Mankind; but it is ſcarce imaginable, how an Empire, able to effect ſuch a Work, cou'd be entirely acquir'd, and ſo thoroughly eſtabliſh'd by one and the ſame Perſon, as to allow Leiſure for Amuſements of ſuch infinite Toil and Trouble.

Great

* The Author of the Book called *Malem* tells us this Story,——That when *Nimrod* ſaw that the Fire, into which he caus'd *Abraham* to be caſt, for not ſubmitting to the worſhipping of Idols, did him no Damage, he reſolv'd to aſcend into Heaven, that he might ſee that great God, whom *Abraham* reveal'd to him. In vain did his Courtiers endeavour to divert him from this Deſign: He was reſolv'd to accompliſh it, and therefore gave Orders for the Building of a Tower, that might be as high as poſſible. They work'd upon it for three Years together: And when he went up to the Top, he was much ſurpriz'd to ſee himſelf as far from Heaven, as when he was upon the Ground; but his Confuſion was much increas'd, when they came to inform him, the next Morning, that his Tower was fallen, and daſh'd in Pieces. He commanded them then, that another ſhould be built, which might be higher and ſtronger than the former: But, when this met with the ſame Fate, and he ſtill continu'd an obſtinate Perſecuter of thoſe, who worſhipp'd the true God, God took from him the greateſt Part of his Subjects, by the Diviſion and Confuſion of their Tongues, and thoſe, who ſtill adher'd to him, he killed by a Cloud of Flies, which he ſent amongſt them. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Nimrod*. The Poets, in like Manner, having corrupted the Tradition of this Event with Fictions of their own, do conſtantly bring in *Jupiter* defeating the Attempts of the *Titans*:

Fulmina de Cœli jaculatus Jupiter arce,
Vertit in Authores Pondera vaſta ſuos, &c. Ovid.

(*g*) Gen. xi. 5. (*h*) Ver. 1. (*i*) Antiq. l. 1. c. 5. (*k*) *Bochart*'s Phaleg. l. 1. c. 10. (*l*) Gen. x. 8.

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(*m*) GREAT and mighty Empires indeed have ſeemingly been acquir'd by ſingle Perſons; but when we come to examine into the true Original of them, we ſhall find, that they began upon the Foundations of Kingdoms, already attain'd by their Anceſtors, and eſtabliſh'd by the Care and Wiſdom of many ſucceſſive Rulers for ſeveral Generations, and after a long Exerciſe of their People in Arts and Arms, which gave them a ſingular Advantage over other Nations, that they conquer'd. In this Manner grew the Empires of *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, and all the great Conquerors in the World: Nor can we, in all the Records of Hiſtory, find one large Dominion, from the very Foundation of the World, that was ever erected and eſtabliſhed by one *private* Perſon. And therefore we have abundant Reaſon to infer, that *Nimrod*, though confeſſedly the Beginner of *ſovereign* Authority, could, at this Time, have no great Kingdom under his Command.

BUT admitting his Kingdom to be larger than this Suppoſition; yet, from that Day to this, we can meet with no Works of this Kind attempted, but from a Fullneſs of Wealth, and Wantonneſs of Power, and after Peace, Luxury, and long Leiſure had introduc'd and eſtabliſh'd Arts: So that nothing can be more abſurd, than to attribute ſuch a prodigious Work to the Power and Vanity of *one* Man, in the Infancy both of Arts and Empire, and when we can ſcarce ſuppoſe, that there was any ſuch Thing, as *artificial* Wealth in the World.

Tho' he might afterwards ſettle there.

SINCE then this Building was undoubtedly very antient, as antient as the Scripture makes it, and yet could not be effected by any ſeparate Society, in the Period aſſign'd for it, the only probable Opinion is, that it was (as we ſaid before) undertook, and executed by the united Labours of all the People, that were then on the Face of the Earth. 'Tis not unlikely however, that, after the Diſperſion of the People, and their leaving the Place unfiniſh'd, (*n*) *Nimrod*, and his Subjects, coming out of *Arabia*, or ſome other neighbouring Country, might, after their Fright was over, ſettle at *Babel*, and there building the City of *Babylon*, and repairing the Tower, make it the Metropolis (as afterwards it was) of all the *Aſſyrian* Empire. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

To this Purpoſe, there is a very remarkable Paſſage (*o*) in *Diodorus Siculus*, where he tells us; "That, on the Walls of one "of the *Babylonian* Palaces was pourtray'd "a general Hunting of all Sorts of wild "Beaſts, with the Figure of a Woman on "Horſe-back, piercing a Leopard, and a "Man, fighting with a Lion; and that, "on the Walls of the other Palace were "Armies in Battalia, and Huntings of "ſeveral Kinds." Now of this *Nimrod*, the ſacred Hiſtorian informs us, that he was a great and remarkable *Hunter*, ſo as to paſs into a Proverb; and this Occupation he might the rather purſue, as the beſt Means of training up his Companions to Exploits of War, and of making himſelf popular, by the Glory he gained, and the publick Good he did, in deſtroying thoſe wild Beaſts, which, at that Time, infeſted the World. And as this was a Part of his Character, the moſt rational Account that we can give of theſe Ornaments on the *Babylonian* Palaces, is, that they were ſet up by ſome of *Nimrod*'s Deſcendants, in their Anceſtor's Imperial City, in Memory of the great Founder of their Family, and of an Empire, which afterwards grew ſo famous.

For what Purpoſes *it was built.*

(*p*) *EUTYCHIUS*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, will needs have it, that *Nimrod* was the firſt Author of the Religion of the *Magians*, the Worſhippers of Fire: And from hence, very probably, (*q*) a late Archbiſhop of our own has thought, that this Tower of *Babel* (whoſe Form was *Pyramidal*, as he ſays, and ſo reſembling Fire, whoſe Flame aſcends in a *conick* Shape) was a Monument deſign'd for the Honour of the *Sun*, as the moſt probable

(*m*) Revelation Examin'd, Vol. II. Diſſert. III. (*n*) *Bochart*'s Phaleg. l. 1. c. 10. (*o*) Lib. 1.
(*p*) *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Nimrod*. (*q*) *Teniſon*, of Idolatry.

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Cauſe of drying up the Waters of the Flood. For, "tho' the Sun, *ſays he*, was "not merely a God of the Hills, yet the "Heathens thought it ſuitable to his ad- "vanc'd Station, to worſhip him upon "Aſcents, either *natural*, or, where the "Country was flat, *artificial*, that they "might approach, as near as poſſibly they "cou'd, the Deity they ador'd." This certainly accounts for God's Diſpleaſure againſt the Builders, and why he was concern'd to defeat their Undertaking; but, as there is no Foundation for this Conjecture in Scripture, and the Date of this Kind of Idolatry was not perhaps ſo early, as is pretended; the two Ends, which *Moſes* declares the Builders had in View, in forming their Project, will be Motives ſufficient for their undertaking it.

For, if we conſider, that they were now in the midſt of a vaſt Plain, undiſtinguiſh'd by Roads, Buildings, or Boundaries of any Kind, except Rivers; that the Proviſion of Paſture, and other Neceſſaries, oblig'd them to ſeparate; and, that, when they were ſeparated, there was a Neceſſity of ſome *Land-mark* to bring them together again upon Occaſion, otherwiſe, all Communication, and, with it, all the Pleaſures of Life muſt be cut off; we can hardly imagine any Thing more natural, and fit for this Purpoſe, than the Erection of a *Tower*, large and lofty enough to be ſeen at great Diſtances, and, conſequently, ſufficient to guide them from all Quarters of that immenſe Region; and, when they had occaſion to correſpond, or come together, nothing certainly could be more proper, than the contiguous Buildings of a City, for their Reception, and convenient Communication.

If we conſider likewiſe, that all the Pride and Magnificence of their Anceſtors were now defac'd, and utterly deſtroy'd by the Deluge, without the leaſt Remains, or Memorial of their Grandeur; that, conſequently, the Earth was a clear Stage, whereon to erect new and unrival'd Monuments of Glory and Renown to themſelves; and that, at this Juncture, they wanted neither Art nor Abilities, neither Numbers nor Materials, to make themſelves Maſters of what their Vanity projected; we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the Affectation of Renown was another Motive to their Undertaking; ſince it is very well known, that this is the very Principle, which has, all along, govern'd the whole Race of Mankind, in all the Works and Monuments of Magnificence, the *Mauſoleums*, *Pillars*, *Palaces*, *Pyramids*, and whatever has been erected of any pompous Kind, from the Foundation of the World to this very Day. So that, taking their Reſolution under the united Light of theſe two Motives, the Reaſoning of the Builders will run thus. "We are "here in a vaſt Plain: † Our Diſper- "ſion is inevitable: Our Increaſe, and "the Neceſſaries of Life demand it. We "are ſtrong and happy, when united; "but, when divided, we ſhall be weak "and wretched. Let us then contrive "ſome Means of Union and friendly "Society, which may, at the ſame "Time, perpetuate our Fame and Me- "mory. And what Means ſo proper "for theſe Purpoſes, as a magnificent "City, and a mighty Tower, whoſe Top "may touch the Skies? The Tower "will be a *Land-mark* to us, through the "whole Extent of this Plain, and a Cen- "ter of Unity, to prevent our being diſ- "pers'd; and the City, which may prove "the *Metropolis* of the whole Earth, "will, at all Times, afford us a commo- "dious Habitation. Since then we need "fear no Diſſolution of our Works by "any future Deluge, let us erect ſome- "thing, that may immortalize our Names, "and outvie the Labours of our *Antedi- "luvian* Fathers." And that this ſeems

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

to

† Here they ſpeak as if they fear'd a Diſperſion; but it is hard to tell for what Cauſe, unleſs it was this,——That *Noah* having projected a Diviſion of the Earth among his Poſterity, (for it was a deliberate Buſineſs, as we noted before) the People had no Mind to ſubmit to it, and therefore built a Fortreſs to defend themſelves in their Reſolution of not yielding to his Deſign; but what they dreaded, they brought upon themſelves by their own vain Attempt to avoid it. Vid. *Patrick*'s Comment. and *Uſher* ad A. M. 1757.

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to have been the Reaſoning of their Minds, will further appear, if we come now to take a ſhort Survey of the Dimenſions of the Building, according to the Account, which the beſt Hiſtorians have given us of it.

The Dimenſions of the Tower.

IT is the Opinion of the learned (*r*) *Bochart*, that, whatever we read of the Tower, enclos'd in the Temple of *Belus*, may very properly be apply'd to the Tower of *Babel*; becauſe, upon due Search and Examination, he conceives them to be one and the ſame Structure. Now of this Tower (*s*) *Herodotus* tells us, that it was a Square of a Furlong on each Side, *i. e.* half a Mile in the whole Circumference, whoſe Height, being equal to its *Baſis*, was divided into eight Towers, built one upon another; but what made it look as divided into eight Towers, was very probably the Manner of its Aſcent. *The Paſſage to go up it*, continues our Author, *was a circular, or winding Way, carry'd round the Outſide of the Building to its higheſt Point:* (*t*) From whence it ſeems moſt likely, that the whole Aſcent was, by the Benching-in, drawn in a ſloaping Line, from the Bottom to the Top, eight Times round it, which wou'd make the Appearance of eight Towers one above another. This Way was ſo exceeding broad, that it afforded Space for Horſes and Carts, and other Means of Carriage to meet and turn; and the Towers, which look'd like ſo many Stories upon one another, were each of them Seventy-five Foot high, in which were many ſtately Rooms, with arch'd Roofs ſupported by Pillars, which were made Parts of the Temple, after the Tower became conſecrated to that idolatrous Uſe; and, on the uppermoſt of the Towers, which was held more ſacred, and where their moſt ſolemn Devotions were perform'd, there was an *Obſervatory*, by the Benefit of which it was, that the *Babylonians* advanc'd their Skill in *Aſtronomy* beyond all other Nations. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

SOME Authors, † following a Miſtake in the *Latin* Verſion of *Herodotus*, wherein the loweſt of theſe Towers is ſaid to be a Furlong thick, and a Furlong high, will have each of the other Towers to be of a proportionate Height, which amounts to a Mile in the Whole: But the *Greek* of *Herodotus* (which is the genuine Text of that Author) ſays no ſuch Thing, but only, that it was a Furlong long, and a Furlong broad, without mentioning any Thing of its Height; and (*u*) *Strabo*, in his Deſcription of it, (calling it a *Pyramid*, becauſe of its decreaſing, or benching-in at every Tower) ſays of the Whole, that it was a Furlong high, and a Furlong on every Side: For to reckon every Tower a Furlong high, wou'd make the Thing incredible, even though the Authority of both theſe Hiſtorians were *for*, as they are *againſt*, it. Taking it only as it is deſcrib'd by *Strabo*, it was prodigious enough; ſince, according to his Dimenſions only, without adding any farther, it was one of the moſt wonderful Works in the World, and much exceeded the greateſt of the Pyramids of *Egypt*.

Its ſubſequent Hiſtory.

IN this Condition continu'd the Tower of *Babel*, or the Temple of *Belus*, until the Time of *Nebuchadnezzar*; but he enlarg'd it by vaſt Buildings, which were erected round it, in a Square of two Furlongs on every Side, or a Mile in Circumference; and enclos'd the Whole with a Wall of two Miles and an half in Compaſs, in which were ſeveral Gates leading to the Temple, all of ſolid Braſs, which very probably were made of the *brazen Sea*,

(*r*) Vid. Phaleg. Part 1. l. 1. c. 9. (*s*) Lib. 1. (*t*) *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part 1.

† The Words of *Herodotus* are: Ἐν μέσῳ δὴ τῷ ἱερῷ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος, καὶ τὸ εὖρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις ἑπτὰ ὅλων πύργων. Now, tho' it be allow'd, that the Word μῆκος may ſignify *Height*, as well as *Length*, yet it is much better to take *Herodotus* in the latter Senſe here; otherwiſe the Tower (if every Story anſwers the loweſt) will riſe to a prodigious Height, though nothing near to what *Jerom* (l. 5. Comment. in *Eſaiam*) affirms, from the Teſtimony of Eye-witneſſes, as he ſays, who examin'd the Remains of it very careſully, *viz.* that it was no leſs than four Miles high. Univerſ. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 2.

(*u*) Lib. 16.

A. M. 1757, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2247, &c.

Sea, the brazen *Pillars*, and the other brazen Veſſels, which were carried to *Babylon* from the Temple of *Jeruſalem*: For ſo we are told, that all the ſacred Veſſels, which *Nebuchadnezzar* carried from thence, he put (*x*) *into the Houſe of his God* in *Babylon*, i. e. into the Houſe, or Temple of *Bel*, (for † that was the Name of the great God of the *Babylonians*) ſurrounding it with the Pomp of theſe additional Buildings, and adorning it with the Spoils of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. This Tower did not ſubſiſt much above an hundred Years, when *Xerxes*, coming from his *Grecian* Expedition, wherein he had ſuffer'd a vaſt Loſs of Men and Money, out of Pretence of Religion, († as being himſelf a *Magian*, and, conſequently, deteſting the Worſhip of God by Images) (*y*) but, in Reality, with a Deſign to repair the Damages, he had ſuſtain'd, demoliſh'd it, and laid it all in Rubbiſh; having firſt plunder'd it of all its immenſe Riches, among which were ſeveral Images, or Statues of maſſy Gold, and (*z*) one particularly of forty Feet high, which very probably was † that, which *Nebuchadnezzar* (*a*) conſecrated in the Plains of *Dura*. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

Thus fell this great Monument of Antiquity, and was never repair'd any more: For, tho' *Alexander*, at his Return to *Babylon*, after his *Indian* Expedition, expreſs'd his Intentions of rebuilding it, and, accordingly, ſet ten thouſand Men on work to rid the Place of its Rubbiſh; yet, before they had made any Progreſs therein, that great Conqueror died on a ſudden, and has ever ſince left both the City and Tower ſo far defac'd, that the very People of the Country are at a Loſs to tell where their ancient Situation was. Since ſome late Travellers however have, in their Opinions, found out the true Ruins, and Remains of this once-renown'd Structure, we ſhall not be averſe to gratify our Reader's Curioſity (*b*) with an Account of what one, of the beſt Authority among them, has thought fit to communicate to the Publick.

The preſent Remains of it.

"In the Middle of a vaſt and level "Plain, *ſays he*, about a Quarter of a "League from the *Euphrates* (which, in "that Place, runs Weſtward) appears an "Heap

(*x*) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. Dan. i. 2.

† *Bel* is ſuppos'd to have been the ſame with *Nimrod*, and to have been call'd *Bel* from his Dominion, and *Nimrod* from his Rebellion; for *Bel*, or *Baal* (which is the ſame) ſignifies *Lord*, and *Nimrod*, *Rebel*, in the *Jewiſh* and *Chaldean* Language: The former was his *Babyloniſh* Name, by Reaſon of his Empire in that Place; and the latter his Scripture-Name, by Reaſon of his Rebellion, in revolting from God, to follow his own wicked Deſigns. *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part I. l. 2.

† The two great Sects of Religion among the *Perſians*, were the *Magians* and *Sabians*. The *Sabians* worſhipp'd God thro' ſenſible Images, or rather worſhipp'd the Images themſelves. The *Babylonians* were the firſt Founders of this Sect; for they firſt brought in the Worſhip of the Planets, and afterwards that of Images, and from thence propagated it to all other Nations, where it prevail'd. The *Magians*, on the contrary, worſhip no Images of any Kind, but God only, together with two *ſubordinate* Principles, the one, the Author and Director of all Good, and the other, the Author and Director of all Evil. Theſe two Sects always had a mortal Enmity to each other; and therefore it is no Wonder, that *Xerxes*, who had always the *Archimagus* attending him in his Expeditions, with ſeveral other inferior *Magi*, in the Capacity of his *Chaplains*, ſhould by them be prevail'd on to take *Babylon* in his Way to *Suſa*, in order to deſtroy all the idolatrous Temples there.

(*y*) *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part I. (*z*) *Diodorus Siculus*, l. 2.

† *Nebuchadnezzar*'s golden Image is ſaid indeed in Scripture to have been 60 Cubits, *i. e.* ninety Foot high, but that muſt be underſtood of the Image and Pedeſtal all together: For, that Image being ſaid to have been but ſix Cubits *broad* or *thick*, it is impoſſible that the Image cou'd have been ſixty Cubits high; for that makes its Height to be ten Times its Breadth or Thickneſs, which exceeds all the Proportions of a Man, foraſmuch as no Man's Height is above ſix Times his Thickneſs, meaſuring the ſlendereſt Man living at the Waiſt. But, where the Breadth of this Image was meaſur'd, it is not ſaid: Perhaps it was from Shoulder to Shoulder, and then the Proportion of ſix Cubits Breadth will bring down the Height exactly to the Meaſure, which *Diodorus* has mention'd. For, the uſual Height of a Man being four and an half of his Breadth between the Shoulders, it muſt, according to this Proportion, have been twenty-ſeven Cubits high, which is forty Foot and an half. Nor muſt it be forgot what *Diodorus* further tells us, *viz.* That this Image contain'd a thouſand *Babyloniſh* Talents of Gold, which, upon a moderate Computation, amounts to three Millions and an half of our Money. But now, if we advance the Height of the Statue to ninety Foot without the Pedeſtal, it will increaſe the Value to a Sum incredible; and therefore it is neceſſary to take the Pedeſtal likewiſe into the Height mention'd by *Daniel*. *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part I. l. 2.

(*a*) Dan. iii. 1. (*b*) *Vid.* Pietro della Valle, Part II. l. 17.

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" Heap of ruin'd Buildings, like a huge " Mountain, the Materials of which are ſo " confounded together, that one knows " not what to make of it. Its Figure is " ſquare, and riſes in Form of a *Pyramid*, " with four Fronts, which anſwer to the " four Quarters of the Compaſs, but it " ſeems longer from *North* to *South*, than " from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, and is (as far as I cou'd " judge by my pacing it) a large Quarter " of a League. Its Situation and Form cor- " reſpond with that Pyramid, which *Strabo* " calls the Tower of *Belus*; but, even in " his Time, it had nothing remaining of " the Stairs, and other Ornaments mention- " ed by *Herodotus*, for the greateſt Part of " it was ruin'd by *Xerxes*, and *Alexander*, " who deſign'd to have reſtor'd it to its " former Luſtre, but was prevented by " Death.

" THERE appear no Marks of Ruins " round the Compaſs of this rude Maſs, " to make one believe, that ſo great a City " as *Babylon* ever ſtood here. All that " one can diſcover, within 50 or 60 Paces " of it, is only the Remains here and " there of ſome Foundations of Buildings; " and the Country round about it is ſo flat " and level, that one can hardly conceive " it ſhou'd be choſen for the Situation of " ſo noble a City, or, that there ever were " any conſiderable Structures on it. But " conſidering withal, that it is now at " leaſt four thouſand Years ſince that City " was built, and that, in the Time of " *Diodorus Siculus*, as he tells us, it was " almoſt reduc'd to nothing, I, for my " Part, am aſtoniſh'd, that there appears " ſo much as there does.

" THE Height of this Mountain of " Ruins is not in every Part equal, but " exceeds the higheſt Palace in *Naples*. " It is a miſhapen Maſs, wherein there is " no Appearance of Regularity. In ſome " Places it riſes in Points, is craggy, and " inacceſſible: in others it is ſmooth, and " of eaſy Aſcent.——Whether ever there " were Steps to aſcend it, or Doors to en- " ter into it, 'tis impoſſible at preſent to " diſcover: And from hence one may " eaſily judge, that the Stairs ran winding " about on the Outſide, and that, being " the leſs ſolid Parts, they were the ſooneſt " demoliſh'd, ſo that there is not the leaſt " Sign to be ſeen of them now. From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

" IN the Inſide of it, there are ſome " Grottos, but ſo ruin'd, that one can " make nothing of them; and 'tis much " to be doubted, with regard to ſome of " them, whether they were built at the " ſame Time with the Work, or made " ſince by the Peaſants for Shelter, which " laſt ſeems to be more likely. 'Tis evi- " dent from theſe Ruins however, that " the Tower of *Nimrod (ſo our Author " calls it)* was built with great and thick " Bricks, as I carefully obſerv'd, cauſing " Holes to be dug in ſeveral Places for " that Purpoſe; but they do not appear " to have been burnt, but only dried in " the Sun, which is extremely hot in thoſe " Parts.

" IN laying theſe Bricks, neither Lime " nor Sand was made uſe of, but only Earth " temper'd and petrify'd; and in thoſe " Parts, which made the Floors, there had " been mingled with the Earth (which " ſerv'd inſtead of Lime) bruis'd Reeds, " or hard Straws, ſuch as large Mats are " made of, to ſtrengthen the Work. In " ſeveral other Places, eſpecially where the " ſtrongeſt Buttreſſes were to be, there " were, at due Diſtances, other Bricks of " the ſame Size, but more ſolid, and burnt " in Kilns, and ſet in good Lime, or Bitu- " men, but the greater Number were ſuch " as were dried in the Sun."

THIS is the moſt of what this ſedulous Traveller cou'd diſcover; and yet, upon the Foot of theſe Remarks, he makes no Doubt to declare, " That this Ruin was " the antient *Babel*, or the Tower of *Nim- " rod (as he calls it)* for, beſides the Evi- " dence of its Situation, 'tis ſo acknow- " ledg'd to be, and ſo call'd by the Inha- " bitants of the Country to this very Day:" Notwithſtanding ſome others are of a con- trary Opinion, *viz.* (*c*) That this and ſome

(*c*) Univerſ. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 2.

A MAP
shewing the general
DISPERSION
and settling of the
NATIONS

MAGOG
MADAI
JAPH
ET
ASCHENEZ
PONTUS EUXINUS
DODANIM
TARSHISH
ITALY
KITTIM
MACEDON
GREECE
BITHYNIA
Albani Chalybes
CAPADOCIA
Mysia
Phrygia
Galatia
Troas
LUD
LYDIA
ARMENIA
MEDIA
Hellespont
EGEAN SEA
ELISHA
Lycia
Pamphylia
Cilicia
Tarshu
Caria
Peloponnesus
Rhodes
CYPRUS
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
HUL
SYRIA
GETHER
Palmyra
River Euphrates
Babylon
Calneh
Susa or Enoch
SHINAR
Accad
Erech
Land of Nod
or Susiana
CANAAN
Javan
Elisium
NAPHTUHIM
On
Midian
LIBYA
EGYPT
PATHRUSIM
PHUT
LEHABIM
ANAMIN
HAMITAE
MIZRAIM
CASLUHIMS
RED SEA
Raamah
HAVILAH
Sheba
PERSIAN GULF
JOBAB
HAVILAH
SABTECHA
ARABIA
M. Sephar
OPHIR
JOKTAN
DIKLA
SHEBA
UZAL
Mesha
AFRICA
ETHIOPIANS

A The Habitation of Arphaxd after the Assyrian Monarchy.
B The Habitation of ye Posterity of Arphaxad after ye Assyrian Monarchy call'd Arraphachitis.
C The Habitation of Asshur before the Assyrian Monarchy.
D The Habitation of Aram before the Assyrian Monarchy.
E The Habitation of Asshur after the Assyrian Monarchy, somtimes antiently call'd Ashur.

F The Habitation of Aram after ye Assyrian Monarchy, somtimes call'd Aram-naharaim as Psal. 60 Title or Aram between ye two Rivers, and by the Greeks Mesopotamia.
EF The Habitation of Japhet before the Assyrian Monarchy.
G The Habitation of the Posterity of Japhet after the Assyrian Monarchy, as before they Peopled Greece.

To the Right Reverend Father in God
This Plate is most humbly Inscribed by his
RICHARD Lo BISHOP OF LITCHFIELD & COVENT
Lordships most dutyfull Son & Servt Thos Stackho

A. M. 1757, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2247, &c.

other Ruins, not far diſtant from it, are not the Remains of the original *Tower*, but rather ſome later Structures of the *Arabs*.

A moral Reflection hereupon.

We cannot diſmiſs this Subject however, without making ſome Reflections on the Vanity and Tranſitorineſs of all ſublunary Things, as well as the Veracity of all God's Predictions; ſince that goodly City, which was once the Pride of all *Aſia*, and the deſign'd Metropolis of the whole Univerſe, according to the Words (*d*) of the Prophets, *is fallen, is fallen low, very low, and become a dwelling Place for Dragons, an Aſtoniſhment, and an Hiſſing without an Inhabitant*; and that ſtately *Tower*, which once rear'd its Head on high, and ſeem'd to menace the Stars, is brought *down to the Ground, even to the Duſt*; in ſo much, that the Place of it is to be ſeen no more; or, if by Chance found out by ſome inquiſitive Traveller, the Whole is now become only a confus'd Heap of Rubbiſh, according to the Word of God, by the ſame Prophet; (*e*) *I will roll thee down from the Rocks, and make thee as a burnt Mountain, and they ſhall not take of thee a Stone for a Corner, nor a Stone for Foundations, but thou ſhalt be an everlaſting Deſolation, ſaith the Lord.*

From Gen. xi. to Ver. 10.

(*d*) Iſaiah xxi. 9. and Jer. li. 37.

(*e*) Jer. li. 25, 26.

CHAP. III.

Of the Diſperſion, and firſt Settlement of the Nations.

The History.

A. M. 1759, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2245, &c.

The Settlement of the Sons of Japhet.

In what Manner the Children of *Noah* were admitted to the Poſſeſſion of the ſeveral Countries, they afterwards came to inhabit, the *Sacred Hiſtorian* has not inform'd us; but this we may depend on, that (*a*) this great Diviſion of the Earth was not the Reſult of *Chance*, but of mature Deliberation; not a confus'd, irregular Diſperſion, wherein every one went where he pleas'd, and ſettled himſelf where he lik'd beſt, but a proper Aſſignment of ſuch and ſuch Places, for every Diviſion and Subdiviſion of each Nation and Family to dwell in. *Japhet*, as we ſaid before, though uſually mention'd laſt, yet was, in Reality, the *eldeſt* Son of *Noah*, and, accordingly, has his Deſcendants here plac'd in the Front of the Genealogy. He had † ſeven Sons: *Gomer*, who ſeated himſelf in *Phrygia*; *Magog*, in *Scythia*; *Media*, in *Media*; *Javan*, in *Ionia*, or Part of *Greece*; *Tubal*, in *Tibarene*; *Maſhech*, in *Moſchia*, (which lies in the *North-Eaſt* Parts of *Cappadocia*) and *Tiras*, in *Thrace*, *Myſchia*, and the reſt of *Europe* towards the *North*.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

The Sons of *Gomer* were *Aſhkanaz*, who took Poſſeſſion of *Aſcania*, (which is Part of *Leſſer Phrygia*) *Riphah*, of the *Riphæan*

(*a*) Mede's Diſc. 49, 50. l. 1.

† The following Account of the Plantations of the three Sons of *Noah* and their Deſcendants, is extracted from *Bochart*'s Phaleg, *Heidegger*'s Hiſtoria Patriarcharum, Vol. I. Exercit. 22. *Wells*'s Sacred Geography, Vol. I. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 2. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. *Parker*'s Bibliotheca Biblica, Vol. I. the Authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. *Le Clerc* and *Patrick*'s Commentaries, *Pool* and *Ainſworth*'s Annotations, with other Authors of the like Nature; from whom we have made uſe of the moſt probable Conjectures, and to whom we refer the Reader, rather than encumber him with a Multitude of *explanatory* Notes.

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Riphæan Mountains; and *Togarmah*, of Part of *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*.

THE Sons of *Javan* were *Eliſhah*, who ſeated himſelf in *Peloponneſus*; *Tarſhiſh*, in *Spain*; *Kittim*, in *Italy*; and *Dodanim*, (*b*) (otherwiſe call'd *Rhodanim*) in *France*, not far from the Banks of the River *Roſne*, to which he ſeems to have given the Name. By theſe, and the Colonies, which, in ſome Space of Time, proceeded from them, not only a conſiderable Part of *Aſia*, but all *Europe*, and the Iſlands adjacent, were ſtock'd with Inhabitants; and the ſeveral Inhabitants were ſo ſettled and diſpos'd of, that each Tribe or Family, who ſpake the ſame Language, kept together in one Body, and (how diſtant ſoever in their Situation) continu'd, for ſome Time at leaſt, their Relation to the People, or Nation, from whom *originally* they ſprang.

Of Shem.

SHEM, the ſecond Son of *Noah* (and from whom the *Hebrew* Nation did deſcend) had himſelf five Sons; whereof *Elam* took Poſſeſſion of a Country in *Perſia*, called after *himſelf* at firſt, but, in the Time of *Daniel*, it obtain'd the Name of *Suſiana*; *Aſſur*, of *Aſſyria*; *Arphaxad*, of *Chaldea*; *Lud*, of *Lydia*; and *Aram*, of *Syria*, as far as the *Mediterranean* Sea.

THE Sons of *Aram* were *Uz*, who ſeated himſelf in the Country of *Damaſcus*; *Hull*, near *Cholobatene* in *Armenia*; *Maſh*, near the Mountain *Maſius*; and *Gether*, in Part of *Meſopotamia*.

ARPHAXAD had a Son nam'd *Salah*, who ſettled near *Suſiana*, and begat *Eber* (the Father of the *Hebrew* Nation) who had likewiſe two Sons; *Peleg*, whoſe Name imports *Diviſion*, becauſe, in his Days, Mankind was divided into ſeveral Colonies; and *Jocktan*, who had a large Offspring, to the Number of thirteen Sons, all ſeated in *Arabia Felix*, and who, in all Probability, were the Progenitors of ſuch People and Nations, as, in thoſe Parts, in after Ages, had ſome Affinity to their ſeveral Names. For here it was, that the *Allumæotæ*, who took their Name from *Almodad*, the *Selapeni*, from *Sheleph*, and the *Abalitæ*, from *Obal*, &c. liv'd, *viz.* from that Part of *Arabia*, which lies between *Muſa*, (a famous Sea-Port in the *Red-Sea*) and the Mountain *Climax*, which was formerly call'd *Sephar*, from a City of that Name, built at the Bottom of it, and then the *Metropolis* of the whole Country.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

HAM, the youngeſt Son of *Noah*, had four Sons; whereof *Cuſh* ſettled his Abode in that Part of *Arabia*, which lies towards *Egypt*; *Mizraim*, in both *Upper* and *Lower* Egypt; *Phut*, in Part of *Lybia*, and *Canaan*, in the Land, which was afterwards call'd by his Name, and in other adjacent Countries.

And of Ham.

THE Sons of *Cuſh* were *Seba*, who ſettled on the South-Weſt Part of *Arabia*; *Habilah*, who gave Name to a Country upon the River *Piſon*, where it parts with *Euphrates*, to run into the *Arabian Gulf*; *Sabtah*, who liv'd on the ſame Shore (but a little more Northward) of the *Arabian Gulf*; *Raamah*, who, with his two Sons, *Sheba* and *Dedan*, occupied the ſame Coaſt, but a little more Eaſtward; and *Sabtecha*, who (we need not doubt) plac'd himſelf among the reſt of his Brethren. But, among all the Sons of *Cuſh*, *Nimrod* was the Perſon, who, in theſe early Days, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Bravery and Courage. His Lot chanc'd to fall into a Place, that was not a little infeſted with wild Beaſts; and therefore he betook himſelf to the Exerciſe of Hunting, and, drawing together a Company of ſtout young Fellows, not only clear'd the Country of ſuch dangerous Creatures, but, procuring himſelf likewiſe great Honour and Renown by his other Exploits, he rais'd himſelf at length to the Dignity of a *King*, (the firſt King that is ſuppos'd to have been in the World) and, having made *Babylon* the Seat of his Empire, laid the Foundation of three other Cities, *viz.* *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Calneth*, in the neighbouring Provinces; and ſo, paſſing into *Aſſyria*, and enlarging his Territories there, he built *Nineveh*, *Rehoboth*, *Calah*, and *Reſen*, (which was afterwards call'd *Lariſſa*) ſituate upon the

(*b*) 1 Chron. i. 7.

A. M. 1759. &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2745. &c.

the *Tygris*. But to return to the Remainder of *Ham*'s Poſterity.

Mizraim, his ſecond Son, became King of *Egypt*, which, after his Death, was divided into three Kingdoms by three of his Sons; *Ananim*, who was King of *Tanis*, or *Lower-Egypt*, call'd afterwards *Delta*; *Naphtulim*, who was King of *Naph*, or *Memphis*, in *Upper Egypt*; and *Pathruſim*, who ſet up the Kingdom of *Pathros*, or *Thebes*, in *Thebais*. *Ludim* and *Lehabim* peopled *Lybia*: *Caſſlubim* fix'd himſelf at *Caſſhiotis*, in the Entrance of *Egypt* from *Paleſtine*; and, having two Sons, *Philiſtim* and *Caphterim*, the latter he left to ſucceed him at *Caſſhiotis*, and the former planted the Country of the *Philiſtines*, between the Borders of *Canaan* and the *Mediterranean-Sea*. The Sons of *Canaan* were *Sidon*, the Father of the *Sidonians*, who liv'd in *Phœnicia*; *Heth*, the Father of the *Hittites*, who liv'd near *Hebron*; *Emor*, the Father of the *Amorites*, who liv'd in the Mountains of *Judea*; and *Arvad*, the Father of the *Arvadites*, not far from *Sidon*: But whether the other Sons of *Canaan* ſettled in this Country, cannot be determin'd with any Certainty and Exactneſs; only we muſt take Care to place them ſomewhere between *Sidon*, and *Gerar*, and *Admah*, and *Zeboim*; for theſe were the Boundaries of their Land.

Upon the whole then we may obſerve, that the Poſterity of *Japhet* came into the Poſſeſſion, not only of all *Europe*, but of a conſiderable Portion of *Aſia*: (*c*) For two of his Sons, *Tiras* and *Javan*, together with their Deſcendants, had all thoſe Countries, which, from the *Mediterranean-Sea*, reach as far as *Scandinavia Northward*; and his other Sons, from the *Mediterranean*, extended themſelves *Eaſtward* over almoſt all *Aſia Minor*, and Part of *Armenia*, over *Media*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, and thoſe vaſt Regions towards the *North*, where formerly the *Scythians*, but now the *Tartars*, dwell: That the Poſterity of *Ham* held in their Poſſeſſion all *Africa*, and no ſmall Part of *Aſia*; (*d*) *Mizraim*, both the *Upper*, *Lower*, and *Middle Egypt*, *Marmarica*, and *Ethiopia*, both Eaſt and Weſt; *Phut*, the Remainder of *Africa*, *Lybia*, *Interior* and *Exterior*, *Numidia*, *Mauritania*, *Getulia*, &c. *Cuſh*, all *Arabia*, that lies between the *Red-Sea* and the Gulf, beyond the *Gulf*, *Carmania*, and no ſmall Part of *Perſia*, and towards the North of *Arabia*, (till expell'd by *Nimrod*) *Babylonia*, and Part of *Chaldæa*: And *Canaan*, *Paleſtine*, *Phœnicia*, Part of *Cappadocia*, and that large Tract of Ground along the *Euxine-Sea*, even as far as *Colchis*: And that the Poſterity of *Shem*, had in their Poſſeſſion Part both of the *Greater* and *Leſſer Aſia*; (*e*) in the *Leſſer*, *Lydia*, *Myſia*, and *Cares*; and in the *Greater*, *Aſſyria*, *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Armenia*, *Suſiana*, *Arabia Felix*, &c. and perhaps *Eaſtward*, all the Countries, as far as *China*.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

These are the Plantations *(f) of the Families of the Sons of* Noah, *in their Generations*, and after this Manner *were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood*. And now to deſcend to a more particular Account of the Poſterity of his Son *Shem*, from whom the *Hebrews*, (who are the proper Subjects of our Hiſtory) were deſcended.

Two Years after the Flood, when *Shem* was 100 Years old, he had a Son nam'd *Arphaxad*; after which Time, he liv'd 500 Years; ſo that the whole of his Life was 600. A. M. 1658.

Arphaxad, when 35, had a Son nam'd *Salah*; after which he liv'd 403; in all 438. A. M. 1693.

Salah, when 30, had a Son nam'd *Eber*, (from whom his Deſcendants were call'd *Hebrews*) after which he liv'd 403 Years; in all 433. A. M. 1723.

Eber, when 34, had a Son nam'd *Peleg*, in whoſe Time (as we ſaid) the Earth came to be divided; after which he liv'd 430 Years; in all 464. A. M. 1757.

Peleg,

(*c*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. I. Exercit. 22. Sect. 1. (*d*) *Ibid.* Sect. 2. (*e*) *Ibid.* Sect. 3. (*f*) Gen. x. 32.

A. M. 1759, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2245, &c.

PELEG, when 30, had a Son nam'd *Reu*, after which he liv'd 209 Years; in all 239.

A. M. 1787. A. M. 1819.

REU, when 32, had a Son nam'd *Serug*; after which he liv'd 207 Years; in all 239.

A. M. 1849.

SERUG, when 30, had a Son nam'd *Nahor*; after which he liv'd 200 Years; in all 230.

A. M. 1878.

NAHOR, when 29, had a Son nam'd *Terah*; after which he liv'd 119 Years; in all 148. But of all theſe Perſons, it muſt be remark'd, that they had ſeveral other Children of both Sexes, tho' not recorded in this Hiſtory.

A. M. 1948.

TERAH, when 70, (for he was not bleſs'd with Children ſooner) had three Sons, one after another, *Abram*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*; whereof *Haran*, the eldeſt, died before his Father, in his native Country of *Ur*, leaving behind him one Son, whoſe Name was *Lot*, and two Daughters, whereof the Elder, *viz. Milcah*, was marry'd to her Uncle *Nahor*, and the Younger, († whoſe Name was *Sarai*) was marry'd to her Uncle *Abram*; but, at this Time, ſhe was barren, and had no Children.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

A. M. 1997.

THE Corruption of Mankind was now become general; and *Idolatry* and *Polytheiſm* began to ſpread like a Contagion, * the People of *Ur*, in particular, (*g*) (as is ſuppos'd by the Signification of the Name) worſhipp'd the Element of Fire, which was always thought a proper *Symbol* of the *Sun*, that univerſal God of the *Eaſt*. *Terah*, the Father of *Abram*, (*h*) was certainly a Companion (ſome ſay a Prieſt) of thoſe, who ador'd ſuch *ſtrange Gods*; nor was *Abram* himſelf (as 'tis generally imagin'd) uninfected. But God, being minded to ſelect this Family out of the reſt of Mankind, and in them to eſtabliſh his Church, order'd *Terah* to leave the Place of his Habitation, which was then corrupted in this Manner, which, accordingly, he did, and taking with him his Son *Abram* and his Wife, together with his Grandſon *Lot*, left *Ur*, with an Intent to go into *Canaan*; but, in his Journey, fell ſick at * *Haran*, a City of *Meſopotamia*, where being forc'd to make his Abode for ſome Time, ‖ in the 145th Year of his Age he there died.

† 'Tis very probable, that *Sarai* was call'd *Iſcah*, before ſhe left *Ur*; becauſe, in the 29th Verſe, we read that *Haran* had a Daughter of that Name, and yet we cannot ſuppoſe, but that, had ſhe been a diſtinct Perſon, *Moſes* would have given us an Account of her Deſcent, becauſe it ſo much concern'd his Nation to know from whom they came both by the Father and Mother's Side. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The City of *Ur* was in *Chaldee*, as the Scripture aſſure us in more Places than one; but ſtill its true Situation is not ſo well known. For ſome think it to be the ſame as *Camarina* in *Babylonia*; others confound it with *Orcha*, or *Orche*, or *Chaldea*; while others again take it to be *Ura*, or *Sura*, upon the Banks of the River *Euphrates*. *Bochart* and *Grotius* maintain, that it is *Ura*, in the Eaſtern Part of *Meſopotamia*, which was ſometimes (as it appears from *Acts* vii. 2, 4.) included under the Name *Chaldea*; and this Situation ſeems the more probable, not only becauſe it agrees with the Words of St *Stephen* in the above-cited Place, but with the Writings of *Ammianus Marcellinus* likewiſe, who himſelf travell'd this Country, and mentions a City of this Name, in the Place, where *Bochart* ſuppoſes it, about two Days Journey from *Niſibis*. *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I.

(*g*) Vid. *Calmet*'s Dictionary on the Word *Ur*. (*h*) Joſ. xxiv. 2, 14.

* *Haran*, which is likewiſe call'd *Charan*, according to the *Hebrew*, and *Charran*, according to the *Greek* Pronunciation, was a City ſituated in the *Weſt*, or *North-Weſt* Part of *Meſopotamia*, on a River of the ſame Name, which very probably runs into the River *Chaboras*, as that does into the *Euphrates*. It is taken Notice of by *Latin* Writers, on Account of the great Overthrow, which the *Parthians* gave the *Roman* Army, under the Command of *Craſſus*, and, as ſome think, had its Name given by *Terah*, in Memory of *Haran*, his deceas'd Son. But others think it is much better deriv'd from the Word *Hharar*, which denotes its Soil to be *hot* and *aduſt*, as it appears to be from a Paſſage out of *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Craſſus*, and ſeveral other antient Teſtimonies. Vid. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, *Wells*'s Geography, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary *in Locum*.

‖ St *Stephen* (in *Acts* vii. 4.) tells us, that after the Death of his Father, *Abraham* remov'd from *Haran*, or, as he calls it, *Charran*, to the Land of *Canaan*. In *Gen.* xii. 4. we are told, that *Abram* was *ſeventy five Years old, when he departed out of* Charran. In *Gen.* xi. 26. it is ſaid, that *Terah* was *ſeventy Years old, when he begat* Abram; and yet, in *ver.* 32. of the ſame Chapter, it is affirm'd, that *he died, being two hundred and five Years old.* But, at this Rate, *Terah* muſt have liv'd ſixty Years after *Abraham*'s going from *Haran*: For 75, (the Number of *Abram*'s Years, when he left *Haran*) being added to 70, the Number of *Terah*'s Years, when he begat *Abram*, make 145 Years only; whereas the Account in *Geneſis* is, that he liv'd 205. This therefore muſt certainly proceed from a Fault crept into the Text of *Moſes*; becauſe of the two hundred and five Years, which are given to *Terah*, when he died at *Haran*, he only liv'd an hundred and forty five, according to the *Samaritan* Verſion, and the *Samaritan* Chronicle, which, without Doubt, do agree with the *Hebrew* Copy, from which they were tranſlated. *An Eſſay for a New Tranſlation.*

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2007, &c.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

The Objection.

" BUT how well ſoever we may " think it comports with the Cha- " racter of a good Hiſtorian, to entertain " us with a dry *Catalogue* of Names, and " of Names which never once more ap- " pear upon the Stage of Action; to tell " us, that ſuch an one, at ſuch a Time, " begat ſuch an one, and then died, aged " ſo and ſo, without entering any further " into his Story, or acquainting us with " one Tittle of the Tranſactions of his " Life; yet ſure we cannot think, that " his Account of the *Origin* of Nations, " or the Plantation of Mankind over the " Face of the Earth, can be either ratio- " nal, or conſiſtent. In little more than " the Space of an hundred Years, to ſup- " poſe Mankind ſo far increas'd, as to be " able to ſend out Colonies, from the " Center of their Diſperſion, to all the " Parts of the then-known World, is " ſomewhat unaccountable; but then to " make *Infants*, mere Infants, or Perſons, " who perhaps, at that Time, were un- " born, the *Chiefs* and *Leaders* of theſe " Colonies; to give them Countries, which " they never ſaw, and theſe Countries " Names, which they never could deſerve, " is a Thing vaſtly abſurd, and what ar- " gues, at leaſt, a ſtrange Forgetfulneſs in " our Author.

" *PELEG*, for Inſtance, could not " have been long born, and *Jocktan*, his " younger Brother, (much more *Jocktan*'s " Sons) can ſcarce be ſuppos'd to have " been born, when the Diſperſion hap- " pen'd; and yet they are repreſented " both as *Heads*, and *Princes* of Families; " one conducting his People to † the " Southern Parts of *Meſopotamia*, and " the other, with his numerous Family, " taking Poſſeſſion of † a good Share of " *Arabia Fœlix*. And whereas it is ſaid " of the Sons of *Japhet*, that, *by them " were the Iſles of the* Gentiles *divided in- " to their Lands*, 'tis manifeſt, from the " Account of *Moſes* himſelf, that the " Places, which he aſſigns for their Habi- " tation, were all upon the Continent; " nor were the Iſlands of *Europe* peopled, " till many Generations, after this *Period*, " were paſs'd and gone.

" THE Deſign of *Moſes*, no doubt, is " to evince, that all the preſent Inha- " bitants of the World deſcended origi- " nally from the three Sons of *Noah*; " but, beſides the great Difficulty of ſet- " tling the ſeveral Nations in any tole- " rable Manner, according to the *Char- " tel*, which he has given us, there muſt " of Neceſſity have been People in the " World, either eſcap'd from the Flood, " or *Self-originated*, before this *Æra* of " their Diſperſion.

" BETWEEN the Flood and this Diſ- " perſion, the Space is little more than " a hundred Years: *Ninus* is plac'd by " many *Chronologers* in this firſt Century: " But ſuppoſe him conſiderably later, he " is far from being the firſt Founder of " the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy. *Belus* preced- " ed him, and ſeveral Kings there were " before *Belus*: But now, how can this " agree with the Propagation of Mankind " from the Sons of *Noah*? Some petty " States might perhaps be erected; but it " is impoſſible to conceive, that the Foun- " dation of ſo great an Empire ſhou'd be " laid, in ſo ſmall a Compaſs of Time, by " the Poſterity of three Perſons.

" THE Records, and *aſtronomical* Ob- " ſervations of ſome Countries, reach- " ing much lower than the *Moſaick* Date " of the Flood; the Hiſtory of *China*, " and

† It is not unlikely, that either *Peleg*, or ſome of his Poſterity gave Name to a Town upon *Euphrates*, call'd *Phalga*, not far from the Place, where the River *Chaboras* runs into it. *Patrick*'s Comment.

† The *Arabians*, 'tis certain, do avowedly derive their Original from *Jocktan*, and herein they may as well be credited, as the *Europeans*, who pretend to be ſprung from *Japetus*, or *Japhet*; or the *Africans*, who will have *Ham*, or *Jupiter-Hammon*, for their Founder. There is moreover, in the Territories of *Mecha*, a City, which, even to this Day, is called *Baiſath-Jecktan*, i. e. the *Seat and Habitation of* Jecktan, very remarkable for the Elegancy of its Buildings, the Pleaſure of its Situation, and Plenty of its Fountains. *Patrick*, and *Le Clerc*'s Comment.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Christ. 2007, &c.

" and the State and Grandeur of other " *Eaſtern* Nations, in Times as antient, " as any mention'd in *profane* Hiſtory, to- " gether with the *Maturity* of *civil* Diſ- " cipline and Government, of Learning " and Inventions of all Kinds, before ever " *Greece* or *Italy*, or any other *Weſtern* " People, grew to be at all conſiderable, " are a ſufficient Argument that theſe Peo- " ple were no Deſcendants of *Noah*; or, " that if they were, that there muſt be a " groſs Miſtake in Point of Computation. " For (to take one Argument more from " *Moſes* himſelf) from the Flood to the " Time of *Abraham* (according to the " *Hebrew* Account) were much about 305 " Years; and yet, in that Patriarch's " Days, the World was ſo well repleniſh'd " and Dominions ſo well eſtabliſh'd, that " we read of ſeveral Kings encountring " one another; by which it is evident, " that the Earth had been peopled ſome " Time before, or otherwiſe there cou'd " not have been ſuch potent Princes, as " ſome of them are repreſented to be at " that Time.

" THE Difficulties then, in the *Mo-* " *ſaick* Account, of the *Origin* of Na- " tions, being ſo many, and ſo inſuperable, " it may not perhaps be deem'd ſo abſurd " a Thing, that ſeveral other Nations " (as well as the *Greeks* and *Egyptians*) " have own'd no Founder, but profeſs'd " themſelves *Aborigines*, or the firſt In- " habitants of the Countries, where they " liv'd. And without ſome ſuch Suppo- " ſition, what can we ſay for the Natives " of *America*, a large *Continent*, which " *Moſes* makes no Mention of, and yet, " upon its firſt Diſcovery, was found " ſtock'd with a competent Number of " Inhabitants, though it apparently has no " Connection, and, conſequently, could " have no Communication, with any other " Parts of the Globe? Who was their " great Progenitor? What *Chief*, of all " the Race of *Noah*, firſt diſcover'd the " Paſſages, that have ever ſince been loſt, " and carry'd a Colony into this *New* " *World*, which could, none of them, " find their Way back again? Theſe Que- " ſtions we expect to be reſolv'd in, or " otherwiſe we may be permitted to con- " clude, that the Inhabitants of this Part " of the World had better Fate than thoſe " of the other, in eſcaping the Rage of " the Waters, and ſo ſurviving the *Flood*."

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

Anſwer'd by ſhewing why Moſes *ſets down* Geneа- logies.

IT may ſeem not a little ſtrange to ſome perhaps, why *Moſes*, in his Account of the Times, both preceding and ſubſe- quent to the Flood, ſhould be ſo particu- lar in ſetting down the *Genealogies* of the Patriarchs; but he, who conſiders, that this was the common Method of re- cording Hiſtory in thoſe Days, will ſoon perceive, that he had Reaſon ſufficient for what he did, namely, to give Content and Satisfaction to the Age, wherein he wrote. We indeed, according to the pre- ſent Taſte, think theſe Genealogies but heavy Reading; nor are we at all con- cern'd *who begat whom*, in a Period, that ſtands at ſo diſtant a Proſpect; but the People, for whom *Moſes* wrote, had the Things either before their Eyes, or recent in their Memories. They ſaw a great Variety of Nations around them, different in their Manners and Cuſtoms, as well as their Denominations. The Names where- by they were then called, were not to them ſo antique and obſolete, as they are to us. They knew their Meaning, and were acquainted with their Derivation. And therefore it was no ſmall Pleaſure to them, to obſerve, as they read along, the gradual Increaſe of Mankind; how the *Stem* of *Noah* ſpread itſelf into *Branches* almoſt innumerable, and how, from ſuch and ſuch a Progenitor, ſuch and ſuch a Nation, whoſe Hiſtory and Adventures they were no Strangers to, did ariſe. Nor can it be leſs than ſome Satisfaction to us, even at this mighty Diſtance, to perceive, that, after ſo many Ages, the Change of *Languages*, and the Alteration of Names, brought in by Variety of *Conqueſts*, we are ſtill able to trace the Footſteps of the Names recorded by *Moſes*; by the Help

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A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 2007, &c.

of theſe can * diſcover thoſe antient Nations, which deſcended from them, and, with a little Care and Application, the particular Regions, which they once inhabited; whereof the beſt *Heathen Geographers*, without the Aſſiſtance of theſe ſacred Records, were never in a Capacity ſo much as to give us a tolerable Gueſs.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

But there is a farther Reaſon for our *Hiſtorian*'s writing in this Manner. God had promis'd to *Adam*, and, in him, to all his Poſterity, a *Reſtoration* in the Perſon of the *Meſſiah*. This Promiſe was renew'd to (*i*) *Noah*, and afterwards confirm'd to *Abraham*, the great Founder of the *Jewiſh* Nation. Fit therefore it was, in this Regard, that he ſhould record exact *Genealogies*, and that all other ſacred Hiſtorians ſhou'd ſucceſſively do the ſame: Nor can we ſufficiently admire the Divine Wiſdom, in ſettling ſuch a Method, in the Beginning of the World, by *Moſes*, and carrying it on by the Prophets, as might be of general Uſe, as long as the World ſhou'd laſt. For, as the Expectation of the *Meſſiah* put the *Jews* upon keeping an exact Account of all their *Genealogies*; ſo when *Chriſt* came into the World, it was evident, beyond Diſpute, that he was of the *Seed of* Abraham, *of the Tribe of* Judah, and of the Lineage of *David*, according to the Promiſes, which had, from Time to Time, been recorded of him.

That the Heads of all the Nations, then exiſting, are not ſet down.

It is well worth our Obſervation however, that, in the Catalogue, which *Moſes* gives us of the Deſcendants of *Noah*, he makes Mention of no more than *ſixteen* Sons of the three Brothers, or principal Founders of ſo many *original* Nations; nor of any more than *ſeven* of theſe ſixteen, of whom it* is recorded, that they had any Children; and even of theſe ſeven, there is *one* (we may obſerve) whoſe Children are not number'd. (*k*) But it is not to be imagin'd, that in two or three hundred Years, upon a *moderate* Calculation, or even but in an hundred Years, at the *loweſt* Account, *Noah* ſhou'd have had no more than ſixteen Grandſons, and that, of theſe too, the Majority ſhou'd go childleſs to the Grave: It is much more likely, or rather ſelf-evident, that the nine Grandſons, of whom we find nothing in Scripture, were nevertheleſs Fathers of Nations, as well as any of the reſt, and not only of *original* Nations, call'd after their Names, but of leſſer and *ſubordinate* Tribes, call'd after their Sons Names: And (what makes the Amount to ſeem much leſs) there is Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that how many ſoever the Grandchildren of *Noah* were, we have, in this tenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, the Names of thoſe only, who were *Patriarchs* of great Nations, and only of ſuch Nations, as were, in the Days of *Moſes*, known to the *Hebrews*. For, if we read it attentively, we ſhall perceive, (*l*) that the Deſign of the holy Penman, is not to preſent us with an exact Enumeration of all *Noah*'s Deſcendants, (which wou'd have been infinite) no, nor to determine who were the leading Men above all the reſt; but only to give us a *Catalogue*, or general Account, of the Names of ſome certain Perſons, deſcended of each of *Noah*'s Children,

* Thoſe, who have undertaken to give us an Account of the ſeveral Countries aſſign'd to *Noah*'s Poſterity, have laid down certain Rules, as *Landmarks*, to direct our Enquiry into the Original of each particular Nation. They tell us, that wherever we find the Scripture aſſigning any Portion, or Tract of Land, to any Branch of *Noah*'s Poſterity, we may reſt aſſur'd, that that particular Branch, or, at leaſt, the major Part of it, ſettled itſelf there: That the Families, or Tribes of any Nation are continually rank'd in that Nation; ſo that, wherever we find the Nation, there we may expect to find the Family likewiſe, unleſs there be apparent Evidence of their Tranſplantation: That, when two, or more of theſe Nations are mention'd together, 'tis highly probable, that they were either both ſeated together, or lay in a very near Neighbourhood to each other: That, when two Nations or Tribes happen to be incorporated into one, the Name of one of them is generally ſwallow'd up by the other, and always goes along with the *greater*: That all *original* Plantations ought to be ſought for within a reaſonable Compaſs of Earth, from the *Center* of their Diſperſion, from whence they might, in Colonies, afterwards extend themſelves into ſtill remoter Parts: That the Origin of Nations, and their Cognation and Affinity to one another, are to be judg'd of by the Agreement of Languages, the Remainders of antient Names, the Hiſtory of Nations, monumental Inſcriptions, and a Conformity of Manners and Cuſtoms; and that laſtly, according to theſe *Criteria*, we ſhall find, that the Race of *Shem*, ſettled chiefly in *Aſia*; thoſe of *Ham*, Part in *Aſia*, and Part in *Africa*; and the greater Part of thoſe of *Japhet* in *Europe*; ſo that *Shem* was ſituate in the *Eaſt*, with *Japhet* on the *North*, and *Ham* on the *South*.

(*i*) *Vid.* Bp *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy. (*k*) Biblioth. Bibl. Vol. I. Cœcaſ. Annot. 17. (*l*) *Shuckford*'s Connect. l. 3.

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dren, who became famous in their Generations; and ſo paſs them by, as having not Space enough in his Hiſtory to purſue them more minutely. For we may obſerve, that the conſtant Practice of our Author (as it is indeed of all other good Authors) is to cut Things ſhort, that do not properly relate to his Purpoſe; and, when he is haſtening to his main Point, to mention *curſorily* ſuch Perſons, as were remarkable (though not the Subject he is to handle) in the Times whereof he treats.

THUS, in the *Entrance* of his Hiſtory, his Buſineſs was to attend to the Line of *Seth*, and therefore, when he comes to mention the oppoſite Family of *Cain*, (*m*) he only reckons up *eight* of them, and theſe the rather, becauſe they were the real *Inventors* of ſome particular Arts, which the *Egyptians* vainly laid claim to. And, in like Manner, when he comes to the Life of *Iſaac*, *Jacob*'s was the next Line, wherein his Hiſtory was to run, and therefore he contents himſelf with giving us a Catalogue of ſome of *Eſau*'s Race, but ſuch of them only, as were, in After-Ages, (*n*) *the Dukes of* Edom, *according to their Habitations, in the Land of their Poſſeſſion*, as he expreſſes it. Unleſs therefore, we wou'd deſire it in an Author, that he ſhould be luxuriant, and run wild, we cannot, with any Colour of Reaſon, blame the Divine Hiſtorian for ſtopping ſhort upon proper Occaſions; for had he purſu'd all the Families, deſcended from *Noah*, into their ſeveral Plantations, and there given us the Hiſtory of all their various Adventures, *the World*, we may almoſt ſay, *wou'd not have contain'd the Books*, which he muſt have *written*.

The World peopled gradually.

WHAT Grounds there may be for the Suppoſition, I cannot tell; but to me there ſeems to be no Reaſon, why we ſhou'd be oblig'd to maintain, that all the Parts of the habitable World were peopled at once, immediately after the Confuſion of Languages. The Hiſtorian, indeed, ſpeaking of the Perſons he had juſt enumerated, gives us to know, that (*o*) *by theſe were the Nations divided after the Flood*; but how long after the Flood, he does not intimate: So that there is no Occaſion to underſtand the Words, as tho' he meant, that, either by *theſe only*, or by theſe *immediately*, or by theſe *all at once*, was the Earth repleniſh'd; but only, that among others (*unmention'd*, becauſe not ſo well known to the *Jews*) there were ſo many Perſons of Figure, deſcended from the Sons of *Noah*, who, ſome at one Time, and ſome at another, became Heads of Nations, and had, by their Deſcendants, Countries call'd after their Names; ſo that, (*p*) by them the *Nations were divided*, i. e. People were broken into different Nations *on the Earth*, not all at once, or immediately upon the Confuſion, but at ſeveral Times, as their Families increas'd and ſeparated *after the Flood*.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

FOR, conſidering that the Number of Mankind was then *comparatively ſmall*, and the Diſtance of Countries, from the Place of their Diſperſion, *immenſely* wide; 'tis more reaſonable to think, that theſe ſeveral Plantations were made at different Times, and by a gradual Progreſſion. *Moſes* indeed informs us, that the Earth was portioned out among the Children of *Noah*, *after their Tongues:* Suppoſing then, that the Number of Languages was, according to the Number of the Heads of Nations, *ſixteen*, theſe ſixteen Companies iſſu'd out of *Babel* at ſeparate Times, and by ſeparate Routs, and ſo took Poſſeſſion of the next adjacent Country, whereunto they were to go. Here they had not ſettled long, before the daily Increaſe of the People made the Bounds of their Habitation too narrow; whereupon the ſucceeding Generation, under the Conduct of ſome other Leader, leaving the Place in Poſſeſſion of ſuch, as car'd not to move, penetrated farther into the Country, and there ſettling again, and again becoming too numerous, ſent forth freſh Colonies into the Places, they found unoccupy'd; till, by this Way of Progreſſion on each Side, from the *Center* to every Point of the *Circumference*,

(*m*) Gen. iv. (*n*) Ch. xxxvi. 43. (*o*) Ch. x. 32. (*p*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 3.

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ference, the whole World came in Time to be inhabited, in the Manner that we now find it. If then the ſeveral Parts of the Globe were, by the Sons of *Noah*, *gradually*, and, at ſundry Times, peopled, there wanted not, all at once, *ſo many*; and if ſeveral of the Sons of *Noah*, who had their Share in peopling the Globe, are not taken notice of by *Moſes*, there might poſſibly be *many more* to plant and repleniſh the Earth, than we are aware of. Let us then ſee what their Number, upon a moderate Computation, might, at this Time, be ſuppos'd to be.

What the Number of the People, then in the World, might poſſibly be.

To this Purpoſe we are to remember, that we are not to make our Computation according to the preſent Standard of human Life, which, * ſince the Time of the Flood, is vaſtly abbreviated; that the Strength of Conſtitution, neceſſary to the Procreation of Children, which, by a continu'd Courſe of Temperance, and Simplicity of Diet, then prevail'd, is now, by an Induction of all Manner of Riot and Exceſs, ſadly impair'd; and that the Divine *Benediction*, which, in a particular Manner, was then pour'd out upon the Children of *Noah*, cou'd not but prove effectual to the more than ordinary Multiplication of Mankind; ſo that Length of Days, aſſiſted by the Bleſſing of God, and attended with a confirm'd State of Health, cou'd not but make a manifeſtly great Difference between their Caſe and ours.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

* VARIOUS are the Ways, which have been attempted by learned Men, to ſhew the probable Increaſe of Mankind, in that Period of Time: But, for our preſent Purpoſe, it will be ſufficient to ſuppoſe (*q*) that the firſt three Couples, *i. e. Noah*'s three Sons, and their Wives, in twenty Years Time after the Flood, might have thirty *Pair*, and, by a gradual Increaſe of ten Pair for each Couple in forty Years Time, till the three hundred and fortieth Year after the Flood, in which *Peleg* died, there might riſe a ſufficient Number (* as appears by the Table under the Page) to ſpread Colonies over the Face of the whole Earth. And if to theſe, the ſeveral *Collateral* Deſcents of *Noah*'s Poſterity were taken

* In the *Moſaick* Hiſtory we find, by what Degrees, the long Lives, which preceded the Flood, were, after it, ſhorten'd. The firſt three Generations, recorded in Scripture, after the Deluge, *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, and *Heber*, lived above 430 Years; yet, not ſo long as their Anceſtor *Shem*, who being born 100 Years before the Flood, liv'd above 500 after it. The three next Generations, *Peleg*, *Reu*, and *Serug*, liv'd not much above 230 Years; and from their Time, only *Terah* liv'd above 200. All the others, after him, were below that Number. *Moſes* came not to be above 120; and, in his Days, he complains, that the Age of Man was ſhorten'd to about *ſeventy* or *eighty* Years; and near this Standard it has continu'd ever ſince. *Miller*'s Church Hiſtory, *p.* 35.

* *Petavius* [de Doct. Temp. l. 9. c. 14.] ſuppoſes, that the Poſterity of *Noah* might beget Children at *ſeventeen*; that each of *Noah*'s Sons might have *eight* Children, in eight Years after the Flood; and that every one of theſe eight might beget eight more; by this Means, in one Family (as in that of *Japhet*, 238 Years after the Flood) he makes a *Diagram*, conſiſting of almoſt an innumerable Company of Men. *Temporarius* (as the learned *Uſher*, in his *Chron. Sacra*, Ch. 5. tells us) ſuppoſes, that all the Poſterity of *Noah*, when they attain'd *twenty* Years of Age, had every Year *Twins*; and hereupon he undertakes to make it appear, that, in 102 Years after the Flood, there would be in all 1,534,400; but, without this Suppoſition of *Twins*, there wou'd, in that Time, be 388,605 Males, beſides Females. Others ſuppoſe, that each of the Sons of *Noah* had ten Sons, and, by that Proportion, in a few Generations, the Amount will ariſe to many Thouſands, within a *Century*. And others again inſiſt on the Parallel between the Multiplication of the Children of *Iſrael* in *Egypt*, and thereupon compute, that, if from 72 Men, in the Space of 215 Years, there were procreated 600,000, how many will be born of three Men in the Space of an 100 Years. But, what Method ſoever we take to come to a probable Conjecture, we ſtill have Cauſe to believe, that there was a more than ordinary Multiplication in the Poſterity of *Noah* after the Flood. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4.

(*q*) Biſhop *Cumberland*'s Origines Gentium, Tract. 4. and *Millar*'s Church Hiſtory, Ch. I. Part 2.

* Years of the World.	Years after the Flood.	Pairs of Men and Women.
1676	20	30
1716	60	300
1756	100	3,000
1796	140	30,000
1836	180	300,000
1876	220	3,000,000
1916	260	30,000,000
1956	300	300,000,000
1996	340	3,000,000,000

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taken in; if the Children, which *Noah* himſelf might poſſibly have, in the 350 Years, he liv'd after the Flood; which *Shem*, and his two Brothers, might have, in the laſt 160; which *Salah*, and his Contemporaries, might have, in the laſt 160; and which *Heber*, and his Contemporaries, might have, in the laſt 191 Years of their Lives, (which are not reckon'd in the Account) together with the many more Grandſons of *Noah* and their Progeny, which, in all Probability (as we obſerv'd before) are not ſo much as mention'd in it; 'tis not to be imagin'd, how much theſe Additions will ſwell the Number of Mankind, to a prodigious Amount above the ordinary Calculation.

That Kingdoms *at this Time were but ſmall.*

BUT, allowing the Number, at this Time, to be not near ſo large, as even the *common* Computation makes it; yet we are to remember, that, at the firſt planting of any Country, an Handful of Men (as it were) took up a large Tract of Ground. (*r*) At their firſt Diviſion, they were ſcatter'd into ſmaller Bodies, and ſeated themſelves at a conſiderable Diſtance from one another, the better to prevent the *Increaſe of the Beaſts of the Field upon them.* Theſe ſmall Companies had each of them one Governor, who, in *Edom*, ſeems to be call'd (*s*) a *Duke*, and in *Canaan*, (*t*) a *King* (whereof there were no leſs, in that ſmall Country, than *one and thirty* at one Time): But of what Power, or military Force, theſe ſeveral Princes were, we may learn from this one Paſſage in *Abraham*'s Life, *viz.* that (*u*) when *Chedorlaomer*, in Conjunction with three other Kings, had defeated the Kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, with three Kings more, that came to their Aſſiſtance, plunder'd their Country, and taken away *Lot* and his Family, who, at this Time, ſojourn'd in theſe Parts; *Abraham*, with no more than 318 of his own *Domeſticks*, purſues the Conquerors, engages them, beats them, and, together with his Nephew *Lot*, and all his Subſtance, recovers the Spoil of the Country, which theſe confederate Kings were carrying away. A plain Proof this, one wou'd think, that this Multitude of Kings, which were now in the World, were *titular*, rather than *real*; and that they had none of them any great Number of Subjects under their Command. For though *Canaan* was certainly a very fruitful Land, and may therefore be preſum'd to be better ſtor'd with Inhabitants, than any of its neighbouring Provinces; yet we find, that when *Abraham* and *Lot* firſt came into it, though (*x*) *they had Flocks, and Herds, and Tents, that the Land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together*; yet, as ſoon as they were ſeparated, they found no Difficulty to ſettle, in any Part thereof, with the reſt of its Inhabitants.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

The Kingdom *of* Aſſyria *in particular.*

How great ſoever the Growth of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy became at laſt, yet we have too little Certainty of the Time, when it began, ever to queſtion, upon that Account, the Truth of the Propagation of the World by the Sons of *Noah*. *Ninus* (whom profane Hiſtory generally accounts the firſt Founder of it) is plac'd, (*y*) by one of our greateſt *Chronologers*, in the 2737 Year of the World, according to the *Hebrew* Computation; ſo that, living in the Time of the *Judges*, he is ſuppos'd to have been Contemporary with *Deborah*; but (*z*) others think this a Date much too early. *Nimrod*, we muſt allow, founded a Kingdom at *Babylon*, and perhaps extended it into *Aſſyria*; but this Kingdom was but of ſmall Extent, if compar'd with the Empires which aroſe afterwards; and yet, had it been never ſo much greater, it cou'd not have been of any long Continuance, becauſe the Cuſtom, in thoſe early Days, was, for the Father to divide his Territories among his Sons. After the Days of *Nimrod*, we hear no more in the *ſacred Records* of the *Aſſyrian*

(*r*) *Bedford*'s Script. Chron. l. 1. c. 5. (*s*) Gen. xxxvi. to the End. (*t*) Joſ. xii. 9. to the End. (*u*) Gen. xiv. (*x*) Gen. xiii. 5, 6. (*y*) *Uſher*'s Annot. Vet. Teſt. A. M. 2737. (*z*) *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4. and Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Chron.

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Assyrian Empire, till about the Year 3234, when we find *Pul* invading the Territories of *Israel*, and making *Menahem* tributary to him. 'Tis granted indeed, that the four Kings, who, in the Days of *Abraham*, invaded the Southern Coast of *Canaan*, came from the Countries, where *Nimrod* had reign'd, and perhaps were some of his Posterity, who had shar'd his Conquests; but of what small Significance such Kings as these were, we are just now come from relating. *Sesac*, and *Memnon*, two Kings of *Egypt*, were great Conquerors, and reign'd over *Chaldæa*, *Assyria*, and *Persia*; and yet, in all their Histories, there is not one Word of any Opposition, they receiv'd from the *Assyrian* Monarchy then standing: And, tho' *Nineveh*, in the Time of *Joash*, King of *Israel*, was become a large City; yet it had not yet acquir'd that Strength, as not to be afraid (according to the Preaching of *Jonah*) of being invaded by its Neighbours, and destroyed within *forty Days*. Not long before this, it had freed itself indeed from the Dominion of *Egypt*, and had got a King of its own, but (what is very remarkable) (*a*) its King was not, as yet, call'd the King of *Assyria*, but only (*b*) the King of *Nineveh*; nor was his Proclamation for a Fast publish'd in several Nations, no nor in all *Assyria*, but only in *Nineveh*, and perhaps the Villages adjacent: Whereas, when once they had establish'd their Dominion at Home, secur'd all *Assyria* properly so call'd, and began now to make War upon their neighbouring Nations, their Kings were no longer call'd the *Kings of Nineveh*, but began to assume the Title of the *Kings of Assyria*. These, and several more Instances, which the Author, I have just now cited, has produc'd, are sufficient Arguments to prove, that the *Assyrians* were not the great People, some have imagin'd, in the early Times of the World; and that, if they made any Figure in *Nimrod*'s Days, it was all extinguish'd in the Reigns of his Successors, and never reviv'd, until God, for the Punishment of the Wickedness of his own People, was pleas'd to raise them from Obscurity, and, as the Scripture expresses it, (*c*) *stirred up the Spirit of* Pul, *and the Spirit of* Tiglath-Pilneser, *King of* Assyria.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. Ver. 10. to the End.

That the Antiquity of the Astronomical Observations *among the* Chaldees *is false.*

And in like Manner, we may observe, that, whatever Noise has been made in the World with the *astronomical Observations* of the *Chaldeans*, which *Aristotle* is said to have sent into *Greece*, and, according to which, *Alexander* is thought to have taken *Babylon*, the Whole is a mere Fiction and Romance. There is nothing extant (as (*d*) a very good Judge of *antient and modern Learning* tells us) in the *Chaldaick* Astrology, of older Date, than the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*, which begins but 747 Years before Christ. *By this Æra, the* Chaldeans *computed their astronomical Observations, the first of which falls about the 27th Year of* Nabonassar; *and, all that we have of them, are only seven Eclipses of the Moon, and even these, but very coarsely set down, and the oldest not above 700 Years before Christ.* And, to make short of the Matter, the same Author informs us farther, *that the* Greeks *were the first practical Astronomers, who endeavour'd, in earnest, to make themselves Masters of the Sciences*; *that* Thales *was the first, who could predict an Eclipse in* Greece, *not* 600 *Years, and that* Hipparchus *made the first Catalogue of the fix'd Stars, not above* 650 *Years, before Christ.*

And that the Histories of the Egyptians *and* Chinese *accord with* Moses.

What the History of the *Egyptians*, and *Chinese*, and their boasted Antiquity, is, we have had Occasion to take notice (*e*) more than once, and need only here to add, that, bating that strange Affectation, wherein they both agree, of being thought so many thousand Years older, than they have any authentick Testimonies to produce; there is a manifest Analogy between the Scripture-History, and what *Berosus* has told us of the one, and *Martinius* of

(*a*) Sir *Isaac Newton*'s Chronology, Ch. iii. (*b*) Jonah. iii. (*c*) 1 Chron. v, 26. (*d*) *Wotton*'s Reflections, Ch. xxiii. (*e*) Vid. Apparatus, p. 43. and the History, l. 1. c. 5.

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of the other: For (to refer the Reader to what we have obſerved from *Beroſus* concerning the *Egyptians*) (*f*) the Genealogy, which the *Chineſe* give us of the Family of their firſt Man, *Puoncuus*, ſeems to carry a near Reſemblance to *Moſes*'s Patriarchal Genealogies; *Thienhoang* their ſecond King's civilizing the World, anſwers very well to *Seth*'s ſettling the Principles, and reforming the Lives of Men; and *Fohi*'s fourth Succeſſor, whom they accuſe of deſtroying their ancient Religion, and introducing Idolatry, is plainly copy'd from the Hiſtory of *Nimrod*, who was probably the firſt Eſtabliſher of Idol Worſhip. So that, from theſe, and ſome other Particulars in their Hiſtory, we may be allow'd to conclude, that the antient *Chineſe* (as all other Nations did) agreed, in the Main, with *Moſes* in their Antiquities, and that the true Reaſon of their *Chronological* Difference is, that the Reigns of the *Chineſe* Kings (in the very ſame Manner, as the *Egyptian Dynaſties*) were not ſucceſſive, (*g*) but of ſeveral *Contemporary* Princes, who, at one and the ſame Time, had different and diſtinct Dominions.

The wild Pretences of Self-Origination *confuted.*

THE Want of certain Records of antient Times, and, conſequently, the groſs Ignorance, which ſome Nations labour'd under, as to their *Original*, has thrown ſeveral into a wild Notion and Conceit, that they were *Self-originated*, came never from any other Place, and had never any primordial Founder, or Progenitor. But now, whatever Hypotheſis they are minded to take; whether they ſuppoſe a Beginning, or no Beginning of human Generation; whether they ſuppoſe Men to have ſprung out of the *Sea*, or out of the *Land*; to have been produc'd from *Eggs* caſt into the *Matrix* of the Earth, or out of certain little *Puſtulæ*, or Fungoſities on its *Surface*; to have been begotten by the *Anima Mundi* in the Sun, or by an *Anima Terræ*, pervading the Body of this terraqueous Globe; to have been ſent forth into the World ſilently, and without Noiſe, or to have opened the Womb of their *common Mother* with loud Claps of Thunder: Take they which of theſe *Hypotheſes* they will, I ſay, and, when they once come to reaſon upon it, they will ſoon find themſelves hamper'd and entangled with Abſurdities, and Impoſſibilities almoſt innumerable.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

ALL Nations, to whom the Philoſophers, in ſearch after Knowledge, reſorted, had Memorials, we find, left among them, of the firſt Origin of Things; but the univerſal *Tradition* of the firſt Ages was far better preſerv'd among the *Eaſtern*, than *Weſtern* Nations, and theſe Memorials kept with greater Care by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, than by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. (*h*) Among the *Greeks* however, when they firſt undertook to *philoſophize*, the Beginning of the World, with the gradual Progreſſion of its Inhabitants, was no Matter of Diſpute; but, that being taken for granted, the Enquiry was, *out of what Material Principles the Coſmical Syſtem was formed*; and *Ariſtotle*, arrogating to himſelf the Opinion of the World's Eternity as a *Noſtrum*, declar'd, that all Mankind, before him, aſſerted the World's Creation.

FROM this wild Notion of *Ariſtotle*, in Oppoſition to an univerſal Tradition, and the Conſent of all Ages, the *Poets* took Occaſion to turn the Hiſtories of the oldeſt Times into *Fables*; and the Hiſtorians, in Requital and Courteſy to them, converted the Fables, which the Poets had invented, into *Hiſtories*, or rather popular Narratives; and moſt of the famous Nations of the Earth, that they might not be thought more *modern*, than any of their Neighbours, took Occaſion too of forging certain *Antiquities*, fooliſh *Genealogies*, extravagant *Calculations*, and the fabulous *Actions* and Exploits of *Gods* and *Heroes*, that they might thus add to their Nobility, by an imaginary *Anticipation* of Time, beyond the poſſible Limits, that cou'd be made known by any Pretence of Certainty.

(*f*) Biblioth. Bib. in the Introduction, p. 77.

(*g*) M. *de Loubere*'s Hiſt. of *Siam*.

(*h*) Bibliotheca Biblica, Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. c. 17.

A. M. 1992. &c. Ant. Christ. 2007. &c.

THE wiser Sort of Men however saw into this; and, from the ordinary Increase and Propagation of Mankind, the Invention and Growth of Arts and Sciences, and the Advancements carry'd on in civil Discipline and Government, cou'd discern the Folly and Superstition of all such Romantick Pretensions: But then, having lost the true ancient *Tradition*, they were drove to the Necessity of a perpetual Vicissitude, either of *general* or *particular* Deluges; by which, when Things were come to their *Crisis* and Perfection, they were made to begin again, and all preceding Memoirs were supposed to be lost in these Inundations. But this is all a groundless Conjecture, a mere begging of the Question, and a Kind of *prophesying backwards* of such Alterations and *Revolutions*, as it is morally impossible for them to know any Thing of.

SINCE therefore an *eternal Succession* of Generations is loaded with a Multitude of insuperable Difficulties, and no valid Arguments are to be found, for making the World older, than our *sacred Books* do make it; since the presum'd Grandeur of the *Assyrian*, and other Monarchies, too soon after the Flood to be peopled by *Noah*'s Children, is a gross Mistake, and the Computations of the *Chaldeans*, and other Nations, from their Observations of the *celestial* Bodies, groundless and extravagant; since all the Pretensions of the several *Aborigines* are found to be ridiculous, and the more plausible Inventions of successive *Revolutions* entirely imaginary; since neither the *Self-originists*, nor the *Revolutionists*, even upon their own Principles, can account for what is most easily accounted for by the Writings of *Moses*; and (what is a farther Consideration) since † there are many Customs and Usages, both *civil* and *religious*, which have prevail'd in all Parts of the World, and can owe their Original to nothing else, but a general Institution; which Institution cou'd never have been, had not all Mankind been of the same Blood originally, and instructed in the same common Notices, before they were divided in the Earth: Since the Matter stands thus, I say, we have all the Reason in the World to believe, that this whole Narration of *Moses*, concerning the Origination of Mankind, their Destruction by the Flood, their Renovation by the Sons of *Noah*, their speedy Multiplication to a great Number, their Dispersion upon the Confusion of Languages, and their settling themselves in different Parts of the World, according to their Allotments, is true in Fact; because it is rational, and consistent with every Event; consonant to the Notions, we have of God's Attributes; and not repugnant to any System of either *antient* or *modern Geography*, that we know of.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

TIME indeed, and the *uncertain State* of Languages; the *different Pronunciation* of the same Word, according to the Dialect of different Nations; the *Alterations* of Names in several Places, and *Substitution* of others of the like Importance in the *vernacular* Tongue; the *disguising* of antient Stories in Fables, and frequently *mistaking* the Idiom of *oriental* Languages; the *Inundation* of *Barbarism* in many Countries, and the *Conquests* and *Revolutions*, generally introductive of new Names, which have happen'd *almost in all*; these, and several other Causes, create some Perplexity in determining the Places recorded by *Moses*, and ascertaining the Founder of each particular Nation: But still, notwithstanding these Disadvantages, we may, in some Measure, trace the Foot-steps of the Sons of *Noah*, issuing out from *Babel* into the different Quarters of the World, and,

And that we have certain Knowledge *how some particular Nations were peopled.*

† Such are, 1. The Numbering by *Decads*. 2. The Computing Time by a Cycle of *seven* Days. 3. The Sacredness of the *seventh* Number, and Observation of a *seventh* Day as holy. 4. The Use of *Sacrifices*, *propitiatory*, and *eucharistical*. 5. The Consecration of *Temples* and *Altars*. 6. The Institution of *Sanctuaries*, and their Privileges. 7. Separation of *Tenths*, and *First Fruits* to the Service of the Altar. 8. The Custom of Worshipping the Deity *discalceated*, or *bare-footed*. 9. Abstinence of *Husbands* from their Wives before Sacrifice. 10. The Order of *Priesthood*, and the *Maintenance* of it. 11. Most of the *Expiations*, and *Pollutions*, mentioned by *Moses*, in Use among all famous Nations. 12. An universal Tradition of two *Protoplasts*, *Deluges*, and *renewing* Mankind afterwards. Biblioth. Bibl. Vol. I. p. 296.

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and, in ſeveral Countries, perceive the original Names of their *Founders* preſerved in that of their own.

FOR tho' the *Analogy* of Names be not, at all Times, a certain Way of coming to the Knowledge of Things; yet, in this Caſe, I thing it can hardly be deny'd, but that the *Aſſyrians* deſcended from *Aſſur*; the *Canaanites*, from *Canaan*; the *Sidonians*, from *Sidon*; the *Lydians*, from *Lud*; the *Medes*, from *Madai*; the *Thracians*, from *Tiras*; the *Elamites*, from *Elam*; the *Ionians*, from *Javan*; with ſeveral others produced by (*k*) *Grotius*, (*l*) *Montanus*, (*m*) *Junius*, (*n*) *Pererius*, and, more eſpecially, (*o*) by *Bochart*, that *moſt ſplendid Star of France* (as (*p*) one calls him upon this Occaſion) who, with wonderful Learning and Induſtry, has clear'd all this Part of *ſacred* Hiſtory, and given a full and ſatisfactory Account of the ſeveral Places, where the Poſterity of *Noah* ſeated themſelves after the Deluge.

By what Ways and what Nations, America might be peopled.

HOW the large Continent of *America* came to be peopled (ſince no Mention is made of it in the Writings of *Moſes*, and ſo vaſt a Sea ſeparates it from any other Part of the known World) is a Queſtion, that has exerciſed the Wit of every Age, ſince its firſt Diſcovery. It is worthy our Obſervation however, that, tho' all the great *Quarters of* the World are, for the moſt Part, ſeparated from each other, by ſome vaſt extenſive *Ocean*; (*q*) yet there is always ſome Place or other, where ſome *Iſthmus*, or ſmall Neck of Land, is found to conjoin them, or ſome narrow Sea is made to diſtinguiſh and divide them. *Aſia* and *Africa*, for Inſtance, are joined together by an *Iſthmus*, which lies between the *Mediterranean-Sea*, and the *Arabian-Gulf*. Upon the Coaſts of *Spain* and *Mauritania*, *Europe* and *Africa* are divided by no larger a Sea than the *Fretum Herculis*, or *Straits of Gibraltar*; and above the *Palus Mœotis*, *Europe* has nothing to part it from *Aſia*, but the ſmall River *Tanais*. *America*, as it is divided into *North* and *South*, is join'd together by a Neck of Land, which, from Sea to Sea, is not above 18 Leagues over: What ſeparates the *North-America* from the *Northern* Parts of *Aſia*, is only the *Straits of Anian*; or *South-America* from the moſt *Southern* Parts of *Aſia*, is only the *Straits of Magellan*. And therefore, ſince Providence, in the Formation of the Earth, has ſo ordered the Matter, that the principal *Continents* are, at ſome Places or other, always join'd together by ſome little *Iſthmus*, and generally ſeparated by ſome *narrow Sea*; and (what is further to be obſerv'd) ſince moſt of the *capital Iſlands* in our Part of the *Hemiſphere*, ſuch as *Sumatra* in *Aſia*, *Madagaſcar* in *Africa*, and *England* in *Europe*, are generally at no great Diſtance from the Continent; we have ſome Reaſon to preſume, that there may poſſibly be a certain Neck of Land (tho' not as yet diſcovered) which may join ſome Part of *Aſia*, or perhaps ſome Part of *Europe*, to the main Continent of *America*. Or, if we may not be allowed that Suppoſition, yet (*r*) why might there not formerly have been ſuch a Bridge (as we may call it) between the *South-Eaſt* Part of *China*, and the moſt *Southern* Continent of this new World, tho' now broken off (as (*s*) ſome ſuppoſe *England* to have been from *France*) by the violent Concuſſions of the Sea; as indeed the vaſt Number of Iſlands, which lie between the Continent of *China* and *Nova Guinea* (which are the moſt contigous to each other) would induce one to think, that once they were all one continued Tract of Land, tho', by the Irruption of the Sea, they are now crumbled into ſo many little Iſlands?

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

THE Difference however between the Inhabitants of *South* and *North-America*, is ſo remarkably great, that there is Reaſon to imagine, they receiv'd Colonies at firſt from different Countries; and therefore ſome are of Opinion, that, as the Children of *Shem*, being now well vers'd in Navigation, might, from the Coaſts of *China*,

(*k*) Vid. Annot. l. 1. de Verit. (*l*) Phaleg. (*m*) In Gen. x. (*n*) *Ibid.* (*o*) Phaleg. (*p*) *Heidegger.*
(*q*) *Heidegger's* Hiſt. Patriarcharum, Vol. I. Exer 22. (*r*) *Patrick's* Commentary. (*s*) Vid. the new general *Atlas*.

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China, take Poſſeſſion of the *Southern* Parts; ſo might the Children of *Japhet*, either from *Tartary*, paſs over the *Straits of Anien*, or out of *Europe*, firſt paſs into *Norway*, thence into *Iſeland*, thence into *Groenland*, and ſo into the *Northern* Parts of *America*: And this they think the more probable, becauſe of the great Variety of Languages, which are obſerved among the Natives of this great Continent; a good Indication, as one would imagine, of their coming thither at different Times, and from different Places.

The Iſles of the Gentiles.

We indeed, according to the common Forms of Speech, call thoſe Places *Iſlands*, which are, on every Side, ſurrounded by the Sea; but the *Hebrews* were wont to give that Name to all *Maritime* Countries, ſuch, as either had ſeveral Iſlands belonging to them, or ſuch, as had no Iſlands at all, provided they were divided from *Paleſtine* or from *Egypt* by the Sea, and could not conveniently be gone to any other Way. (*t*) Such are the Countries of the *Leſſer Aſia*, and the Countries of *Europe*, where the Deſcendants of *Japhet* were ſeated; and that by *theſe* are denoted the *Iſles of the Gentiles*, * might be evinc'd from ſeveral parallel Paſſages in Scripture. At preſent we need only take Notice, that, as the *Leſſer Aſia* was, from *Babel*, the neareſt Place of *Japhet's* Allotment, 'tis very probable, that he and his Sons continu'd there for ſome Time, till the Increaſe of their Progeny made them ſend out Colonies, which not only peopled the *Iſles* of the *Mediterranean* and *Egean* Seas, but, paſſing into *Europe*, ſpread themſelves farther and farther, till at length they came to take Poſſeſſion of the very *Iſland*, wherein we now live.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

To this Purpoſe, the Writers on this Subject have made it appear, that, from their *original* Country, which was *Aſia Minor*, they ſent a Colony to the *Mœotic Lake*, on the North of the *Euxine Sea*; and, as they were called *Cimmerii* in *Aſia*, ſo they gave the Name of *Boſphorus Cimmerius* to the *Straits*, we there meet with; that, after this, ſpreading farther, they fell down the *Danube*, and ſettled in a Country, which † from them was called *Germany*; that, from *Germany*, they advanced ſtill farther, till they came into *France*, for the Inhabitants of *France*, (as (*u*) *Joſephus* tells us) were antiently called *Gomorites*; and that from *France*, they came into the South Part of *Britain*, and therefore we find that the *Welſh*, (the *antient* Inhabitants of this Iſle) call themſelves *Kumero*, or *Cymro*, call a Woman, *Kumeraes*, and the Language they ſpeak, *Kumeraeg*, which ſeveral Words carry in them ſuch plain Marks of the *original* Name, from whence they are derived, that, if any Regard is to be had to *Etymologies* in Caſes of this Nature, we cannot forbear concluding that the true old *Britons*, or *Welſh*, are the genuine Deſcendants of *Gomer*. And, ſince it is obſerv'd, that the *Germans* were likewiſe the Deſcendants of *Gomer*, particularly the *Cymbri*, to whom the *Saxons*, and eſpecially the *Angles*, were near Neighbours, it

And that of England.

(*t*) *Well's* Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I. p. 10.

* Thus the Prophet *Iſaiah* [Ch. xi. 10, 11.] ſpeaking of the Calling of the *Gentiles*, and of the Reſtoration of the *Jews*, has theſe Words: *The Lord ſhall recover the Remnant of his People from* Aſſyria, Egypt, Pathros, Cuſh, Elam, Shinar, Hamah, *and from the* Iſles of the Sea: Where, by the *Iſles of the Sea* (which is the ſame with the *Iſles of the* Gentiles) we muſt neceſſarily underſtand ſuch Countries, as are diſtinct from the Countries, which are here expreſsly nam'd, *viz. Aſſyria, Egypt*, &c. and therefore moſt likely the Countries of *Leſſer Aſia*, and *Europe*. The ſame Prophet, in order to ſhew God's Omnipotency, ſpeaks in this Manner: *Behold the Nations are as a Drop of the Bucket, and are counted as the ſmall Duſt of the Ballance; behold he takes up the Iſles as a very little Thing*, Ch. xl. 15. Where, if *by Iſles* we mean thoſe, which we call ſtrictly ſo, the Compariſon of the Diſparity is loſt, becauſe thoſe, which we call *Iſles*, are indeed *very little Things*; and therefore the proper Signification of the Word, in this Place, muſt be, *thoſe large Countries*, which were beyond the Sea, in regard to *Egypt* whence *Moſes* came, or *Paleſtine*, whither he was now going. *Well's* Geography, Vol. I. p. 113.

† The People of this Country are called *Germans*, and they call themſelves *Germen*, which is but a ſmall Variation, and eaſy Contraction for *Gomeren*, i. e. *Gomerians*: For the Termination *en* is a Plural Termination in the *German* Language; and from the ſingle Number *Gomer*, is formed *Gomren*, by the ſame Analogy, that from Brother we form Brethren. *Well's* Geography, Vol. I. p. 127, and *Bedford's* Scripture Chronolgy, l. 2. c. 4.

(*u*) Antiq. l. 1.

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it will hence likewiſe follow, that our Anceſtors, who ſucceeded the old *Britons* * in the *Eaſtern* Part of this Iſle, were in a Manner, deſcended from *Gomer*, the firſt Son of *Japhet*.

THUS we ſee, (*x*) that the Plantations of the World, by the Sons of *Noah* and their Offspring, recorded by *Moſes* in this tenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, and by the inſpir'd Author of the firſt Book of *Chronicles*, are not *unprofitable Fables*, or *endleſs Genealogies*, but a moſt valuable Piece of Hiſtory, which diſtinguiſhes, from all other People, that particular Nation, of which Chriſt was to come; gives Light to ſeveral Predictions, and other Paſſages in the Prophets; ſhews us the firſt Riſe and Origin of all Nations, their gradual Increaſe, and ſucceſſive Migrations, Cities building, Lands cultivating, Kingdoms riſing, Governments ſettling, and all to the Accompliſhment of the divine Benediction: (*y*) *Be fruitful, and multiply, and repleniſh the Earth; and the Fear of you, and the Dread of you ſhall be upon every* other Creature.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

DISSERTATION III.

Of the ſacred Chronology, and profane Hiſtory, Letters, Learning, Religion, and Idolatry, &c. *during this Period.*

The Difference *that is found in the ſacred Chronology.*

BEFORE we enter upon the Hiſtory of the World, (as it is deliver'd in ſome *Heathen* Authors) from the Time of the Flood, to the Calling of *Abraham*, it may not be improper to ſettle the *ſacred Chronology*; and that the rather, becauſe the Difference is very conſiderable, (as appears by the ſubſequent Table) according as we follow the Computation of the *Hebrew Text*, of the *Samaritan Copies*, or of the *Greek* Interpreters. But, before we come to this, we muſt obſerve, that, in the Catalogue, which we refer to, *Moſes* takes Notice of no other Branch of *Noah*'s Family, but only that of *Shem*, and his Deſcendants in a direct Line to *Abraham*, and the different Computations (*z*), relating to them, may be beſt perceiv'd by the following *Table*.

* To ſhew how the *Weſtern* Part of our *Iſland* came likewiſe to be peopled, the above-cited Author of *Scripture Chronology* ſuppoſes, that when *Joſhua* made his Conqueſts in the Land of *Canaan*, ſeveral of the Inhabitants of *Tyre*, being ſtruck with the Terror of his Arms, left their Country, and being ſkill'd in the Art of Navigation, ſail'd into *Africa*, and there built a City, call'd *Carthage*, or the *City of the Wanderers*, as he interprets the Word; that the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians* being always conſiderable Merchants, and now ſettling in a Place convenient for their Purpoſe, began to enlarge their Trade, and coaſting the Sea-Shore of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *France*, happen'd, at length, to chop upon the Iſlands, call'd *Caſſiterides*, now the *Iſlands of Scilly*, whereof he gives us a Deſcription from *Strabo*; that, having here fallen into a Trade for Tin and Lead, it was not long before they diſcover'd the *Land's-End*, on the Weſt-Side of *Cornwall*, and finding the Country much more commodious than *Scilly*, remov'd from thence, and here made their Settlement. And this Conjecture he accounts more feaſible, by Reaſon of the great Affinity between the *Corniſh* Language, and the ancient *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*, l. 2. c. 4. p. 195.

(*x*) *Millar*'s Church Hiſtory, Ch. 1. Per. 2. (*y*) Gen. ix. 1, 2. (*z*) *Uſher*'s Chron. Sac. Cap. 2.

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Gen. Ch. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

	After the Flood	*Heb.*	*Sam.*	*Sep.*	*Heb.*	*Sam.*	*Sep.*	*Heb.*	*Sam.*	*Sep.*
1	*Shem* was	2	2	2	500	500	500		600	
2	*Arphaxad* ——	35	135	135	403	300	330		438	
0	*Cainan* ——	0	0	130	0	0	330		0	
3	*Salah* ——	30	130	130	403	303	330		433	
4	*Eber* — ——	34	134	134	430	270	270		404	
5	*Peleg* —— —	30	130	130	209	109	209		239	
6	*Reu* —— ——	32	132	132	207	107	207		239	
7	*Serug* —— —	30	130	130	200	100	200		230	
8	*Nahor* —— —	29	79	79	119	69	125		148	
9	*Terah* the Father of *Abram*.	70	70	70				205	145	205
	In all	292	942	1072						
		Before they had Children.			After they had Children.			Before they died.		

NOW, whoever casts his Eye into this *Table*, may easily perceive, that, except the *Variations*, which may possibly have been occasion'd by the Negligence of *Transcribers*, (*a*) the Difference, between the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint* Chronology, is so very small, that one may justly suspect, that the former has been transcrib'd from the latter, on purpose to supply some Defect in its Copy; but that the Difference, between the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Chronology, is so very great, that the one or other of them must be egregiously wrong; because the *Septuagint* do not only add a Patriarch, nam'd *Cainan*, never mention'd in the *Hebrew*, and so make *eleven* Generations, from *Shem* to *Abraham*, instead of *ten*; but, in the Lives of most of these Patriarchs, they insert 100 Years, before they came to have Children, *i. e.* they make them Fathers 100 Years later than the *Hebrew* Text does, tho' (to bring the Matter to a Compromise) they generally deduct them again in the Course of their Lives.

The Arguments for and against the LXX *Computation.*

ON both Sides have appear'd Men of great Learning; but they, who assert the Cause of the *Septuagint*, are not unmindful to urge the Testimony of St *Luke*, who, (*b*) between *Arphaxad* and *Salah*, has inserted the Name of *Cainan*, which (as he was an inspir'd Writer) he could never have done, had not the *Septuagint* been right, in correcting the *Hebrew* Scriptures: Besides that, the Numbers in the *Septuagint* give Time for the Propagation of Mankind, and seem to agree better with the History of the first Kingdoms of the World.

ON the other Hand, they, who abide by the *Hebrew* Text, cannot think, that the Authority of the *Septuagint* is not so sacred, as their Adversaries imagine. Upon Examination, they find many Things added, many Things omitted, and, through the Whole, so many Faults almost every where occurring, *that, were a Man to recount them all*, (as (*c*) St *Jerom* expresses it) *he would be oblig'd not only to write one, but many Books*; "nor need we "seek

(*a*) *Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. I. I. 3.

(*b*) Chap. iii. 36.

(*c*) On Jeremiah, xvii.

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" ſeek for diſtant Examples of this Kind, " (*d*) ſays *Bochart*, ſince this very Ge- " nealogy is all full of *Anacroniſms*, vaſtly " different, both from the *Hebrew* and " the Vulgar Verſion."

EDITIONS moreover there were of an antient Date, which, in Imitation of the *Alexandrian Manuſcript*, preſerv'd by *Origen* in his *Hexapla*, had none of this Inſertion. Both *Philo* and *Joſephus*, tho' they make uſe of the *Septuagint* Verſion, know nothing of *Cainan*; and *Euſebius* and *Africanus*, tho' they took their Accounts of theſe Times from it, have no ſuch Perſon among their *Poſtdiluvians*; and therefore (*e*) it is highly reaſonable to believe, that this Name crept into the *Septuagint* thro' the Careleſſneſs of ſome Tranſcriber, who, inattentive to what he was about, inſerted an *Antediluvian* Name (for ſuch a Perſon there was before the Flood) among the *Poſtdiluvians*, and having no *Numbers* for his Name, wrote the Numbers belonging to *Salah* twice over.

SINCE therefore the *Hebrew* Text, in all Places, where we find *Noah*'s Poſterity enumerated, takes not the leaſt Notice of *Cainan*, but always declares *Salah* to be the immediate Son and Succeſſor of *Arphaxad*; (*f*) we muſt either ſay, that *Moſes* did, or that he did not know of the Birth of this pretended *Patriarch*: If he *did not*, how came the LXX Interpreters by the Knowledge of what *Moſes*, who liv'd much nearer the Time, was a diligent Searcher into Antiquity, and had the Aſſiſtance of a divine Spirit in every Thing he wrote, was confeſſedly ignorant of? If he *did* know it, what poſſible Reaſon can be aſſign'd for his concealing it, eſpecially when his Inſertion or Omiſſion of it makes ſuch a remarkable Variation in the Account of Time, from the Flood, to the Call of *Abraham*; unleſs he was minded to impoſe upon us by a falſe or confus'd *Chronology*, which his diſtinct Obſervation of the Series of the other Generations, and his juſt Aſſignment of the Time, which belong'd to each, will not ſuffer us to think. From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

RATHER therefore than impeach this *Servant* of God (who has this Teſtimony upon Record, that (*g*) *he was faithful in all his Houſe*) either of Ignorance, or Ill-intent, we may affirm (with *Bochart*, and his Followers) that St *Luke* never put *Cainan* into his Genealogy, (for as much as † it is not to be found in ſome of the beſt *Manuſcripts* of the *New* Teſtament) but that ſome Tranſcribers, finding it in the *Septuagint*, and not in St *Luke*, mark'd it down in the *Margin* of their Copies, as an Omiſſion in the Copies of St *Luke*, and ſo later Copiers and Editors, finding it thus in the Margin, took it, at laſt, into the Body of the Text, as thinking, perhaps, that this Augmentation of Years might give a greater Scope to the Riſe of Kingdoms, which otherwiſe might be thought too ſudden: whereas (if we will believe a very competent Judge of this Matter) " (*h*) thoſe, who contend " for the Numbers of the *Septuagint*, " muſt either reject (as ſome do) the con- " current Teſtimony of the *Heathen* " *Greeks*, and the *Chriſtian* Fathers, con- " cerning the antient Kingdoms of *Aſſy-* " *ria* and *Egypt*, or muſt remove all " thoſe Monarchies farther from the Flood. " Nor muſt the Teſtimony of *Varro* be " overlook'd, which tells us, that there " were but 1600 Years between the firſt " Flood and the *Olympiads*; whereas this " Number is exceeded ſeven or eight hun- " dred Years by the *Septuagint*'s Ac- " count. Theſe, and ſeveral other Con- " ſiderations, *ſays he*, incline me to the " *Hebrew* Numbers of the *Patriarchs* " generating, rather than to the *Seventy's*; " becauſe, by the Numbers of the *Seven-* " *ty*, there muſt be about 900 Years be- " tween the Flood and the firſt Year of " *Ninus*,

(*d*) Phaleg. l. 2. c. 2. (*e*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exer. 1. (*f*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 2. (*g*) Heb. iii. 2.

† The antient Manuſcript of the *Goſpels* and *Acts*, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, which *Beza* preſented to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, wants it; nor is it to be found in ſome Manuſcripts, which Archbiſhop *Uſher*, in his Chron. Sacr. p. 32. makes mention of. *Millar*'s Hiſtory of the Church, Ch. 1. Period 2.

(*h*) Biſhop *Cumberland*'s Origin. Antiquiſ. p. 177, &c.

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"*Ninus*, which certainly is too much "Distance between a Grandfather and a "Grandchild's beginning to reign."

THUS it seems reasonable to suppose, that the Interpolation of the Name of *Cainan*, in the LXX's Version, might be the Work of some ignorant and pragmatical Transcriber: And, in like Manner, the *Addition* and *Substraction* of several hundred Years, in the Lives of the Fathers beforemention'd, might be effected by such another *Instrument*, (*i*) who, thinking perhaps, that the Years of the *Antediluvian* Lives were but *Lunar* ones, and computing, that, at this Rate, the six Fathers (whose Lives are thus alter'd) must have had their Children at 5, 6, 7, 8 Years old, (which cou'd not but look incredible) might be induc'd to *add* the 100 Years, in order to make them of a more probable Age of Manhood, at the Birth of their respective *Children*. Or, if he thought the Years of their Lives to be *Solar*, yet still he might imagine, that *Infancy* and *Childhood* were proportionably longer in Men, who were to live 7, 8, or 900 Years, than they are in us; and that it was too early in their Lives, for them to be Fathers at 60, 70, or 80 Years of Age; for which Reason he might *add* the 100 Years, to make their Advance to Manhood (which is commonly not till one *fourth* Part of our Days is near over) proportionable to what was to be the ultimate Term of their Lives.

THIS seems to be the only Method of reconciling the Difference between the LXX Version and the *Hebrew* Text, in Point of *Chronology*; and now to proceed to what we find recorded in *profane* History, during this Period.

The profane History *during this Period.*

AFTER the Dispersion of Nations, the only Form of Government, that was in Use for some Time, was *paternal*, when Fathers of Nations were as *Kings*, and the eldest of Families, as *Princes*: But as Mankind increas'd, and their Ambition grew higher, the Dominion, which was founded in *Nature*, gave Place to that, which was acquir'd, and establish'd by *Power*.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

The Erection of Kingdoms.

IN early Ages, a Superiority of *Strength* or *Stature* was the most engaging Qualification to raise Men to be Kings and Rulers. The *Ethiopians*, (*k*) as *Aristotle* informs us, made Choice of the tallest Persons to be their Princes; and, tho' *Saul* was made King of *Israel* by the special Appointment of God, yet it appears to have been a Circumstance, not inconsiderable in the Eyes of the People, (*l*) that *he was a choice young Man, and goodly; and that there was not, among the Children of* Israel, *a goodlier Man than he*. But when Experience came to convince Men, that other Qualifications, besides Stature and Strength, were necessary for the People's Happiness, they then chose Persons of the greatest Wisdom and Prudence for their Governors. (*m*) Some wise and understanding Man, who knew best how to till and cultivate the Ground, to manage Cattle, to prune and plant Fruit-trees, &c. took into their Families, and promis'd to provide for such, as would become their Servants, and submit to their Directions: And thus, in Continuance of Time, *Heads* of Families became Kings; their *Houses*, together with the near Habitations of their Domesticks, became *Cities*, their *Servants*, in their several Occupations and Employments, became wealthy and considerable *Subjects*; and the *Inspectors* and *Overseers* of them, became *Ministers of State*, and Managers of the publick Affairs of the Kingdom.

IN the first Beginning of *political* Societies, almost every Town (as we may suppose) had its own *King*, (*n*) who, more attentive to *preserve* his Dominions, than to *extend* them, restrain'd his Ambition within the Bounds of his native Country; till Disputes with Neighbours, (which were sometimes unavoidable) Jealousy of a more powerful Prince, an enterprizing Genius, or martial Inclination, occasion'd those Wars, which often ended in the absolute Subjection

(*i*) *Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. I. Lib. 5. ex *Lud Capelli*, Chron. Sacra in Apparatu *Walton* ad Bibl. Polyglot. (*k*) De Repub. l. 4. c. 4. (*l*) 1 Sam. ix. 2. (*m*) *Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. II. l. 6. (*n*) *Justin*, l. 1. c. 1.

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Subjection of the *Vanquiſh'd*, whoſe Poſſeſſions, falling into the Power of the *Conqueror*, enlarged his Dominions, and both encouraged, and enabled him to puſh on his Conqueſts by new Enterprizes.

The Reign of Nimrod.

NIMROD was the firſt Man, we meet with in Scripture, who made Invaſions upon the Territories of others: For he diſpoſſeſs'd *Aſhur*, the Son of *Shem*, who had ſettled himſelf in *Shinar*, and oblig'd him to remove into *Aſſyria*, whilſt himſelf ſeiz'd on *Babylon*, and having repair'd, and not a little enlarg'd it, made it the *Capital* of his Kingdom.

A Deſcription of Babylon.

(o) THIS City was ſituate on both Sides of the River *Euphrates*, having Streets running from *North* to *South*, parallel with the River, and others from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*. † The Compaſs of the Wall, which was ſurrounded with a vaſt Ditch filled with Water, was 480 Furlongs, *i. e.* about 60 Miles; the Height of it 350 Feet, and the Breadth ſo vaſtly great, that Carts and Carriages might meet on the Top of it, and paſs one another without Danger. Over the *Euphrates* (which cut the City into two equal Parts, from *North* to *South*) there was a ſtately Bridge, and at each End of the Bridge, † a magnificent Palace, the one of 4, and the other of 8 Miles Circumference; and belonging to the larger Palace, were thoſe *hanging* Gardens, which had ſo celebrated a Name among the *Greeks*. They were made in Form of a Square of 400 Foot on every Side, and were carried up aloft into the Air, in the Manner of ſeveral large *Terraſſes*, one above another, till they came up to the Height of the Walls of the City. They were ſuſtained by vaſt *Arches*, built upon Arches, one above another, and ſtrengthen'd by a Wall on every Side, that was 22 Feet thick; and, as they wanted no Plants, or Flowers, fit for a Garden of Pleaſure, ſo there are ſaid to have grown in them Trees, which were no leſs than eight Cubits thick in the Body, and 50 Feet in Height. But this, among other pompous Things appertaining to this City, was the Work of Ages, ſubſequent to *Nimrod*, and built by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to gratify his Wife *Amytis*, who, being the Daughter of *Aſtyages*, King of *Media*, and much pleaſed with the mountainous and wooddy Parts of her own Country, was deſirous of having ſomething like it in *Babylon*.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

FROM the *Aſſyrians*, this great and noble City came into the Hands of the *Perſians*, and from them into the Hands of the *Macedonians*. Here it was, that *Alexander the Great* died: But, not long after his Death, the City began to decline apace, by the building of *Seleucia*, about 40 Miles above it, by *Seleucus Nicanor*, who is ſaid to have erected this new City, in Spleen to the *Babylonians*, and to have drawn out of *Babylon* 500,000 Perſons to people it: ſo that the antient City was, in the Time of *Curtius* the *Hiſtorian*, leſſened a fourth Part; in the Time of *Pliny*, reduc'd to Deſolation; in the Days of St. *Jerom* turn'd into a Park, wherein the Kings of *Perſia* did uſe to hunt; and, according to the Relation * of ſome late Travellers, is now reduc'd to one Tower only,

(o) *Prideaux*'s Connection.

† It muſt be obſerv'd however, that all this Compaſs of Ground was not really built upon; for the Houſes ſtood at a conſiderable Diſtance, with Gardens and Fields interſpers'd; ſo that it was a large City in *Scheme*, rather than in *Reality*. *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part I. l. 2.

† The *old* Palace (which was probably built by *Nimrod*) ſtood on the *Eaſt* Side of the River, and the *new* one (which was built by *Nebuchadnezzar*) exactly over againſt it, on the *Weſt* Side. *Prideaux*, ibid.

* Mr *Reuwolf*, who, in 1574, paſſed thro' the Place, where this once famous City ſtood, ſpeaks of the Ruins of it, in the following Manner. "The Village of *Elugo*, *ſays he*, is now ſituate, where heretofore *Babylon* of *Chaldea* "ſtood. The Harbour, where People go aſhore, in order to proceed by Land to the City of *Bagdad*, is a Quarter "of a League diſtant from it. The Soil is ſo dry and barren, that they cannot till it; and ſo naked, that I cou'd "never have believed, that this powerful City, once the moſt ſtately and renown'd in all the World, and ſituated in "the fruitful Country of *Shinar*, cou'd have ſtood there, had I not ſeen, by the Situation of the Place, by many "Antiquities of great Beauty, which are to be ſeen round about, and, eſpecially, by the old Bridge over the *Eu*-"*phrates*, whereof ſome Piles and Arches, of incredible Strength, are ſtill remaining, that it certainly did ſtand "there. ——— The whole Front of the Village *Elugo* is the Hill, upon which the Caſtle ſtood, and the Ruins of its

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only, call'd the Tower of *Daniel*, from whence may be ſeen all the Ruins of this once vaſt and ſplendid City.

It can hardly be imagined, that the firſt Kings were able, either to make, or execute Laws, with that Strictneſs and Rigour, which is neceſſary in a Body of Men, ſo large as to afford numerous Offenders: and, for this Reaſon, it ſeems to have been a prudent Inſtitution in *Nimrod*, when his City of *Babylon* began to be too populous to be regulated by his Inſpection, or govern'd by his Influence, to † lay the Foundations of other Cities; by which Means he diſpoſed of great Numbers of his People, and, putting them under the Direction of ſuch *Deputies* as he might appoint, brought their Minds by Degrees to a Senſe of Government, until the beneficial Uſe of it came to be experienced, and the Force and Power of Laws ſettled and confirmed. He is ſuppoſed to have begun his Reign, A. M. 1757, to have reign'd about 148 Years, and to have died A. M. 1905.

Of Aſhur.

About the Beginning of *Nimrod*'s Reign, *Aſhur*, * one of the Deſcendants of *Shem*, being driven from *Babel* (as moſt ſuppoſe) by the Invaſion of *Nimrod*, led his Company on the *Tigris*, and, ſo ſettling in *Aſſyria*, laid the firſt Foundation of *Nineveh*, which, in Proceſs of Time, exceeded even *Babylon* itſelf in Bigneſs. For, whereas we obſerved of *Babylon*, that it was in Circuit 480 Furlongs, (*p*) the Deſcription, which *Diodorus* gives us of *Nineveh*, is, that it was 150 Furlongs, *i. e.* near 19 Miles in Length; 90 Furlongs, *i. e.* ſomewhat above 11 Miles in Breadth; 480 Furlongs, *i. e.* juſt 60 Miles in Circumference; and for this Reaſon it is (*q*) called *an exceeding great City, of three Days Journey*, according to the common Eſtimation of 20 Miles to a Day's Journey. And equal to the *Greatneſs* was the *Strength* of this City: For its Walls were 100 Feet high, and ſo very broad, that three Carts might go a-breaſt on the Top of them; whereon were rais'd 1500 *Turrets*, and each of them 200 Feet high, and ſo very ſtrong, that the Place was deem'd impregnable, (*r*) till *Nabopollaſar*, King of *Babylon*, having made an Affinity with *Aſtyages*, King of *Media*, enter'd into a Confederacy with him againſt the *Aſſyrians*, and hereupon, joining their Forces together, they beſieg'd *Nineveh*, and, after having taken the Place, and ſlain the King thereof, to gratify the *Medes*, they utterly deſtroy'd that antient

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

A Deſcription of Nineveth.

" Fortifications are ſtill viſible, tho' demoliſhed. Behind, and ſome little Way beyond, is the Tower of *Ba-*
" *bylon*, which is half a League *Diameter*, but ſo ruinous, ſo low, and ſo full of venomous Creatures, which
" lodge in the Holes, they make in the Rubbiſh, that no one durſt approach nearer to it, than within half a
" League, except during two Months in the Winter, when theſe Animals never ſtir out of their Holes. *Calmet*'s
" Dictionary."

† The Cities, which he founded, are ſaid to be *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Calne*. *Erec* was the ſame, that occurs in *Ptolomy*, under the Name of *Arecca*, and which is placed by him at the laſt, or moſt Southern Turning of the common Channel of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. *Accad* lay *Northward* of *Erec*, and very probably at the common joining of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. And *Calne* (which is ſaid to be the ſame with *Cteſiphon*) upon the *Tygris*, about 3 Miles diſtant from *Seleucia*, and was for ſome Time the Capital City of the *Parthians*: For, that it was the ſame with *Cteſiphon* ſeems to be confirm'd by the Country, which lies about it, being called *Chalonitis*, which is evidently deriv'd from *Chalne* or *Chalno*, whereby we find it call'd in different Parts of Scripture. *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I. c. 5.

* Many Authors have imagin'd, that *Nineveh* was not built by *Aſhur*, but by *Nimrod* himſelf, becauſe they think it not likely, that *Moſes* ſhould give an Account of the Settlement of one of the Sons of *Shem*, where he is expreſsly diſcourſing of *Ham*'s Family; and therefore they interpret (as the Marginal Note directs) Gen. x. 11. *Out of that Land went forth* Aſhur, he, *i. e.* Nimrod, *went forth into* Aſſyria, which is the Explanation, that I have, in ſome Meaſure, followed: But others imagine, that *Moſes* is not ſo exactly *methodical*, but that, upon mentioning *Nimrod*, and his People, he might hint at a Colony, which departed from under his Government, tho' it happen'd to be led by a Perſon of another Family; that the Land of *Aſhur*, and the Land of *Nimrod* are mention'd as two diſtinct Countries in *Micah* v. 6. and, that, if *Nimrod* had built *Nineveh*, and planted *Aſſyria*, *Babylon*, and *Aſſyria* would have been but one Empire, nor could the one be ſaid to have conquer'd the other with any Propriety: Whereas we are expreſsly told by *Diodorus*, that the *Aſſyrians* conquer'd the *Babylonians*; and may thence infer, that, before *Ninus* united them, *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* were two diſtinct Kingdoms, and not the Plantation of one and the ſame Founder. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 4.

(*p*) *Wells*'s Geography. (*q*) Jonah iii. 3. (*r*) *Prideaux*'s Connection, Vol. I.

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antient City, and from that Time *Babylon* became the Metropolis of the *Aſſyrian* Empire.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

SUCH was the Riſe and Fall of this great City, where *Aſhur* govern'd his Subjects much in the ſame Manner, as *Nimrod* did his in *Babylon*: For, as they increaſed, he diſpers'd them in the *Country*, and, † having built ſome other Cities along the *Tigris*, he there ſettled them under the Government of Deputies, or *Viceroys*.

Of Menes.

WHILST *Nimrod* and *Aſhur* were ſettling their People in their reſpective Countries, *Mizraim*, the Second Son of *Ham*, * and who, by *Heathen* Writers, is conſtantly called *Menes*, ſeated himſelf, at firſt, near the Entrance of *Egypt*, and there perhaps built the City of *Zoan*, which was antiently the Habitation of the Kings of *Egypt*; but from *Zoan* he removed farther into the Country, and took Poſſeſſion of thoſe Parts, which were afterwards call'd *Thebaïs*, where he built the City of *Thebes*, and (as *Herodotus* will have it) the City of *Memphis* likewiſe. He reign'd 62 Years, and died A. M. 1943.

Of Belus.

BELUS ſucceeded *Nimrod*, and was the ſecond King of *Babylon*; but, whether he was related to his Predeceſſor or not, is a Thing uncertain. It ſeems moſt likely, that, as *Nimrod*, tho' a young Man in Compariſon of many then alive, was advanc'd, for ſome Merit or other, to the *regal* Dignity; ſo, when he died, *Belus* might appear to be the moſt proper Perſon, and, for that Reaſon, was appointed to ſucceed him: For, he is repreſented a Prince of Study, the Inventor of the *Chaldean* Aſtronomy, and one, who ſpent his Time in cultivating his Country, and improving his People. He reign'd 60 Years, and died A. M. 1969.

Ninus.

ASHUR, King of *Nineveh*, dying much about this Time, *Ninus* became the ſecond King of *Aſſyria*, and proved a Man of an ambitious and enterprizing Spirit. *Babylonia* lay too near him, not to become the Object of his Deſire; and therefore, making all military Preparations for that Purpoſe, he invaded it, and, as its Inhabitants had no great Skill in War, ſoon vanquiſhed them, and laid them under Tribute. His Succeſs in this Attempt made him begin to think of ſubjecting other Nations: And, as one Conqueſt paved the Way for another, in a few Years he over-ran many of the *Infant* States of *Aſia*, and ſo, by uniting Kingdom to Kingdom, made a great Acceſſion to the *Aſſyrian* Empire. His laſt Attempt was upon *Oxyartes*, or *Zoroaſtres*, King of *Bactria*, where he met with a briſker Oppoſition, than he had hitherto

† The Cities, which *Aſhur* is ſaid to have built, were *Rehoboth*, *Reſen*, and *Calah*. The Word *Rehoboth*, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, ſignifies *Streets*, and the Sacred Hiſtorian ſeems to have added the Word *City*, on Purpoſe to ſhew that it was here to be taken as a *proper* Name. Now, as there are no Footſteps of this Name in theſe Parts, but a Town there is, by *Ptolemy* call'd *Birtha*, which, in the *Chaldee* Tongue, denotes the ſame, as does *Rehoboth* in the *Hebrew* in an *Appellative* or common Acceptation; it is hence probably conjectur'd, that *Rehoboth* and *Birtha* are only two different Names of one and the ſame City, which was ſeated on the *Tigris*, about the Mouth of the River *Lycus*. *Reſen* is ſuppoſed by moſt learned Men to be the ſame City, which *Xenophon* mentions under the Name of *Lariſſa*, and that, not only becauſe the Situation of this *Lariſſa* well enough agrees with the Situation of *Reſen*, as it is deſcribed by *Moſes* lying between *Nineveh* and *Calah*; but becauſe *Moſes* obſerves, in the ſame Text, that *Reſen was a great City*, in like Manner, as *Xenophon* tells us, that *Lariſſa*, tho' then ruinated, had been a *large City*, of 8 Miles Circumference, with Walls 100 Foot high, and 25 Foot broad. And, whereas *Lariſſa* is a *Greek* Name, and, in the Days of *Xenophon*, there were no *Greek Cities* in *Aſſyria*; for this they account, by ſuppoſing, that when the *Greeks* might aſk, *what City thoſe were the Ruins of?* the *Aſſyrians* might anſwer *Lareſen*, or of *Reſen*, which *Xenophon* expreſſed by *Lariſſa*, a Name not unlike ſeveral Cities in *Greece*. And laſtly, as to *Calah*, or *Calach*, ſince we find in *Strabo* a Country, about the *Head* of the River *Lycus*, call'd *Calachene*, 'tis very probable, that the ſaid Country took this Name from *Calach*, which was one of the capital Cities of it. *Ptolemy* makes Mention likewiſe of a Country call'd *Calacine* in theſe Parts: And, whereas *Pliny* mentions a People call'd *Claſſitæ*, thro' whoſe Country the *Lycus* runs, there is ſome Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that *Claſſitæ* is a Corruption of *Calachitæ*. *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I.

* The Perſon, whom *Moſes* calls *Mizraim*, is, by *Diodorus*, and other Heathen Writers, commonly call'd *Menes*; by *Syncellus*, *Meſtraim*. *Menes* is ſuppos'd to be the firſt King of *Egypt* by *Herodotus*, l. 2. by *Diodorus*, l. 1. by *Eratoſthenes*, and *Africanus* from *Manetho*; by *Euſebius* and *Syncellus* in Chro. *Euſeb.* and the Time of *Menes* coincides very well with thoſe of *Moſes*'s *Mizraim*, as Sir *John Marſham* [in his Can. Chron. p. 2.] has pretty clearly evinced. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 4.

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hitherto experienc'd; but, at length, by the Contrivance and Conduct of *Semiramis*, the Wife of one *Memmon*, a Captain in his Army, he took the *Capital*, and reduc'd the Kingdom: But being hereupon charm'd with the Spirit and Bravery of the Woman, he fell in Love with her, and prevail'd with her Huſband, (by giving him his own Daughter, in Lieu of *Semiramis*, in Marriage) to conſent to his having *her* for his Wife. By her he had a Son, nam'd *Nynias*; and, after a Reign of 52 Years, he died A. M. 2017.

NINYAS was but a *Minor* when his Father died; and therefore his Mother, who, all along, had a great Sway in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs during her Huſband's Life-time, continued in the Government, with the † Conſent and Approbation of her Subjects. She remov'd her Court from *Nineveh* to *Babylon*, which ſhe encompaſs'd with the Wall we mentioned before, and adorn'd with many publick and magnificent Buildings; and, having thus finiſhed the Seat of her Empire, and ſettled all the neighbouring Kingdoms under her Authority, ſhe rais'd an Army, with an Intent to conquer *India*; But, after a long and dangerous War, being tired out with Defeats, ſhe was obliged, with the ſmall Remainder of her Forces, to return Home, where, finding herſelf in Diſgrace with her People, ſhe reſigned the Crown and Authority to her Son, after ſhe had reign'd 42 Years; and ſoon after died, A. M. 2059.

Ninyas.

HER Son *Ninyas* began his Reign, full of a Senſe of the Errors of his Mother's Adminiſtration, and engag'd in none of the Wars, and dangerous Expeditions, wherein ſhe had harraſs'd and fatigu'd her People: But, tho' he was not ambitious to enlarge his Empire, (*s*) yet he took all due Care to regulate, and ſettle upon a good Foundation the extenſive Dominions, which his Parents had left him. By a wiſe Contrivance of annual *Deputies* over his Provinces, he prevented many Revolts of diſtant Countries, which might otherwiſe have happen'd; and his taking up that State of being difficult of Acceſs (which was afterwards much improv'd by *Eaſtern* Monarchs) might perhaps procure him a greater Veneration from his Subjects. However this be, it is certain, that moſt Authors have repreſented him as a weak and effeminate Prince, which might naturally ariſe (without any other Foundation) from his ſucceeding a Father and Mother, who were rather too active to enlarge their Dominions; as well as from the Diſpoſition, in moſt Writers, to think a turbulent and warlike Reign, if victorious, a glorious one, and to overlook an Adminiſtration, that is employed in the ſilent, but more happy Arts of Peace and good Government.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

The Kings of Egypt.

IN *Egypt*, *Mizraim*, after his Death, had three Sons, who became the Kings of the ſeveral Parts thereof. *Ananim*, or rather *Anan*, was King of the *Lower Egypt*, or *Delta*; *Naphtuhim*, or *Naph*, of *Middle Egypt*, or the Country about *Memphis*; and *Pathruſim*, or *Patrus*, of the *Upper-Egypt*, or the Country of *Thebaïs*: and agreeably hereunto, from theſe three Kings did theſe ſeveral Countries take their antient Denominations. Of the *firſt* of theſe, *viz. Ananim*, we have nothing remaining, but only his Name, and the Time of his Death: For, after he had reigned 63 Years, according to *Syncellus*, he died A. M. 2006.

OF the *Second*, viz. *Naphtuhim*, we are told, that he was the Author of the *Architecture*

† *Juſtin*, in his Hiſtory of this Woman, informs us, that, upon the Death of her Huſband, ſhe made uſe of the Stratagem of *perſonating* her Son, to obtain the Empire to herſelf; but *Diodorus*, with more Probability, aſcribes her Advancement to her Conduct, Bravery, and magnanimous Behaviour. When ſhe took upon her to be Queen, the publick Affairs were put in the Hands, to which *Ninus*, when alive, uſed generally to commit them; and it is not likely that the People ſhou'd be uneaſy at her governing, who had, for ſeveral Years together, by a Series of Actions, gain'd herſelf a great Credit and Aſcendant over them: Eſpecially if we conſider, that, when ſhe took up the Sovereignty, ſhe ſtill preſs'd forward in a Courſe of Action, which continually exceeded the Expectations of her People, and left no Room for any to be willing to diſpute her Authority. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 4.

(*s*) *Diodorus Siculus*, l. 2.

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Architecture of theſe Ages; had ſome uſeful Knowledge of *Phyſick* and *Anatomy*; and taught his Subjects, (as he learned it from his Brother *Pathruſim*) the Uſe of Letters: for to this *Pathruſim*, (whom they call *Thyoth*) the *Egyptians* indeed aſcribe the Invention of all Arts and Sciences whatever. The *Greeks* call'd him *Hermes*, and *Latins*, *Mercurius*; and, while his Father *Mizraim* liv'd, he is ſuppoſed to have been his Secretary, and greatly aſſiſtant to him in all his Undertakings. When his Father died, he inſtructed his Brothers in all the Knowledge he was Maſter of; and, as for his own People, he made wholeſome Laws for their Government, ſettled their Religion and Form of Worſhip, and enrich'd their Language by the Addition of ſeveral Words, to expreſs ſeveral Things, which before they had no Names for.

THIS is the beſt Account that we can give of the *Babylonian* or *Aſſyrian* Empires, and of the Kings that rul'd *Egypt*, for ſome Ages next after the Diſperſion of Mankind. Other Nations, no doubt, were ſettled into regular Governments in theſe Times: *Canaan* was inhabited rather ſooner than *Egypt*; and, (*t*) according to *Moſes*, *Hebron*, in *Canaan*, was built ſeven Years before *Zoan* in *Egypt*; but, as none of theſe Nations made any conſiderable Figure in the firſt Ages, their Actions lie in Obſcurity, and muſt be bury'd in Oblivion. The few Men of extraordinary Note, that were then in the World, liv'd in *Egypt*, and *Aſſyria*; and for this Reaſon, we find little or no Mention of any other Countries, until one of theſe two Nations came to ſend out Colonies, which, by Degrees, poliſh'd the People they travelled to, and inſtructed them in ſuch Arts and Sciences, as made them appear with Credit in their own Age, and (as ſoon as the Uſe of Letters was made publick) tranſmitted their Names with Honour to Poſterity.

The Uſe and Invention of Letters.

THE Knowledge of Letters cannot have been of any long Standing among us *Europeans*, who are ſettled far from the *firſt* Seats of Mankind, and far from the Places, which the Deſcendants of *Noah* firſt planted. *None of the antient* Thracians, (*u*) ſays *Ælian*, *knew any Thing of Letters*; *nay*, *the* Europeans in general, *thought it diſreputable to learn them*, *tho' in* Aſia *they were held in greater Requeſt*. The *Goths*, according to the expreſs Teſtimony (*x*) of *Socrates*, had their Letters and Writings from *Ulphila*, their Biſhop, *Anno Dom.* 370. The *Sclavonians* received theirs from *Methodius*, a Philoſopher, about *An. Dom.* 856. The People of *Dalmatia* had theirs, not till St *Jerom*'s; and thoſe of *Illyria*, not till St *Cyril*'s Days.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

THE *Latins* (who were more early) receiv'd their Letters (as moſt Authors agree) from the *Greeks*, and were taught the Uſe of them, either from ſome of the Followers of *Pelaſgus*, who came into *Italy*, about 150 Years after that *Cadmus* came into *Greece*; or from the *Arcadians*, whom *Evander* led into thoſe Parts, about 60 Years after *Pelaſgus*.

AMONG the *Greeks*, the *Ionians* were the firſt, who had any Knowledge of Letters; and they, in all Probability, had them from the *Phœnicians*, who were the Followers of *Cadmus*, when he came into *Greece*, but from whom the *Phœnicians* had them, has been Matter of ſome Diſpute. Many conſiderable Writers have derived them directly from *Egypt*, and are generally agreed, that *Thyoth*, or *Mercury*, was the Inventor of them. In the early Ages, when Mankind were but few, and theſe few employ'd in the ſeveral Contrivances for Life, it could be but here and there one, that had Leiſure, or perhaps Inclination, to ſtudy Letters. The *Companies*, that remov'd from *Babel*, were moſt of them rude and uncultivated People: They follow'd ſome Perſons of Figure and Eminence, who had gain'd an Aſcendant over them; and theſe Perſons, when they had ſettled them in diſtant Places, and came to teach them ſuch Arts as they were Maſters of, had every Thing they

(*t*) Numb. xiii. 22. (*u*) Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 8. c. 6. (*x*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 33.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2007, &c.

taught them, imputed to their own Invention, becauſe the poor ignorant People knew no other Perſon, that was vers'd and ſkill'd in them.

THO' therefore the *Egyptians* had, confeſſedly, the Uſe of Letters very early among them; and tho' their *Thyoth*, or *Mercury*, might be the firſt, who taught others their Uſe, and for that Reaſon be reputed the Inventor of them; yet, I cannot but think, that *Noah* and his Sons, who had learn'd them in the *old* World, taught them to their Poſterity in the *new*. For, ſince Mankind ſubſiſted 1600 Years before the Flood, 'tis not very probable, that they liv'd all this while without the Uſe of Letters. If they *did*, how came we by the ſhort Annals, which we have of the *Antediluvian* Ages? But if they *did not*, 'tis not unlikely, that *Noah*, being well ſkill'd in the Knowledge and Uſe of them, might teach them to his Children: And, if we purſue the Enquiry, and aſk, from whence *Noah* attained his Knowledge, the moſt proper Reply will be, that he had it from the Inſtruction of his Parents, as his Parents might have it, in their ſeveral Succeſſions, from *Adam*, and as *Adam* might have it from God.

Which was Originally from God.

AND indeed, if we conſider the Nature of Letters, it cannot but appear ſomething ſtrange, that an Invention ſo ſurprizing, as that of *Writing* is, ſhould be found out in an Age ſo near the Beginning of the World. (*y*) Nature may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have prompted Men to ſpeak, to try to expreſs their Minds to one another by Sounds and Noiſes; but that the Wit of Man ſhou'd, among its firſt Attempts, find out a Way to expreſs Words in Figures or Letters, and to form a Method, by which they might expoſe to View all that can be ſaid or thought, and that within the Compaſs of 16, 20, or 24 Characters, variouſly plac'd, ſo as to form Syllables and Words; that the Wit of Man, I ſay, could immediately, and directly fall upon a Project of this Nature, is what exceeds the moſt exalted Notions, we can poſſibly form of his Capacity, and muſt therefore remit us to God (in whom *are hid* all the *Treaſures of* infinite *Wiſdom*) for the firſt Invention and Contrivance of it.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

The Learning Arts, and Commerce.

AS ſoon as the Uſe of Letters, whether of *divine* or *human Invention*, came generally to be known, 'tis reaſonable to think, that all Arts and Sciences would from thence receive a powerful Aſſiſtance, and, in Proceſs of Time, begin to take Root, and flouriſh; but this was a Period a little too early to bring them to any great Perfection. (*z*) For, tho' *Noah* and his Sons had doubtleſs ſome Knowledge of the Inventions of the *Antediluvians*, and probably acquainted their Deſcendants with ſuch of them, as were moſt obvious and uſeful in common Life; yet it cannot be imagin'd, that any of the more *curious* Arts, or *ſpeculative* Sciences were improved to any Degree (ſuppoſing them to be known, and invented) till ſome conſiderable Time after the Diſperſion. On the contrary, one Conſequence of that *Event* ſeems to have been this —— that ſeveral Inventions, known to their Anceſtors, were loſt, and Mankind gradually degenerated into *Ignorance* and *Barbarity*, 'till *Eaſe* and *Plenty* had given them Leiſure to poliſh their Manners, and to apply themſelves to ſuch Parts of Knowledge, as are ſeldom brought to Perfection under other Circumſtances.

THE Inhabitants of *Babylon* indeed are ſuppoſed to have had a great Knowledge in *Aſtronomical* Matters, much about this Time; (*a*) for, when *Alexander the Great* took Poſſeſſion of that City, *Calliſthenes*, the Philoſopher, who accompany'd him, upon ſearching into the Treaſures of the *Babylonian* Learning, found, that the *Chaldeans* had a Series of Obſervations for 1903 Years backwards from that Time; *i. e.* from the 1771ſt Year of the World's Creation forwards. But this is a Notion, that we

(*y*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 4.

(*z*) Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 2.

(*a*) Simplicius de Cœlo, l. 2. com. 46.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2007, &c.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

we have already confuted; as indeed the Nature of the Thing will teach us, that, upon the firſt Settlement in any Country, a Nation could not but find Employment enough (at leaſt for ſome Ages) in cultivating their Lands, and providing themſelves Houſes, and other Neceſſaries, for their mutual Comfort and Subſiſtence.

NINUS and *Semiramis* are ſuppoſed to have improv'd vaſtly the Arts of *War* and *Navigation* about this Period: For, * we read of Armies, conſiſting of ſome *Millions* of Horſe and Foot; and of Fleets, and Gallies, with brazen Beaks, to tranſport the Forces over a River only, to the Number of *two Thouſand:* But all that Narration of *Diodorus* and *Juſtin*, as it is acknowledged to be taken from *Cteſias* (whom † all the beſt *Criticks* of Antiquity look upon as an Author deſerving no Credit) may very juſtly be accounted falſe and fabulous. And tho' it cannot be deny'd, that the Invention of *Shipping*, which was not before the Flood (for had it been *before*, more than *Noah*, and his Family, might have ſav'd themſelves from the Waters) is a great Step towards the Improvement of *Commerce*; yet, as the Diſperſion of Mankind made it more difficult to trade with Nations, who ſpake a different Language; ſo the Method, whereinto, we may ſuppoſe, they enter'd at firſt, extended

* The Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, as we have it in *Diodorus Siculus*, l. 2. c. 1,—22. and in *Juſtin*, l. 1. c. 1, 2, is, in the Subſtance of it, to this Effect.——*The firſt, who extended this Empire, was* Ninus, *who being a warlike Prince, and deſiring to do great Things, gather'd together the ſtouteſt Men in the Country, and, having train'd them up to the Uſe of Arms, enter'd into an Alliance with* Ariæus, *King of* Arabia, *by whoſe Aſſiſtance he ſubdu'd the* Babylonians, *and impoſ'd a Tribute on them, after he had taken their King Captive, and kill'd him, with his Children. Then, having enter'd* Armenia *with a great Army, and deſtroy'd ſeveral Cities, he ſo terrify'd the reſt, that King* Barzanes *ſubmitted to him. After this, he vanquiſh'd* Pharnus, *King of* Media, *in Battle; crucify'd him and his Wife, and ſeven Children; and, in the Space of ſeventeen Years, overcame all* Aſia, *except* India *and* Bactria; *but no Author declares the Particulars of his Victories. Of the* maritime *Provinces, he ſubdu'd, according to* Cteſias, *whom we follow, (ſays* Diodorus) Egypt, Phœnicia, *the* Lower Syria, Cilicia, Pamphilia, Lycia; *and, beſides theſe,* Caria, *the* Phrygias, Lydia, Myſia, Troas, *together with the* Propontis, Bithnia, Cappadocia, *and all the barbarous Nations, as far as the* Tanais; *with* Perſia, Suſiana, Caſpiana, *and many other Nations, that we need not here enumerate. From this laſt Expedition as ſoon as he returned, he built a City, which he call'd by his own Name,* Ninus, *not far from the River* Euphrates; *and, being afterwards enamour'd with the Beauty and Valour of a Woman of uncertain Birth, nam'd* Semiramis, *he took her to Wife, and, by her Advice and Direction, govern'd all Things with Succeſs. For, having gather'd together an Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand Foot, and two hundred and ten thouſand Horſe, and ſix hundred thouſand armed Chariots,* (Numbers incredible in thoſe Days!) *with theſe he advanc'd againſt* Oxyartes, *King of* Bactria, *who met him with an Army of four hundred thouſand Men: But the* Bactrians *being defeated, and their* Capital, *by the Valour and Direction of* Semiramis, *taken, ſhe was thereupon advanc'd to the Honour of being made Queen, which occaſion'd her Huſband to hang himſelf. After* Ninus *had thus ſettled his Affairs in* Bactria, *his Wife* Semiramis *had a Son (whom he nam'd* Ninyas) *and not long after died, leaving the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom in his Wife's Hands; who, to raiſe her own Glory, built a ſtately Monument for her deceas'd Huſband; built the City of* Babylon, *and other remarkable Places; and then, having brought* Egypt, Ethiopia, *and* Lybia, *all the Way to the Temple of* Jupiter Hammon, *under her Juriſdiction, return'd into* Aſia; *where ſhe had not been long, before, hearing that* Stabrobates *or* Staurobates, *King of* India, *govern'd a rich Country, ſhe reſolved to take it from him. To this Purpoſe, ſhe prepar'd a great Army, and Fleet: But being told what mighty Elephants there were in* India, *in order to have ſomething like them, ſhe cauſed three hundred thouſand Hides of Oxen to be dreſs'd, and ſtuffed with Straw, under which there was a Camel to bear the Machine, and a Man to guide it, which at a Diſtance, made a Kind of Reſemblance of theſe vaſt Creatures. Her Army conſiſted of three Millions of Foot, one Million of Horſe, and an hundred thouſand Chariots; of an hundred thouſand of thoſe that fought on Camels; of two hundred thouſand Camels for the Baggage; and two thouſand Galleys, with brazen Heads, to tranſport her Army over the River* Indus. But all this muſt be falſe and fabulous; becauſe it is incredible to think, either that her own Country ſhould ſupply, or that the Country, whereinto ſhe was marching, ſhould be able to ſuſtain ſuch an immenſe Number of Men, and other Creatures, as are here related: Beſides that, it is falſe in Fact, that the Kings of *Aſſyria* ever govern'd all *Aſia*, or ſtretch'd their Conqueſts over *Egypt* and *Libya*. *Millar's* Hiſtory of the Church, Ch. 1. Part 3.

† This *Cteſias* was a Native of *Cnidus*, and Phyſician to *Artaxerxes Mnemnon*. He wrote a *Perſian* Hiſtory in three and twenty Books, of which there remain only a few Fragments, preſerv'd by *Photius*; but very valuable Authors, who have ſeen *Cteſias*, when perfect, give him no commendable Character. *Plutarch* [in *Artaxerxes*] calls him a fabulous, vain Man, and a great Liar. *A. Gellius* [Noctes Atticæ l. 9. c. 4.] reckons him among the fabulous Writers; and *Ariſtotle* [in his *Hiſtoria Animalium*] ſays, that he was an Author, who deſerves no Credit; as indeed, if we will judge either by the incredible Things in his Story, or by what he ſays of the *Indian* and *Perſian* Affairs, in his Fragments that remain, we ſhall have Reaſon to conclude, that theſe great Men have not given him this Character without good Grounds. *Millar's* Hiſtory, *ibid.*

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Christ. 2007, &c.

tended no farther than this: —— That the Colonies, who planted new Countries, not only perceiving their own Wants, from the Conveniencies they had left behind them, but finding likewise something useful in their Settlements, which were before unknown to them or their Founders, fetched what they wanted from the Parts, where they formerly dwelt, and in Exchange for that, carried, what they had discovered in their new Plantations, thither; And this seems to have given the first Rise to Traffick and foreign Trade, whose gradual Advances we may have Occasion to take Notice of hereafter. In the mean Time, we shall conclude this *Book*, and this *Chapter* together, with an Account of the *Religion*, which at this Time obtain'd in the most famous Nations of the World; and observe withal, by what Means it came to degenerate into *Idolatry*, and other wicked, and superstitious *Practices*.

The Religion of the Ancients.

Now, besides the common Notion of a God, which Men might either learn from *Tradition*, or collect by their own *Reflection*; the very History of the *Deluge*, which had not so long ago befallen the World, could not but instruct and confirm the Generations, we are now treating of, in several Articles of their Religion. If they had the Account of this remarkable Judgment transmitted to them in all its Circumstances, they could not but entertain these Conceptions of God: —— That he takes Cognizance of the Things, which are done here on Earth; that he is a Lover of Virtue, and a severe Punisher of Vice; that he is infinite in Power, by commanding the Winds and Rains, Seas and Elements, to execute his Will; that he is likewise infinite in Mercy, in forewarning the Wicked of their Ruin (as he did the old World) several Years before its Execution; and that therefore a Being of such a Nature and Disposition was to be served, and worshipped, and feared, and obeyed. So that the *Sum* of *Religion*, in the Ages subsequent to the Flood, even to the Promulgation of the *Law*, must have consisted in the Belief of a God, and his sacred Attributes; in the devout Worship of him, by the Oblation of Prayers and Praises, and such Sacrifices, as he himself had instituted; and in the Observance of those eternal Rules of Righteousness, of Justice, and Mercy, of Sobriety, and Temperance, *&c.* which, if not expresly delivered to the Sons of *Noah*, were nevertheless deducible from the Nature of Things, and the Relations, wherein Mankind stood toward one another.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

And, now, if we look into the principal Nations, which were at this Time existing, we shall find, that (*b*) the *Persians*, above all other People, were remarkable for having amongst them a true Account of the Creation of the World, and its Destruction by Water; which they strictly adher'd to, and made the Foundation of their Religion; nor have we any Reason to think, but that they were, for some Time, very zealous Professors of it, tho', by Degrees, they came to corrupt it, by introducing *Novelties*, and Fancies of their own, into both their *Faith* and *Practice:* We shall find, (*c*) that many of the antient *Arabians* preserv'd the true Worship of God for several Ages, whereof *Job*, (who perhaps lived in the Days now under Consideration) was a memorable Instance; as was likewise *Jethro*, the Priest of *Midian*, in the Days of *Moses:* We shall find, that the *Canaanites* of old were of the same Religion with *Abraham*; for tho' he travell'd up and down many Years in their Country, yet was he respected by the Inhabitants of it, as a Person, in great Favour with God; and *Melchisedeck*, the King of *Salem*, who was the *Priest of the most high God*, and consequently of the same Religion, received him with this Address; (*d*) *Blessed be* Abraham, *Servant of the most high God, Possessor of Heaven and Earth:* We shall find, from *Abimelech*'s Prayer, upon his receiving Intimation,

(*b*) *Hyde*'s Relig. Vet. Persarum, c. 3. (*c*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 5. (*d*) Gen. xiv. 19.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2007, &c.

tion, that *Sarah* was *Abraham*'s Wife, that, among the *Philiſtines*, there were ſome true Worſhippers of the *God of Heaven*; (*e*) *Lord, Wilt thou ſlay a righteous Nation? Said he not unto me, ſhe is my Siſter; and ſhe, even ſhe herſelf, ſaid, he is my Brother: In the Integrity of my Heart and Innocency of my Hands have I done this:* We ſhall find, that the *Egyptians* allowed no *mortal* Creature to be a God; profeſs'd to worſhip nothing, but their God *Cneph*, (*f*) whom they affirm'd to be without Beginning, and without End; and tho', in the Mythologick Times, (*g*) they repreſented this Deity by the Figure of a Serpent, with the Head of an Hawk in the Middle of a Circle, yet they affirmed, at the ſame Time, that the God, whom they thus repreſented, was the Creator of all Things, a Being incorruptible and eternal, with ſeveral other Attributes becoming the divine Nature: In ſhort, we ſhall find, that all the Nations, then known in the World, not only worſhipped the ſame God, whom they call'd the *Maker and Creator of the Univerſe*, but worſhipped him likewiſe in the ſame Form and Manner; that they had all the like Sacrifices, either *expiatory*, to make Atonement for their Sins; *precatory*, to obtain Favours from Almighty God; *propitiatory*, to avert his Judgments; or *euchariſtical*, to return thanks for his extraordinary Mercies; and that all theſe Sacrifices were every where offer'd upon *Altars*, with ſome previous Purifications, and other Ceremonies to be obſerv'd by the Offerer: So that Religion, in every Nation, for ſome Time after the Flood, both in Principle and Practice, was the *ſame*, till ſome buſy and pragmatical Heads, being minded to make ſome Improvements (as they thought) added their own Speculations to it, and ſo both deſtroy'd it's Uniformity, and introduc'd its Corruption.

Gen. Ch. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

And Idolatry of theſe Times, when it began.

WHEN this Corruption of Religion was firſt introduc'd, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to determine, becauſe neither *ſacred* nor *profane* Hiſtory have taken any Notice of it. Thoſe, (*h*) who account *Idolatry* one of the Sins of the *Antediluvian* World, ſuppoſe that *Ham*, being marry'd into the wicked Race of *Lamech*, retain'd a ſtrong Inclination for ſuch a falſe Worſhip; and that, after he was curſed by his Father *Noah*, and ſeparated from the Poſterity of *Shem*, he ſoon ſet it up. Thoſe, (*i*) who imagine that the Tower of *Babel* was a Monument intended for the Honour of the *Sun*, which had dry'd up the Waters from off the Face of the Earth, muſt ſuppoſe, that the Worſhip of that *Planet* began, whilſt the Remembrance of the Deluge was freſh in Men's Minds; but thoſe, (*k*) who are of Opinion, that the Difference of Men's Dialects, and the Difference of their Sentiments concerning God might not improperly commence together, muſt date the firſt Inſtitution of *Idolatry* not a great deal lower, than the Time of the Diſperſion.

(*l*) THE Generality of *Chriſtian* Fathers, as well as *oriental* Writers are poſitive in their Aſſertions, that the firſt Appearance of Idolatry was in the Days of *Serug*: "Becauſe, as *Enoch*, ſay "they, was the ſeventh from *Adam*, "in whoſe Time the general Impiety, "before the Flood, is ſaid to have began; "ſo *Serug*, being, in like Manner, the "ſeventh from *Noah*, liv'd at a proper "Diſtance, for ſuch a Corruption of "religious Worſhip to be introduced, "and grow". But this is a Reaſon too trifling to be taken Notice of: *Nor can I ſee*, ſays our learned *Selden*, (*m*) *how they can be able to maintain their Opinions, who determine ſo peremptorily, concerning a Matter of ſo diſtant and uncertain a Nature.*

(*e*) Gen. xx. 5. (*f*) *Plutarch* de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 359. (*g*) *Euſebius*'s Præp. Evan. l. 1. c. 10. (*h*) *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 2. c. 6. (*i*) Vid. *Tenniſon* of Idolatry. (*k*) *Cyril. Alex.* contra *Julian.* l. 1. (*l*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exer. 1. (*m*) De Diis Syris, Proleg. 3.

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BUT, whatever the Date of *Idolatry* might be, it is certain, that it had its firſt Birth, not in *Egypt*, (as ſome have maintain'd,) but in *Chaldea*, as the moſt reverend Author of the *Treatiſe of Idolatry* has evinc'd; (*n*) and that becauſe, in the Days of *Abraham*, we find, all other Nations and Countries adhering to the true Account of the Creation and Deluge, and worſhipping the God of Heaven, according to what had been revealed to them; whereas the *Chaldeans* had ſo far departed from his Worſhip, and were ſo zealous in their Errors and Corruptions, that, upon *Abraham*'s Family refuſing to join with them, they expell'd them their Country, and (*o*) *caſt them out from the Face of their Gods.*

Celeſtial Bodies the firſt Idols in every Country.

THE *Chaldeans* indeed, by Reaſon of the *plain* and *eaſy* Situation of their Country, which gave them a larger Proſpect of the heavenly Bodies, than thoſe, who inhabited *mountainous* Places, had a great Conveniency for *aſtronomical* Obſervations, and, accordingly, were the firſt People, who took any great Pains to improve them. And, as they were the firſt *Aſtrologers*, (*p*) ſo learned Men have obſerv'd, that, lying on the Ground, or elſe on flat Roofs, all Night, to make their Obſervations, they fell in love with the *Lights of Heaven*, which, in the clear Firmament of thoſe Countries, appear'd ſo often, and with ſo much Luſtre; and, perceiving the conſtant and regular Order of their Motions, and Revolutions, they thence began to imagine, that they were *animated* with ſome ſuperior Souls, and therefore deſerv'd their Adoration; and as the Sun excell'd all the reſt, ſo the Generality of learned Men have, with good Reaſon, imagin'd, that this bright *Luminary* was the firſt *Idol* in the World.

AMONG the *Egyptians*, (*q*) *Syphis*, King of *Memphis*, was the firſt, who began to ſpeculate upon ſuch Subjects. He examin'd what Influence the Sun and Moon had upon the Terreſtrial Globe; how they nouriſh'd, and gave Life and Vigour to all Things; and thereupon, forgetting what his Anceſtors had taught him, *viz.* that *in the Beginning God created the Heavens, as well as the Earth*, the Sun and Moon, as well as the Creatures of this *Lower World*, he concluded, that they were two great and mighty *Deities*, and, accordingly, commanded them to be worſhipp'd.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

THE *Perſians* perhaps (*r*) were never ſo far corrupted, as to loſe entirely the Knowledge of the ſupreme God. They ſaw thoſe celeſtial Bodies running their Courſes, as they thought, Day and Night, over all the World, and reviving and invigorating all the Parts and Products of the Earth; and, tho' they kept themſelves ſo far right, as not to miſtake them for the true God, yet they imagin'd them to be his moſt glorious *Miniſters*; and, not taking Care to keep ſtrictly to what their Forefathers had taught them, they were led away, by their own Imaginations, to appoint an idolatrous Worſhip for Beings, that had been created, and *by Nature were not Gods.*

WHAT Kind of *Idolatry* was current among the *Canaanites*, *Moſes* ſufficiently intimates in the Caution, he gives the *Iſraelites*, juſt going to take Poſſeſſion of it, *viz.* that (*s*) *when they lifted up their Eyes to Heaven, and ſaw the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, even all the Hoſt of Heaven*, they ſhou'd not, as the Inhabitants of the Country were, *be driven to worſhip, and to ſerve them:* And that this was the cuſtomary Worſhip among the *Arabians*, the Juſtification, which *Job* makes of himſelf, is a ſufficient Proof; (*t*) *If I beheld the Sun, when it ſhin'd, or the Moon, walking in Brightneſs, and mine Heart hath been ſecretly entic'd, or my Mouth hath kiſs'd my Hand*, i. e. if, with Devotion of Soul, or Profeſſion of outward Reſpect, I have worſhipp'd thoſe heavenly Bodies, which, by their Height, Motion,

(*n*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. I. l. 5. (*o*) Judith v. 8. (*p*) *Tenniſon* of Idolatry. (*q*) *Diodorus*, l. 1. (*r*) *Hyde*'s Relig. Vet. Perſarum, c. 1. (*s*) Deut. iv. 19. (*t*) Job xxxi. 26, 27.

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Motion, and Luſtre, attract the Eye, and raviſh the Senſes, *this alſo were an Iniquity to be puniſh'd by the Judges; for then I ſhou'd have deny'd the God, that is above.* And therefore the Account, (*u*) which the *Greek* Hiſtorian gives us of the Origin of this Kind of *Idolatry*, is more than probable, *viz. that the moſt antient Inhabitants of the Earth*, (meaning thoſe, who liv'd not long after the Flood, and particularly the *Egyptians*) *contemplating on the World above them, and being aſtoniſh'd with high Admiration at the Nature of the Univerſe, believ'd, that they were eternal Gods, and that the two Principal of them were the Sun and the Moon; the former of which they called* Oſiris, *and the latter* Iſis: Since, of later Years, upon the Diſcovery of *America*, tho' many different Idols were found in different Places, yet as for the *Sun*, it was the univerſal Deity, both in *Mexico* and *Peru*.

The great Multiplicity of Idols.

BUT whatever the firſt Idol might be, it ſoon multiplied into ſuch a prodigious Number, as to fill both Heaven and Earth with it's Progeny; inſomuch that there are not three Parts of the Creation, but what, in one Nation or other, had their Worſhippers. (*x*) They worſhipp'd univerſal Nature, the Soul of the World, Angels, Devils, and the Souls of Men departed, either ſeparate and alone, or in Union with ſome Star, or other Body. They worſhipp'd the *Heavens*; and, in them, both particular Luminaries, and Conſtellations; the *Atmoſphere*; and, in it, the Meteors, and Fowls of the Air; the *Earth*; and in it, Beaſts, Birds, Inſects, Plants, Groves, and Hills, together with divers Foſſils, and Terreſtrial Fire. They worſhipp'd the *Water*; and, in it, the Sea, and Rivers; and, in them, Fiſhes, Serpents, and Inſects, together with ſuch Creatures, as live in either *Element*. They worſhipp'd *Men*, both living and dead; and, in them, the Faculties, and Endowments of the Soul, as well as the ſeveral Accidents and Conditions of Life. Nay, they worſhipp'd the *Images* of Men; the Images of *Animals*, even the moſt hateful, ſuch as Serpents, Dragons, Crocodiles, &c. and deſcended at laſt ſo low, as to pay a religious Regard to *Things inanimate*, Herbs, and Plants, and the moſt ſtinking Vegetables.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

How the World came to fall into this State.

HOW Men came to part with the Religion of their Anceſtors for ſuch Traſh, and (*y*) *to change the Glory of the Incorruptible God, into the Image of corruptible Man, and Birds, and fourfooted Beaſts, and creeping Things*, the Apoſtle, who remonſtrates to the Indignity, has, in ſome Meaſure, ſupply'd us with a Reaſon, when he tells, that this State of Things, how groſs and ſtrange ſoever it was, was introduc'd under the Pretences of Wiſdom, or by Men *profeſſing to be wiſe.*

IT was the Wiſe amongſt them, that formed the Deſign, and, addreſſing to the Multitude, with a grave Appearance, prevail'd (as we may conceive) by ſome ſuch Form of arguing as this. (*z*) "We are "all aware, ye Sons of *Noah*, that Re- "ligion is our chief Concern, and there- "fore it well becomes us to improve and "advance it as much as poſſible. We "have indeed receiv'd Appointments from "God, for the Worſhip which he re- "quires; but if theſe Appointments may "be alter'd for his greater Glory, there "is no doubt, but that it will be a com- "mendable Piety ſo to alter them. Now "our Father *Noah* has inſtructed us in a "Religion, which, in Truth, is too ſim- "ple, and too unaffecting: It directs us "to the Worſhip of God, *abſtractly* from "all Senſe, and under a *confus'd* Notion; "under the Formality of *Attributes*, as "Power, Goodneſs, Juſtice, Wiſdom, "Eternity, and the like; an Idea fo- "reign to our Affections, as well as our "Comprehenſions: Whereas, in all Rea- "ſon, we ought to worſhip God more "*pompouſly*, and more extenſively, and not "only to adore his *perſonal* and *eſſential* "Attributes,

(*u*) *Diodorus Siculus*, l. 3. c. 11.

(*x*) *Tenniſon* of Idolatry. Sermons, Vol. II. Serm. 1.

(*y*) Rom. i. 22, 23.

(*z*) *Young's*

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2007, &c.

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10. to the End.

" Attributes, but likewiſe all the *Ema-*
" *nations* of them, and all thoſe Crea-
" tures, by which they are eminently re-
" preſented. Nor can this be any Dero-
" gation from his Honour; ſince his Ho-
" nour is certainly more amply expreſs'd,
" when, in this Manner, we acknowledge,
" that not only *himſelf*, but all his *Crea-*
" *tures* likewiſe are adorable. We ought
" therefore (if we will be wiſe) to wor-
" ſhip the *Hoſt of Heaven*, becauſe they
" are eminent Repreſentations of his
" *Glory* and *Eternity*: We ought to wor-
" ſhip the *Elements*, becauſe they repre-
" ſent his *Benignity* and *Omnipreſence*:
" We ought to worſhip *Princes*, becauſe
" they ſuſtain a divine Character, and
" are the Repreſentatives of his *Power*
" upon Earth: We ought to worſhip
" Men *famous in their Generation*, even
" when they are *dead*, becauſe their
" Virtues are the diſtinguiſhing *Gifts*
" and Communications of God: Nay,
" we ought to worſhip the *Ox* and the
" *Sheep*, and whatever Creatures are moſt
" beneficial, becauſe they are the Sym-
" bols of his *Love* and *Goodneſs*; and,
" with no leſs Reaſon, the *Serpent*, the
" *Crocodile*, and other Animals, that are
" noxious, becauſe they are the Symbols
" of his *awful Anger*."

THIS ſeems to be a fair Opening of the Project; and by ſome ſuch cunning Harangue as this, we may ſuppoſe, it was, that the firſt Contrivers of Idolatry drew in the ignorant and admiring Multitude. And indeed, conſidering the natural Habitude of vulgar Minds, and the ſtrong Inclinations they have, in Matters of an *abſtruſe* Conſideration, to help themſelves by ſenſible Objects, it ſeems not ſo difficult a Taſk to have *drawn them in.*

The Motives, which engaged Men in it.

THOSE, who worſhipp'd *univerſal Nature*, or the Syſtem of the material World, perceiv'd firſt, that there was Excellency in the ſeveral Parts of it, and then, (to make up the Grandeur and Perfection of the Idea) they join'd them altogether in one divine Being. Thoſe, who labour'd under a Weakneſs and Narrowneſs of Imagination, diſtributed Nature into its ſeveral Parts, and worſhipp'd that Portion of it, which was accounted of moſt general Uſe and Benefit. *Uſefulneſs* was the common Motive, but it was not the only Motive, which inclin'd the World to Idolatry: For, upon farther Enquiry, we ſhall find, that, whatever raviſh'd with its tranſcendent Beauty, whatever affrighten'd with its malignant Power; whatever aſtoniſh'd with its uncommon Greatneſs; whatever, in ſhort, was beautiful, hurtful, or majeſtick, became a *Deity*, as well as what was profitable for its Uſe. (*a*) The *Sun*, Men ſoon perceiv'd, had all theſe Powers and Properties united in it: Its *Beauty* was glorious to behold; its *Motion* wonderful to conſider; its *Heat* occaſion'd different Effects; Barrenneſs in ſome Places, and Fruitfulneſs in others; and the immenſe Globe of its Light appear'd highly exalted, and riding in Triumph, as it were, round the World. The *Moon*, they ſaw, ſupply'd the Abſence of the Sun by Night; gave a friendly Light to the Earth; and, beſides the great Variety of its *Phaſes*, had a wonderful Influence over the Sea, and other humid Bodies. The *Stars* they admir'd for their Height and Magnitude, the Order of their Poſitions, and Celerity of their Motions, and thence were perſuaded, either that ſome celeſtial Vigour or other reſided in them, or that the Souls of their *Heroes*, and great Men, were tranſlated into them, when they died; and, upon theſe, and ſuch like Preſumptions, they accounted all celeſtial Bodies to be Deities. (*b*) The *Force* of Fire, the *Serenity* of Air, the *Uſefulneſs* of Water, as well as the *Terror* and Dreadfulneſs of Thunder and Lightning, gave Riſe to the Conſecration of the *Meteors* and *Elements*. The *Sea*, ſwelling with its proud Surface, and roaring with its mighty Billows, was ſuch an *awful* Sight, and the *Earth*, bedeck'd with all its Plants, Flowers, and Fruits, ſuch a *lovely* one, as might well affect

(*a*) *Tenniſon* of Idolatry.

(*b*) *Herbert*'s antient Religion of the *Gentiles*.

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affect a *Pagan*'s Veneration; when, for the like Motives, *viz.* their beneficial, hurtful, delightful, or aſtoniſhing Properties, Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, Inſects, and even Vegetables themſelves, came to be ador'd.

The Riſe *of Image Worſhip.*

THE Pride and Pomp of the *Great*, and the low and abject Spirits of the *Mean*, occaſion'd firſt the *Flattery*, and then the *Worſhip* of *Kings* and *Princes*, as Gods upon Earth. Men famous for their Adventures and Exploits, the Founders of Nations or Cities, or the Inventors of uſeful Arts and Sciences, were *reverenc'd*, while they liv'd; and, after Death, *canoniz'd*. The prevailing Notion of the Soul's *Immortality* made them imagine, that the Spirits of ſuch excellent Perſons either immediately aſcended up into Heaven, and ſettled there in ſome Orb or other; or that they hover'd in the Air, whence, by ſolemn Invocations, and by making ſome Statue or Image reſemblant of them, they might be prevailed with to come down, and inhabit it.

WHETHER the Idolatry of Image-Worſhip was firſt begun in *Chaldea*, or in *Egypt*, we have no Grounds from Hiſtory to determine: But wherever it had its Origin, the Deſign of making Statues and Images at firſt was certainly ſuch, as the Author of the *Book* of *Wiſdom* (*c*) has repreſented it, *viz.* to commemorate an abſent or deceaſed Friend, or to do Honour to ſome great Man or ſovereign Prince; which, (whether ſo intended or no at firſt) the Ignorance and Superſtition of the People turned, in Time, into an Object of religious Adoration; the *ſingular Diligence of the Artificer* (as our Author expreſſes it) *helping to ſet forward the Ignorant to more Superſtition: For he, peradventure, willing to pleaſe one in Authority, forced all his Skill to make the Reſemblance of the beſt Faſhion, and ſo the Multitude, allur'd by the Grace of the Work, took him now for a* God, *who, a little before, was but honour'd as a* Man.

WE cannot but obſerve however, with what Elegance and fine *Satire* it is, that the Scripture ſets off the Stupidity, and groſs Infatuation, both of the Artificer, and Adorer. *The Carpenter heweth down Cedars, and taketh the Cypreſs, and the Oak. He ſtretcheth out his Rule; he marketh it out with a Line; he fitteth it with Planes; he marketh it out with the Compaſs, and maketh it after the Figure of a Man, according to the Beauty of a Man.* —— *He burneth Part thereof in the Fire; with Part thereof he eateth Fleſh; he roaſteth Roſt, and is ſatisfy'd; yea he warmeth himſelf, and ſaith, Aha! I am warm, I have ſeen the Fire; and the Reſidue thereof he maketh a God, even his graven Image. He falleth down unto it, and worſhippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and ſaith, Deliver me, for thou art my God; never conſidering in his Heart, nor having Knowledge or Underſtanding to ſay, I have burnt Part of it in the Fire; yea alſo I have baked Bread upon the Coals thereof: I have roaſted Fleſh, and eaten it; And ſhall I make the Reſidue thereof an Abomination? Shall I fall down to the Stock of a Tree?*

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

The groſs Folly *and* Stupidity *of it.*

The Inſufficiency *of Reaſon to guide us in Matters of Religion.*

THAT rational Creatures ſhould be capable of ſo wretched a Degeneracy, as this amounts to, may juſtly provoke our Wonder and Amaſement: and yet we may remember, that theſe People (who may poſſibly be the Object of our Scorn and Contempt) had the boaſted *Light of Nature* to be their *Guide in Matters of Religion.* Nay, they had ſome Advantages, that we apparently want: They lived much nearer the Beginning of the World; had the Terrors of the Lord, in the late Judgment of the Deluge, freſh in their Minds; had the Articles of their Religion compriſed in a ſmall Compaſs; and (what is no bad Friend to Reaſon and ſober Recollection) lived in more Simplicity, and leſs Luxury, than theſe later Ages can pretend to; and yet, notwithſtanding theſe Advantages, ſo ſadly,

(*c*) Ch. xiv. 15, &c.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2007, &c.

ſo ſhamefully did they miſcarry, that the Wit of a Man would be at a Loſs to deviſe a Reaſon for their Conduct, had not the divine Wiſdom informed us, that (*d*) *they alienated themſelves from the Light of God*, and *lightly regarded the Counſels of the Moſt High*; that they *forſook the Guide of their Youth, and rejected* thoſe Revelations, *which, at ſundry Times, and in divers Manners*, were made to their Forefathers, for the Rule and Meaſure of their Faith and Practice. We indeed, had we lived in thoſe Days, may be apt to think, that we would not have been carried away with the common Corruption; that the Light of Nature would have taught us better, than to pay our Devotions to brute Beaſts, or to look upon their Images as our Gods. But alas! we little conſider, what the Power of Reaſon, of mere *unaſſiſted* Reaſon, is againſt the Force of Education, and the Prevalence of Cuſtom, engaged on the Side of a *falſe*, but *flaſhy*, and *popular* Religion. *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, and *Cicero*, were, in after Ages, ſome of the greateſt *Reaſoners*, that the World has produced, and yet we find them complying with the eſtabliſhed Worſhip of their Country: What Grounds have we then to imagine, that, in Caſe we had been Contemporaries with them, we had acquitted ourſelves any better? Our Reaſon indeed now tells us, that we would have died, rather than ſubmitted to theſe impious Modes of Worſhip: But then we are to remember, that Reaſon is now *aſſiſted* by the Light, and Authority of a divine *Revelation*; that therefore we are not competent Judges, how we ſhould act without this ſuperior Aid; but that, in all Probability, (*e*) taking away the Direction and Reſtraint of *this*, Reaſon would relapſe into the ſame Extravagancies, the ſame Impiety, the ſame Folly and Superſtition, which prevailed on it before. And therefore (to conclude in the Words of our bleſſed Saviour, ſpoken indeed upon *another*, but very applicable upon this Occaſion) (*f*) *Bleſſed are the Eyes, which ſee the Things which ye ſee*, a full and perfect Rule of Faith and Manners, contain'd in that HOLY BIBLE, which is in every one's Hands; *for I tell you, that many Prophets and Kings have deſired to ſee thoſe Things, which ye ſee, and have not ſeen them; and to hear thoſe Things, which ye hear, and have not heard them.*

From Gen. x. to the End; and from Ch. xi. 10, to the End.

(*d*) Eph. iv. 18. (*e*) *Rogers*'s Neceſſity of a Divine Revelation. (*f*) Luke x. 23, 24.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

Hulett Sculp.

THE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE.

BOOK III.

Containing an Account of Things, from the Calling of ABRAHAM, *to the* ISRAELITES *Departure out of* EGYPT. *In all* 430 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Life of Abraham, *from his Call to his Death.*

The HISTORY.

A. M. 2083, &c. Ant. Christ. 1921, &c.

Abraham *leaves his Country.*

AFTER the Death of his Father *Terah*, *Abram*, who, by God's Appointment, had not long before left *Ur* in *Chaldea*, was now order'd to leave *Haran*, and to go into a Country †, whereunto God wou'd conduct him, and who, at the same Time, gave him Assurance, that he wou'd bless, protect, and multiply his Posterity

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† It is very probable, that this was done by some Appearance or other of the *Shekinah*, going before him, even as afterwards, his Posterity was conducted in the Way thither; since, passing over Rivers, climbing Mountains, and travelling through a dangerous and vast Desart he had certainly need of an extraordinary divine Direction, and of some sensible Exhibition or Token of it, while he had nothing but the Promise of God to support him, in so long, and so hazardous a Journey. *Bibliotheca Bib.* Vol. I.

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Poſterity in an extraordinary Manner, and that †, *in his Seed, all the Families of the Earth ſhou'd be bleſſed.*

Abram was fully perſuaded of the Truth of all God's Promiſes: And therefore, without any Heſitation, taking his Wife and Family, and all his Effects, together with his Nephew *Lot*, and *his* Subſtance with him, he purſu'd his Journey (*not knowing whither he ſhou'd go*) until, by the divine Guidance †, he came into the Land of *Canaan*; and, being minded to make ſome Survey of the Country, proceeded † to the famous *Oak of Moreh*, not far from the City of *Sichem*, then || inhabited by the *Canaanites*. Here he took up his Abode for ſome Time, and here built an Altar, in order to pay his Devotions

From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

† Some Interpreters have imagin'd, that theſe Words require no higher Senſe than this,——That all Nations ſhou'd ſee the Proſperity of *Abraham* and his Seed, ſo evidently, that they ſhou'd bleſs themſelves, and others, in ſome ſuch Form as this:—— *God make thee as great as* Abraham *and his Seed.* But, beſides the Incongruity of ſuppoſing, that God's *everlaſting Covenant* (as he calls it, Gen. xvii. 19.) was given only to produce a *proverbial* Form of Speech, 'tis plain Matter of Fact, that the Poſterity of *Abraham*, in the Line of *Iſaac*, was far from being the moſt proſperous (as to temporal Affairs) of all the other Branches of his Family; and therefore this Promiſe muſt of neceſſity be ſuppos'd to relate to ſome more *ſpiritual* and diſtant Bleſſing, juſt as St *Paul*, in his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, has explained it: *Now to* Abraham *and his Seed were the Promiſes made, he ſaith not*, and to Seeds, *as of many, but of one*, and to thy Seed, *which is Chriſt*, Gal. iii. 16. Vid. Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy.

† The Land of *Canaan* lies between the *Mediterranean-Sea* and the Mountains of *Arabia*, and extends from *Egypt* to *Phœnicia*. It is bounded *to the Eaſt*, by the Mountains of *Arabia*; *to the South*, by the Wilderneſs of *Paran*, *Idumea*, and *Egypt*; *to the Weſt*, by the *Mediterranean*, called, in *Hebrew*, the *Great Sea*; and *to the North*, by the Mountains of *Libanus*. Its Length from the City of *Dan* (ſince called *Cæſarea Philippi*, or *Paneadis*, which ſtands at the Foot of theſe Mountains) to *Beer-ſheba*, is about ſeventy Leagues, and its Breadth, from the *Mediterranean-Sea* to the *Eaſtern* Borders, is, in ſome Places, thirty. It was firſt called the Land of *Canaan*, from *Cainan*, the Son of *Ham*, whoſe Poſterity poſſeſſed it. It was afterwards called *Paleſtine*, from the People, which the *Hebrews* call *Philiſtines*, and the *Greeks* and *Romans* corruptly *Paleſtines*, who inhabited the *Sea-coaſts*, and were firſt known to them. It likewiſe had the Name of the *Land of Promiſe*, from the Promiſe God made *Abraham* of giving it to him; that of the *Land of Iſrael*, from the *Iſraelites* having made themſelves Maſters of it; that of *Judah*, from the Tribe of *Judah*, which was the moſt conſiderable of the twelve; and laſtly, the Happineſs, it had of being ſanctified by the Preſence, Actions, Miracles, and Death of Jeſus Chriſt, has given it the Name of the *Holy Land*, which it retains to this Day. *Lamy*'s Introduction.

† The City of *Sichem*, or *Sechem*, or *Sychar*, (for it had all theſe Names) was, at this Time, ſo called by Way of *Anticipation*, (for as yet, it was not founded) is a Town of *Samaria*, in the Borders of *Ephraim*, which ſtands in a narrow Valley, between *Gerazim* on the *South*, and *Ebal* on the *North*, being built at the Foot of the former. At preſent it is called *Naploſa*, and conſiſts only of two Streets, lying parallel under Mount *Gerazim*, and is far from being in the flouriſhing Condition, it was once, tho' it is ſtill full of People, and the Seat of a *Baſſa*. The true Name which was given it by *Abram*, was *Moreh*, or *Allon Moreh*, which our Tranſlation renders the *Plain of Moreh*; by St *Jerom*, the *illuſtrious Vale*; by the *Jeruſalem Targum*, the *Valley of Viſion*, becauſe of God's appearing to *Abraham* here; and by others, the *Oak of Moreh*, or the illuſtrious Oak, *&c.* tho' it ſeems very probable, that there was in this Place, not only one ſingle Tree, but a whole Grove of them, and therefore it is called *Allon*, or *Aulon*, being a Corruption from *Elon*, in *Latin Eſculetum*; i. e. an *Oaken Grove*, or Foreſts of Ever-green Oaks: And ſince this was the Place, where *Abraham*, at his firſt Coming into the Country, built an *Altar*, we have great Reaſon to be of the ſame Opinion with the learned and ſagacious Mr *Mede*, viz. that this *Allon-Moreh*, was a Place of divine Worſhip, a *Proſeucha*, or open Oratory, in Imitation of which, the *Jewiſh Proſeuchæ* (which were certain Spaces of Ground, with an Altar in the midſt, encompaſſed with a Wall, or ſome other Encloſure, and open above, but ſhaded with Trees) in after Ages, were ſet up. Vid. *Wells*'s Geography of the New Teſtament, Vol. I. and *Biblioth. Bib.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 18, where the Reader may meet with a particular Enumeration, upon how many Accounts more, this Place was, in former Times, very famous.

|| The Words in the Text are, —— Abram *paſſed through the Land unto the Place of* Sichem, *unto the Plain of* Moreh, *and the* Canaanite *was then in the Land:* From whence ſome have raiſed an Objection, that *Moſes* could not be the Author of this Book of *Geneſis*, becauſe the Words ſeem to import, that the Writer of them lived after that the *Canaanites* were drove out of the Land, which was after *Moſes*'s Death. But, in anſwer to this, it may be obſerved, that, as by *the Land* here, we are not obliged to underſtand the *whole* Country, but only that *Part* of it, which lay about *Sichem*, ſo by the *Canaanite*, we need not mean the whole Poſterity of *Canaan*, or all the *Canaanitiſh* Tribes, but only one particular Tribe of them, as in the very next Chapter, Ver. 7. is more diſtinctly expreſſed. And the Reaſon, why this is taken notice of by the ſacred Hiſtorian, is beſt accounted for in that ancient Tradition in *Epiphanius*. [Hæreſ. 66. N. 84.] if we will allow it to be true, *viz.* that, according to the original Settlement and Diſtribution among the Sons of *Noah*, *Paleſtine* was not allotted to any of the Sons of *Ham*, but was uſurped by *Canaan* from the Children of *Shem*, to whom it did of Right belong; ſo that theſe Words, *the* Canaanite *was then in the Land*, ſignify, that they had already invaded the Land, before *Abram* came thither, and therefore God's promiſing to give it him was only in order to reſtore that to the Poſterity of *Shem*, which the Children of *Ham* had wrongfully ſeized. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Biblioth. Bib.* Vol. I.

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Devotions to God; who, pleas'd with his Behaviour, appear'd to him again (as he had done at *Haran* before) and gave him freſh Aſſurances of his Favour, and a Promiſe inviolable, that, in Proceſs of Time, the whole Land, where he then dwelt, ſhou'd be the Portion of his Poſterity.

Goes into Egypt.

FROM *Sichem* he remov'd † into the mountainous Country, which lies between *Bethel* and *Hai*, where he likewiſe built an Altar for a Place of divine Worſhip (as he did in all other Countries where he came) and from *Beth-el*, he was travelling farther to the *South*, when he was ſtopp'd by a Famine, which grew grievous in the Land, and oblig'd him to go down to * *Egypt*, the only Place for Proviſion in ſuch like Exigences. But as he came to the Confines of *Egypt*, he began to be not a little uneaſy upon the Account of his Wife, who, (tho' ſhe had paſs'd the ſixty-fifth Year of her Age) retain'd ſtill Beauty enough to endanger the Man's Life, who ſhou'd paſs for her Huſband in that Country. And therefore, after ſome Deliberation, concluding, that the ſafeſt Way wou'd be for her to conceal her Marriage, he took an Opportunity to acquaint her with his Fears, and, with a ſmall Entreaty, prevail'd with her, in all Places where they were to ſojourn, to go under the Notion of his *Siſter*.

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THEY had not been long in *Egypt*, before *Abram*'s Fears were found to be true. His Wife's Charms had captivated ſeveral, and her Beauty was become the common Topick of Converſation; inſomuch, that, in a ſhort Time, it reached the Court, and the high Commendations, which every one gave the King of it, rais'd his Curioſity to ſee this amiable Stranger. Immediately therefore ſhe was brought to Court, and taken in to the King's Apartment, as deſign'd for one of his Royal *Concubines*; while her pretended Brother was treated with great Civility for her Sake, and loaded with many valuable Preſents from the King.

IT is hardly to be imagin'd, what a ſad Diſtreſs both the Patriarch and his Conſort muſt have been in, upon this Occaſion. She was a beautiful Woman, in the Power of a looſe and vitious Prince, and deſtitute of all Protection, but God's; and her Lord not ſo much as daring to own her his Wife, knowing how certain and ſudden muſt be the Deſtruction of an helpleſs Man, that provokes Paſſion and Power, Rage of Luſt, and Security of gratifying it.

WHILE Matters were in this dangerous Poſition, the Providence of God interpos'd in her Behalf, and, to deter † *Pharaoh* and his Nobles from any diſhonourable Attempts upon her Virtue, † infeſted them

† What our Author here means, is Mount *Ephraim*, which lay between *Bethel*, a Town, not far from *Jeruſalem*, Northwards, and *Hai*, which is ſituate towards the *Weſt* of *Bethel*. *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. I.

* *Joſephus* tells us, that, "*Abraham*, underſtanding that there was a great Plenty in *Egypt*, reſolv'd upon a Journey "thither; not only to partake of their Plenty, but alſo to conſult the Prieſts in their Profeſſion in divine Matters, "with an impartial Deſire and Diſpoſition to find out the Truth, and either to give, or receive Satisfaction, accord- "ing as the Subject in Queſtion did require; that here he gained himſelf infinite Credit, not only for the Solidity "of his Judgment, and an admirable Felicity of Elocution, but for his inſtructive Talent of informing, and convinc- "ing his Hearers at once; and that here he read Lectures of *Aſtronomy* and *Arithmetick*, which the *Egyptians* under- "ſtood nothing of, until *Abraham* brought them with him out of *Chaldee* into *Egypt*, from whence they paſſed into "*Greece*." Antiq. l. 1. c. 9.

† *Pharaoh* was the common Name for all the *Egyptian* Kings, for above 3300 Years (as *Joſephus* tells us, Antiq. l. 8. c. 2.) but what its proper *Etymology* is, the Learned are not ſo well agreed. *Bochart* thinks, that the Word *Pharaoh* ſignifies a *Crocodile*, and that *Ezekiel* alludes to it in theſe Words. *Behold I am againſt thee*, Pharaoh, *King of* Egypt, *the* great Dragon, that *lieth in the midſt of the River*, Ezek. xxix. 3. M. *Le Clerc* fancies, that the *Arabick* Word *Pharaoh*, *to be raiſed on high*, or to *be ſuperior to*, is the true Root of the Name. *Kircher* does indeed derive the Word from the ſame Root, but will have it to ſignify *to deliver*, or *to free*; and that *Pharaoh* therefore ſignifies *to be exempt* from the Juriſdiction of the Laws. And (to name no more) the learned *Renaudot* thinks, that *Pharaoh* is the ſame with the *Egyptian Pourro*, or *Pooro*, which ſignifies a *King*. *Calmet* on the Word.

† Some of the *Hebrew* Interpreters think, that they had grievous Ulcers in their ſecret Parts, which made both him and them, uncapable of enjoying either her, or any other Woman: And, in the Puniſhment inflicted upon *Abimelech*, and

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with ſuch Plagues, as made them not inſenſible upon whoſe Account it was that they ſuffered; even upon hers, who, tho' ſhe paſſed for a *ſingle*, was in reality a married Woman: So that the King, immediately calling for *Abram*; expoſtulated with him the ill Conſequences, that might have enſu'd from the Method he had taken; and, after ſome few Exprobations, returned him his Wife, and gave Orders, that they might ſafely depart his Kingdom, without any the leaſt Moleſtation, either to their Perſons, or Poſſeſſions.

Upon his Return, he and Lot *part.*

ABRAM, after this, tarried not long in *Egypt:* For, underſtanding that the Famine was ceas'd in *Canaan*, he returned thither by the ſame Way, and on the Altar, which he had built before, offer'd a Sacrifice of Thanks for his happy Eſcape, and ſafe Return. *Lot* and *Abram* had hitherto liv'd together; but, by this Time, their Subſtance was ſo much encreas'd, that they found it inconvenient to be any longer near one another. Their Cattle mingled; † their Herdſmen quarrell'd; and their Flocks, when together, requir'd a larger Tract of Ground, to feed and ſupport them, than they cou'd take up, without interfereing with the Property of the Inhabitants of the Land, wherein they ſojourn'd. Upon theſe Conſiderations, *Abram* reſolv'd, in a friendly Manner, to ſeparate from *Lot*; and, having given him his Choice of the whole Country, that lay before him, *Lot* choſe the fertile and pleaſant Plains of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, † which he ſaw were well watered by the Streams of *Jordan*, and ſo parted from his Uncle. *Abraham* continuing, for ſome Time, in the Place where *Lot* had left him, had a Viſion imparted to him, wherein God was pleaſed to renew the Promiſe of enlarging his Poſterity; and, bidding him caſt his Eyes round the Horizon, confirm'd the Gift of all the Land, which he beheld, to him and his Poſterity. Not long

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and his People, upon the ſame Account, *Gen.* xx. 18. they ſuppoſe, that there were ſuch Swellings in their privy Parts, as that the Men could neither enjoy their Wives, nor the Women, who were with Child, be delivered. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The *Jews* here tell us, that the Herdſmen of *Abraham* were commanded by their *Maſter* not to go near the *Canaanites*, or the *Perizzites*, nor to come into the Grounds, which they had taken, either for Culture or Paſturage, that ſo they might not appear to do the leaſt Injury to any of them; and that, in Obedience to his Command, they took eſpecial Care to confine all their Cattle, and to watch their Flocks with a ſtrict Eye, that none might go aſtray, and ſo treſpaſs upon the Natives; but that *Lot*'s Herdſmen were herein very negligent, and ſuffered their Cattle to go beyond their Bounds, and to feed in the Fields, which belonged to the *Canaanites*, and *Perizzites*, who dwelt then in the Land, and claimed the Sovereignty of it. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I.

† The Words in the Text are theſe,——*The Plain of* Jordan *was well watered every where, before the Lord deſtroyed* Sodom *and* Gomorrah (*even like the Garden of the Lord, like the Land of* Egypt) *as thou goeſt to* Zoar. The laſt Clauſe, *as thou goeſt to* Zoar, has much perplexed Commentators, whilſt they refer it to the Land of *Egypt*, in the Clauſe immediately preceeding; whereas, if what is ſaid by Way of Compariſon of the Plain of *Jordan* to the Garden of the Lord, *i. e.* the Garden of *Eden*, and to the Land of *Egypt*, be underſtood as inſerted by way of *Parentheſis*, the Difficulty will be taken away, and the Import of the laſt Clauſe will be plain and eaſy; for then the Meaning of the Verſe will amount to this,——"That, before the Lord deſtroyed *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, the Plain of *Jordan* was "well watered every where, as thou comeſt unto *Zoar*," *i. e.* in the Parts where *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* ſtood, or, in ſhort, in the Vale of *Siddim*. But there is another Interpretation, which ſuppoſes the Word *Zoar* to be a falſe Reading for *Zoan*, a City, that was once the *Capital* of *Egypt*, ſituate at the lower Part of the River *Nile*, where it divides itſelf into ſeveral Branches, and ſo waters the Country more plentifully thereabouts, than in any other Parts. According to which Reading, the Import of the Verſe will be this,—That *the Plain of* Jordan *was well watered every where about* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *before the Lord deſtroyed them; yea, the Plain was ſo well watered, that it was, in this reſpect, as the Garden of* Eden, or *as the Land of* Egypt, *and particularly as thou goeſt to* Zoan, *i. e. in the Parts about* Zoan, *where the* Nile *is divided into ſeveral Branches. Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I. The River *Jordan*, which runs thro' this Plain, is of ſo great Note in the ſacred Writings, that we muſt not paſs it by without this Obſervation,——That it derives its Name (as ſome aſſert) from the *Hebrew* Word *Jor*, which ſignifies a *Spring*, and *Dan*, which is a ſmall Town, near the Source of this River. But the Misfortune is, that the Name of *Dan* is much more modern, than that of *Jordan*. From its Source, which we ſuppoſe to be at *Cæſarea Philippi*, it runs thro' a Space of about 50 Leagues, till it diſcharges itſelf into the *Dead-Sea*, otherwiſe called the *Aſphaltite Lake*, where *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the other Cities of the Plain, that were deſtroyed with Fire from Heaven, once ſtood. About five or ſix Leagues Diſtance from its Spring, it forms the Lake *Semechon*, and from thence it enters the Lake of *Tiberias*; paſſes quite thro' it, and ſo is quite loſt in the *Dead-Sea*. Its Water, in Summer-time, is very ſhallow; but, about the Time of the Barley-harveſt, or the Feaſt of the *Paſſover*, it conſtantly overflows its Banks, and greatly fructifies the Plain. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

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long after this, he left *Beth-el*, and went to dwell at † the *Oak of Mamre*, which is not far from *Hebron*, where he built an Altar unto the Lord, and, in a ſhort Time, contracted an Acquaintance with three of the greateſt Men there, *Mamre*, *Aner*, and *Eſcol*; the firſt of whom communicated his Name to all the Country.

Vanquiſhes Chedorlaomer's *Army.*

THIS Alliance prov'd very ſerviceable to him, but more eſpecially upon the following Occaſion. † *Chedorlaomer*, King of *Elam*, had held five petty Princes in a tributary Subjection to him for ſome Years, of which Number the King of *Sodom* was one. At length they ſhook off their Yoke, and confederated againſt him; which provoked him (in Conjunction with three other Kings, his Allies) to march directly with a powerful Army againſt them. The revolted Kings, ſeeing the Enemy drawing towards them, took the Field with a Reſolution to try the Fate of a *pitch'd* Battle. The Valley of *Siddim* was the Place where the Armies were to meet, and as it was full of Pits of *Bitumen*, it might have made the Engagement more difficult and dangerous to the Enemies Horſe: But ſo it was, † that the five Kings were put to the Rout; one Part of their Army was cut in Pieces, and the other fled to the neighbouring Mountains, leaving their Cities a Prey to the Conquerors. *Lot*, who, at this Time reſided at *Sodom*, was involv'd in the Calamity of the City; was plundred of all he had, and himſelf carried away among the reſt of the Captives. As ſoon as *Abram* had Intelligence of this by an expreſs Meſſenger, he immediately ſends to his three Friends, deſiring their Aſſiſtance at this critical Juncture; and putting himſelf at the Head of three Hundred and eighteen of his own Domeſticks, all well prepar'd, and Men of Reſolution, he began his Purſuit, and, after a March of almoſt ſeventy Leagues, coming up with the Enemy, and dividing his Forces into ſmall Parties, he fell upon them by Night, and, charging them on all Sides at once, put them in ſuch a Terror and Conſternation, that they took to their Heels, and fled, leaving all the Booty and Captives behind them, among whom he happily recovered *Lot*, and brought him back with all his Subſtance to his former Habitation.

From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

Is congratulated hereupon.

THE firſt Perſon, who came to congratulate *Abraham* upon this Victory, was the King of *Sodom*, (very probably the Son of him, (*a*) who periſhed in the Slime-pits) who, in thankful Acknowledgment of the Benefits, he had received from his Valour and Aſſiſtance, offered him all the Booty,

† What we tranſlate the *Plain*, ſhould be rendered, the *Oak of Mamre*; becauſe the Word *Elon* ſignifies an *Oak*, or Tree of long Duration: *Sozomen* tells us, that this Tree was ſtill extant, and famous for Pilgrimages, and annual Feaſts, even in *Conſtantine*'s Time; that it was about ſix Miles diſtant from *Hebron*; that ſome of the Cottages, which *Abraham* built, were ſtill ſtanding near it; and that there was a Well likewiſe of his digging, whereunto both *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Heathens*, did, at certain Seaſons, reſort, either out of Devotion, or for Trade; becauſe there was held a great Mart. As for *Hebron*, or *Chebron*, it was accounted one of the moſt ancient Cities in the World; having been built ſeven Years before *Tanis*, the Capital of *Lower Egypt*. It was ſituated upon an Eminence, Twenty Miles *Southward* from *Jeruſalem*, and Twenty Miles *North* from *Beerſheba*, and had its Name, very probably, from the Word *Chavar*, to *couple*, or *join*; becauſe theſe married Couples, *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Iſaac* and *Rebecca*, *Jacob* and *Leah* were buried there. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, and Univerſal Hiſtory in the Notes, l. 1. c. 7.

† We meet no where in profane Hiſtory with the Name of *Chedorlaomer*, nor with any of thoſe Names of the Kings, that were confederate with him: And the Reaſon hereof is, that *Cteſias*, (from whom the profane Hiſtorians took the Names of theſe Kings) did not uſe their original *Aſſyrian* Names in his Hiſtory, but rather ſuch as he found in the *Perſian* Records. However, ſince the Date of this Tranſaction falls four Years before the Death of *Ninyas*, there are good Grounds to infer, that *Ninyas*, who then lived in *Perſia*, was the *Chedorlaomer* of *Moſes*, at that Time the Head of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy; that *Amraphel* was his Deputy at *Babylon* in *Shinear*; and *Arioch* and *Tidal* his Deputies over ſome other adjacent Countries: For it is remarkable, that *Ninyas* was the firſt, who appointed under him ſuch *Deputies*; nor is there any Abſurdity in *Moſes* to call them *Kings*, ſince it is obſervable, from what *Iſaiah* hinted afterwards, (Ch. x. 8.) that the *Aſſyrian* boaſted his Deputy-princes to be equal to royal Governors, *Are not my Princes altogether Kings? Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 6.

† As the Text tells us, that the Kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah fell into ſome of the Slime-pits*, with which the Valley of *Siddim* abounds, and takes no Notice of their coming out of them, it is more rational to ſuppoſe, that they periſhed there, than that *Abraham* ſtayed to take them up, as the *Jews* vainly imagine; and that therefore the King of *Sodom*, who afterwards came out to congratulate *Abraham*, muſt have been the Son of the Deceaſed.

(*a*) Gen. xiv. 10.

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Booty, which he had retaken, and deſir'd only his Subjects, the Priſoners, to be reſtor'd. But *Abram* was too generous to take the Advantage of the Miſery of War; and therefore, ſaving to his *Confederates* ſuch a Proportion of the Plunder, as, by the Law of Arms, belonged to them, he returned all the reſt, both *Priſoners* and *Goods*, to the King of *Sodom*, having before reſolved to keep no Part of them, that it might be ſaid, he undertook that Enterprize, not for any private Advantage, but purely for the *publick Good*, which every Man of Honour ſhould have always *primarily* in his View.

The next, who congratulated him upon this Occaſion, was *Melchizedeck*, King of *Salem*; who, upon his Return from the Battle, had provided Plenty of all Things neceſſary for his Refreſhment, and his Mens in their March; and, as he was a *Prieſt*, as well as King, he both bleſſed *Abram*, for being the Inſtrument of ſo publick a Deliverance in the Hands of God, and God himſelf, who had given him ſuch uncommon Succeſs to his Arms; whereupon *Abram*, in Return, preſented him with the *tenth Part* of the Spoils, which he had taken from the Enemy in this Expedition.

ABRAM's Deportment, upon this Occaſion, was ſo very acceptable to God, that he was pleas'd to appear to him again in a Viſion, and to give him freſh Aſſurances of his ſpecial Favour, and of his Intention to be *his Shield of Defence*, in all Dangers, and, for all the good Acts, which he perform'd, *his exceeding great Reward.*

From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

Is promis'd a Son.

Hitherto indeed the Patriarch had liſten'd to God's Promiſes, without any Expreſſion of Diſtruſt; but, upon this freſh Aſſurance, he ventured, for the firſt Time, to expoſtulate with him, not knowing how theſe things poſſibly could be accompliſh'd, whilſt himſelf continu'd *Childleſs*, and, to all Appearance, muſt be obliged to leave the Bulk of his Subſtance to *Eleazar*, his Houſhold-Steward. This indeed was a modeſt Way to try whether God deſigned to bleſs him with a Child; and God did not leave him long in Suſpence. He told him, that not his Servant, but a Son of his own, begotten of his Body, ſhould be his Heir, and ſhould have a Race, deſcending from him, as *innumerable as the Stars.*

Enters into Covenant with God.

This was ſuch joyful News, as gave *Abram* freſh Courage, even to requeſt of God ſome ſenſible and viſible Token, whereby he might be aſſur'd of this Bleſſing; And accordingly God was pleas'd to comply with his Requeſt. That therefore they might enter into a formal Covenant upon this Occaſion, he ordered him to take an *Heifer*, a *Goat*, and a *Ram*, of three Years old each, with a *Pigeon* and a *Turtle-dove*, and to offer them up. *Abram* did as he was ordered: And, having killed the four-footed Beaſts, he † cut them in two, and laid the Halves, at proper Diſtances, directly oppoſite to each other, but the Fowls he left whole; and ſo, paſſing between the diſſected Bodies, (as the Manner of Covenanting then was) he made his ſolemn Vows of perpetual Obedience to God; and then ſitting down, in Expectance

† The only Place, beſides this, where we have any Intimation given us of this Cuſtom of making Covenants, by dividing the Beaſts then to be ſacrificed, and by the Parties, who covenanted, paſſing between the Parts of the Beaſt ſo divided, is in *Jer.* xxxiv. 18, 19. *I will give the Men, that have tranſgreſſed my Covenant, which have not performed the Words of the Covenant, which they had made before me, when they cut the Calf in twain, and paſſed between the Parts thereof*; *the Princes of* Judah, *and the Princes of* Jeruſalem, *the Eunuchs, and the Prieſts, and all the People of the Land, which paſſed between the Parts of the Calf*; *I will even give them into the Hand of their Enemies, and into the Hand of them, that ſeek their Life*; *and their dead Bodies ſhall be for Meat unto the Fowls of the Heaven, and unto the Beaſts of the Earth.* This certainly was a very antient Cuſtom: And, accordingly, we find in *Homer*, that ὅρκια πιςὰ ταμόντες is a very common Phraſe, upon which his Commentator, *Euſtathius*, has this Obſervation: Διὰ τομῆς ζώων θυομένων ὁι ἐπὶ μεγάλοις ὅρκοι ἠγίνοντο, that in Matters of great Moment, Oaths, or Covenants, were generally made by *dividing* the Animals, which, upon ſuch Occaſions, were ſacrific'd; and the Deſign of this *Rite* (as the learned *Mede*, in a Diſcourſe upon the Subject, has expreſſed it) was as much as to ſay, *Thus let me be divided, and cut in Pieces, if I violate the Oath, which I have now made in the Preſence of God.* *Patrick*'s, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

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Expectance of what God would do on his Part, he took Care to drive away all Birds of Prey from ſettling upon the Sacrifice.

As ſoon as the Sun began to ſet, a deep Sleep, * attended with an horrible Darkneſs, and Dread of Spirits, fell upon him; during which, it was revealed to him, that he was not to expect an immediate Accompliſhment of the divine Promiſes; for tho' † himſelf was to die in Peace, and in a good old Age, yet his Poſterity were, after that, to ſojourn, and be afflicted in a ſtrange Country, † for the Space of four hundred Years; at the Expiration of which, God would puniſh their Oppreſſors, and conduct them ſafe to the Land, which he had promis'd them. And, for his Confirmation in this, he caus'd the Symbol of his divine Preſence, viz. † a ſmoaking *Furnace*, and a *burning Lamp*, to paſs between the divided Pieces of the Victims, and conſume them, in Ratification of his Part of the Covenant.

From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

TEN Years had *Sarah* expected the Performance of God's Promiſe, and judging now, by the Courſe of Nature, that her Huſband's Iſſue muſt proceed from ſome other Woman, and not from her own Body, ſhe prevail'd with him to take her Handmaid † *Hagar* to be his *ſecondary* Wife, pleaſing herſelf with the Thoughts, that, if her Maid ſhou'd conceive by her Huſband, the Child would be reputed hers, and her Houſe be eſtabliſh'd in the Completion of the divine Promiſe.

Has a Son by Hagar.

IT was not long before *Hagar* accordingly did conceive; and, forgetting now the

* That Horror and Dread of Spirits does frequently ſeize on thoſe, who ſee Viſions, is evident from what *Daniel* tells us of himſelf, *I was left alone, and ſaw this great Viſion, and there remained no Strength in me; for my Comelineſs was turned in me into Corruption, and I retained no Strength:* [Ch. x. 8.] but the Deſcription, which we have in *Job* of this Matter, is, in itſelf very awful and affecting. *In Thoughts from the Viſions of the Night, when deep Sleep falleth on Men, Fear came upon me, and Trembling, which made all my Bones to ſhake. Then a Spirit paſſed before my Face, the Hair of my Fleſh ſtood up. It ſtood ſtill, but I could not diſcern the Form thereof; an Image was before mine Eyes, there was Silence, and I heard a Voice,* Ch. iv. 13, &c.

† The Expreſſion in the Text is, *Thou ſhalt go to thy Fathers in Peace,* which ſome will have to be no more, than an *Oriental* Phraſe for going to the Grave; but ſince it cannot be ſaid of *Abraham*, that he did, in this Senſe, *go to his Fathers* (for as much as his Body was ſo far from being laid with them in the Sepulchre, that it was depoſited in a Country, that had no Manner of Communication with that of his Fathers) it muſt be allowed, that, from this Text, an Argument may juſtly be drawn for the ſeparate Exiſtence of human Souls. The Expreſſion however, of *going to our Fathers,* ſeems to have been formed from ſome ſuch Notion as this, ——— That the Souls of the Deceaſed do go to a certain Place, where thoſe of the ſame Family, or ſame Nation at leaſt, are ſuppoſed to live together, and in Communion: which Notion certainly ariſes from that natural Deſire, which all Men, who think their better Part immortal, have to ſee and converſe with ſuch of their Relations or Countrymen, as have left behind them a great and laſting Fame. For, if the Soul of *Socrates*, ſays one, were permitted to go where it deſired, it would certainly aſſociate with the Worthies of *Greece*, with *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, *Homer*, and thoſe ancient Demi-gods, who, in ſeveral Generations, were ſo renowned. Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Biblioth. Bib.* Vol. I. in *Locum.*

† Expoſitors have been very much divided in their Opinions, how to make it out, that *Abraham*'s Poſterity was in a State of Servitude and Affliction for the Space of *four hundred Years:* It may be obſerved however, that all this Difficulty is removed, if we ſuppoſe, that their State of Affliction is to be reckoned from the Time of *Iſaac*'s Birth, which, to the Deliverance out of the *Egyptian* Bondage, was juſt *four hundred and five Years*; but the *five* odd Years are therefore not mentioned, becauſe it is a common Cuſtom among all Writers, to take no Notice of *broken Numbers*, (as they call them) when they Name a *round Sum.* And, if there be ſuppoſed a farther Difficulty, in that their Sojourning is (in *Exod.* xii. 40.) ſaid to have continu'd *four hundred and thirty Years*; in theſe Years, the Time of *Abraham*'s ſojourning (which was exactly twenty-five Years, from his Coming into the Land of *Canaan* to the Birth of *Iſaac*) may be comprehended, and then all the Difficulty vaniſhes; becauſe theſe *twenty-five* Years, added to the *four hundred and five* before mentioned, exactly make up the *four hundred and thirty.* *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† By this *Symbol* God deſign'd to repreſent to *Abraham* either the future State of his Poſterity, *the ſmoaking Furnace* ſignifying *Iſrael*'s Miſery in the Land of *Egypt*, and the *burning Lamp*, their happy Eſcape and Deliverance; or (what ſeems more probable) to notify his own immediate Preſence, ſince both *Smoak* and *Fire* are, in ſeveral Parts of Scripture, mention'd, as *Emblems* and *Repreſentations* of the *divine Appearance.* And therefore, as it was a Thing cuſtomary, and eſpecially in *Chaldea* (from whence *Abraham* came) for Perſons, covenanting together, to *paſs* between the *Pieces* of the Sacrifice; ſo God, who had no Body to do it *viſibly* for him, did it in this *Type* and Emblem. *Pool*'s Annot. and *Bibliotheca Bib.* in Loc.

† In *Concubinage*, theſe *ſecondary*, or Wives of a lower Order, were accounted *lawful* and *true* Wives; had an equal Right to the Marriage-bed with the chief Wife, and their Iſſue was reputed as *legitimate*; but, in all other reſpects, they were inferior. And as they had no Authority in the Family, nor any Share in Houſhold Government; ſo, if they had been *Servants* in the Family, before they came to be *Concubines*, they continued in that State afterwards, and in the ſame Subjection to their Miſtreſſes, as before. *Howel*'s Hiſtory of the Bible.

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the former Condition of her Life, ſhe began to value herſelf upon it, and to treat her Miſtreſs with Inſolence and ill Manners. *Sarai*, impatient to ſee herſelf inſulted by a Slave, cou'd not forbear breaking out into bitter Complaints againſt her to her Huſband; but he, willing to make her eaſy, and withal to diſcountenance any diſreſpectful Carriage towards her, left her to treat her Maid juſt as ſhe pleas'd. This Licence gave *Sarai* an Opportunity of expreſſing her Reſentment with too much Severity, which the other not able to bear, She ſtole from her Maſter's Houſe, and was making the beſt of her Way to her own Country, which was *Egypt*; when, in her Travels thro' the Wilderneſs, meeting with a Fountain, ſhe tarried to reſt, and refreſh herſelf there. As ſhe was revolving her Sorrows in her Mind, an Angel came to her, and, after ſome previous Queſtions, advis'd her to return Home, and be ſubject to her Miſtreſs, becauſe it wou'd not be long before ſhe ſhou'd be delivered of a Son (whom he order'd her to Name † *Iſhmael*) whoſe Poſterity wou'd be very numerous, a ſtout and warlike People, living upon Plunder in the Deſarts, and apt to annoy others, tho' not eaſily vanquiſhed themſelves.

HAGAR, hearing this comfortable News, was ſoon perſuaded to take the Angel's Advice, and, in Memory of this ſurprizing Viſion, having call'd firſt the Fountain where ſhe ſat *Beer-lahai-roi*, which ſignifies, *the Well of him, that lives and ſees me*, ſhe made what haſte ſhe cou'd Home, and, in a ſhort Time, after her Return, was deliver'd of a Son, according to the Angel's Promiſe. From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

Is promis'd one by Sarah.

AT the Birth of *Iſhmael*, *Abram* was 86 Years old; and, leſt in the Exceſs of his Joy, he ſhould miſtake this Child for the Heir of the Promiſes, which had been made to him, about thirteen Years after, God renew'd his Covenant with him; inſtituted the Rite of Circumciſion upon a ſevere Penalty; changed † his Name from *Abram* to *Abraham*, and his Wife's from *Sarai* to † *Sarah* (where the Difference in Senſe is much more, than in Sound) and, (to compleat his Happineſs) gave him a Promiſe, that his Wife *Sarah* ſhould bear him a Son. This ſeem'd a Thing ſo ſtrange, and almoſt impoſſible, that *Abraham*, falling on his Face, began to intercede for the Life and Preſervation of *Iſhmael*, as thinking it unreaſonable to aſk, or wiſh for any Thing more; but the Almighty ſoon aſſur'd him, that theſe great Bleſſings were not deſign'd for *Iſhmael*, but for a Son to be born of the once-barren *Sarah*, (and therefore to be named † *Iſaac*) which wou'd certainly come to paſs within the Compaſs of a Year. That he might not however ſeem wholly to neglect his Requeſt for *Iſhmael*, he promis'd to make him a great Nation, and the Father *of twelve Princes*, tho' the Son begotten of *Sarah* ſhou'd only be entitled to the Covenant and Promiſe of *making all the Nations of the Earth bleſſed*. This was the Purport of the Viſion; and, as ſoon as it was ended, *Abraham* delayed not (according to the divine Command) to circumciſe himſelf, his Son, and all the Males in his Family;

† *Iſhmael* is compounded of the Words *Jiſhmag*, and *El*, the Lord *hath*, or the Lord *will hear*: And the Reaſon of the Name is immediately ſubjoined by the Angel, namely, *becauſe the Lord had heard her Complaint.*

† *Abram*, is compounded of two *Hebrew* Words, *Ab*, and *Ram*, which ſignify *high Father*; and *Abraham* is commonly derived from three, namely, *Ab-Ram-Hamon*, *the Father of a great Multitude.* But this is forced and ungrammatical, having nothing to ſupport it, but only the Reaſon, which God gives in the Text, for changing *Abram* into *Abraham*, viz. becauſe he was to make of him *a Father of many Nations*, as indeed he was; for not only the twelve Tribes, but the *Iſhmaelites*, the *Edomites*, and all the Poſterity of *Keturah*, deſcended from his Loins.

† *Sarai* ſignifies *my Princeſs*, or Princeſs of my Family only; but *Sarah*, the Name now given her, denotes *a Princeſs indefinitely*, and at large, according to the Prediction concerning her, *a Mother* (or Princeſs) *of many Nations ſhall ſhe be, and Kings of People ſhall come of her*, Gen. xvii. 16.

† *Iſaac*, or according to the *Hebrew*, *Iſchack*, ſignifies *he* or *ſhe has, or ſhall laugh*; and this Name *Sarah* gave him, becauſe, when the Angel promis'd that ſhe ſhou'd become a Mother, tho' ſhe was not of an Age to have Children, ſhe privately laugh'd at the Prediction, and when the Child was born, ſhe ſaid, *God hath made me to laugh, ſo that all that hear will laugh with me*, Gen. xxi. 6. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

A. M. 2107, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1897, &c.

Is viſited by the Angels.

Family; an Ordinance, which the *Hebrews*, have ever ſince obſerved very religiouſly.

ABRAHAM continu'd ſtill to dwell at *Mamre*; and, as he was ſitting, one Day, at the Door of his Tent, he eſpied three Perſons, whom he took to be Travellers, coming towards him. He therefore went out to meet them; and having, in a very civil and reſpectful Manner, invited them to take a ſmall Refreſhment with him, (which they conſented to) he immediately gave Orders for an Entertainment to be made ready, † which accordingly was ſerv'd in, and himſelf waited at the Table, under the Covert of a ſhady Oak.

WHILE they ſat at Table, † one of the Gueſts, enquiring after *Sarah*, and being told, that ſhe was in the Tent, he then addreſſed himſelf to *Abraham*, and aſſur'd him, that he had ſtill in Remembrance the Caſe of his Wife *Sarah*, who, at the End of the Year, ſhou'd certainly have a Son. *Sarah*, who was liſtening at the Tent-door, and thought herſelf far enough paſt Child-bearing, † could not refrain from laughing within herſelf; and when the Stranger aſk'd the Reaſon of it, with ſuch a ſerious Air, as ſtruck her with Terror, and ſhe endeavour'd to deny it, he diſmiſs'd her with this gentle Reproof—— That it was highly wrong in her to miſtruſt what he had ſaid unto her, ſince *nothing was impoſſible with God.*

From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

UPON this, the Converſation ceaſed, and the three heavenly Gueſts riſing up to proceed on their Journey, *Abraham* very courteouſly attended them ſome Part of the Way. Their Way lay towards *Sodom*, whither two of the Gueſts advanc'd with more Haſte, but the third, continuing with *Abraham*, began to reveal a moſt dreadful Secret, *viz.* That the Iniquity of *Sodom*, and the other neighbouring Cities, was come to ſuch a prodigious Height, that he was now going down, with an Intent to deſtroy them, * if, upon Enquiry, he found their Abominations equal to the Report of them.

The Wickedneſs of Sodom *and* Gomorrah.

† The Scripture informs us, Gen. xviii. 8. *that* Abraham *took Butter and Milk, and the Calf,* (i. e. the choiceſt Parts of the Calf) *and ſet it before them, and they did eat:* Where *the Eating* of theſe Angels muſt be underſtood, according to the Nature of the Bodies, we may ſuppoſe them to have aſſum'd. If their *Bodies* were *aërial*, their Eating muſt have been in Appearance only; if *ſubſtantial*, their Eating might have been real, *i. e.* they might have receiv'd the Meat into their Bodies, which, afterwards, by a divine Power, was conſum'd there. *Pool*'s Annot. and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† It is very obſervable, that one of theſe Angels (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* calls them, Ch. xiii. 2.) appear'd more honourable, and ſuperior to the other two, and therefore *Abraham* makes his Addreſs to *him* as the *Chief*, and the Hiſtorian ſtiles him *Jehovah*, which the Generality both of *Jews* and *Chriſtians* do look upon, as the *incommunicable* Name of God; and therefore it is believ'd by the far greateſt Part of the *latter*, that it was the *Son of God*, who appear'd in that Form. There are others however (particularly ſome *modern* ones) who maintain, that it was no more than an *Angel*, who ſpoke to him in the Perſon of God; tho' it hardly ſeems probable, either that *Moſes* ſhould call an Angel by *that Name*, or that *Abraham* ſhould intercede with him, as he does, when he ſaith, *That be far from thee to deſtroy the Good with the Wicked, ſhall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?* Or that an Angel ſhould peremptorily ſay, *If I find forty righteous Men in the Place, for their Sakes I will not deſtroy it.* So that the moſt probable Opinion is, that it was *Chriſt* himſelf, who is *emphatically* called *the Judge of all the Earth.* Univerſal Hiſtory. The *Jews* however have a Maxim, that no *Angel performs two Miniſteries*, or is ſent upon two Meſſages at once; and therefore they think, that theſe three Angels (as they ſuppoſe them) were diſpatch'd for different Purpoſes; one of them who was the *Chief*, to bring a Confirmation of the Birth of *Iſaac*; another, to conduct *Lot* ſafe out of *Sodom*; and the third, to overthrow the Cities of the Plain: And therefore when one of them had deliver'd his Meſſage to *Abraham*, there were but two, that held on their Courſe to *Sodom*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† In the preceding Chapter (Ver. 17.) we read that *Abraham* laughed upon the ſame Occaſion, and yet was not reprov'd; but the Difference of their Conduct might be this,——That *Abraham* laughed for Joy upon hearing the glad Tidings of a Son, but *Sarah*'s Laughter proceeded from a Spirit of Diſtruſt and Infidelity. *Pool*'s Annotations.

* Here is a wonderful Inſtance of God's Patience and Goodneſs, who, tho' he knew all without Enquiry, yet would not condemn even the moſt flagitious, without good Examination and Tryal. Before the *Flood*, God proceeded againſt the *old* World upon ocular Evidence; *God* ſaw *that the Wickedneſs of Man was great*, Gen. vi. 5, 12. At the Building of *Babel*, it is ſaid, that *the Lord came down to ſee the City and the Tower, which the Children of Men had built*, Gen. xi. 5. And now again, before the Deſtruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, tho' *the Cry againſt them was great*, becauſe of the Grievouſneſs of their Sin, yet the Lord would not proceed againſt them upon common Fame; *But I will go down*, ſaith he, *and ſee, whether they have done according to the Cry of it; and if not, I will know*, Ch. xviii. 21.

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them. This Condeſcenſion of God, in communicating his Deſign to *Abraham*, gave him Encouragement to make Interceſſion for the wicked Inhabitants of theſe Cities, which, in ſix *petitionary* Propoſitions, he manag'd ſo well, as, by a gradual Decreaſe of the Number every Time, to bring him at laſt to a Conceſſion, that if *even ten* juſt Perſons were found in *Sodom* he would not deſtroy it: And with this conditional Promiſe he left *Abraham*.

In the mean Time, the two other Gueſts, (who (as we ſaid) went before, and were indeed the *miniſtring Angels*, whom God had appointed to execute his Judgments upon the *Sodomites*) held on their Courſe towards the City, where they arriv'd in the Evening, when *Lot* was ſitting in the Gate. As ſoon as he ſaw them, he roſe up to meet them, and, after proper Salutations, † invited them to his Houſe to refreſh and repoſe themſelves that Night; which, at firſt, they declin'd, but afterwards, with ſome Importunity, comply'd with. But before it was Time to go to Reſt, the Inhabitants of the City, both young and old, being inform'd that *Lot* had Strangers with him, and, in all Probability, tempted with the beautiful Forms which the Angels had aſſum'd, encompaſs'd the Houſe, and demanded of him to deliver them up, † that they might abuſe them.

From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

Lot thinking, by mild and ſoft Words, to appeaſe his outragious Neighbours, ſteps out of the Door, and, ſhutting it after him, intreats them to offer no Affront to his Gueſts; nay, rather than have the Laws of *Hoſpitality* violated, he offers to give up his two Virgin-Daughters to their Diſcretion. But all would not do; they threaten to uſe him worſe than his Gueſts, *a pragmatical Stranger that pretended to controul them in any Thing!* and were preſſing forward to break open the Door; when the two Angels, with more than human Strength, forced their Way out, took in their Hoſt again, and, then ſhutting the Door, † ſtruck all that were round it with Blindneſs, ſo that they were not able to find any more where it was.

Whilst

And hereupon we may obſerve, that the *appearing* of Gods, in the Manner of Strangers, to puniſh or reward Men, was a common Tradition among the *Heathens*.

Καί τε Θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι
Πωλ]ὄισιν τελέθον]ες, ἐπισχοφόωσι πολῆας,
Ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες. Hom. Odyſſ. B.

† In the *Eaſtern* Countries of late indeed ſome few *Caravanſaries* have been ſet up, but in the Time, we are now ſpeaking of, there was no ſuch Thing, as *Inns*, for the Accommodation of Strangers; and therefore all Travellers, when they came to a Town, if they were not entertain'd in a *private* Houſe, were forc'd to abide all Night in the *Streets*. It was therefore a cuſtomary Thing for thoſe of the better Sort to receive ſuch *Way-faring* Men (whether they knew them, or knew them not) into their Houſes, and there entertain them with great Civility. And this is the Reaſon, why both in *ſacred* and *profane* Authors, we meet with ſuch large Commendations of this Act of *Hoſpitality*, and particularly, in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* (Ch. xiii. 2.) have a Precept to this Effect, alluding to the very hiſtorical Paſſage now before us, *Be not forgetful to entertain Strangers, for thereby ſome have entertained Angels unawares. Le Clerc*'s Commentary. Thus we read in *Homer*, that *Minerva*, coming in the Shape of *Mentor*, to make *Telemachus* a Viſit

Στῆ δ' ἰθάκης ἐνὶ δήμῳ. ἐπὶ προθύροις Ὀδυσῆος

until he ſaw her, and thereupon went to her, and very kindly invited her in

——— εἶσι δ'' Αθήνην
Βῆ δ' ἰθὺς προθύροιο, νεμεσσήθη δ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
Ξεῖνον δηθὰ θύρῃσιν ἐφέσαμεν ἐγγύθι δὲ σὰς
Χεῖρ' ἕλε δεξιτερὴν, —— &c. Odyſſ. A.

† That is, in an unnatural and prepoſterous Manner, which was afterwards expreſsly forbidden in the Law, *Levit.* xviii. 22. and thereby made capital, Ch. xx. 13. which vile Sin continu'd among the *Gentiles* even in the *Apoſtle*'s Time (as may be gather'd from *Rom.* i. 27. and 1 *Cor.* vi. 9.) and was ſo generally practiſed among the People of *Sodom*, that from thence it took the Name of *Sodomy*, and the Practiſers of it are call'd *Sodomites*, both in the Holy Scriptures, and our *Engliſh* Laws, which (as did the Law of God of old) do ſtill make the Puniſhment of it to be Death. *Howell*'s Hiſtory.

† It is a probable Opinion, that theſe Men were ſtruck, not with *actual* Blindneſs, but with a Dizzineſs, which diſturb'd their Sight, and repreſented Objects falſely and in Confuſion, in the ſame Manner, as the *Syrians* were, when ſent to take *Eliſha*, 2 Kings vi. 18. And this was no hard Matter for the Angels to do, by making a ſmall Alteration, either in their Sight, or in the Air, whereby either the *Door* might appear to them like the *Solid* Wall, or the ſeveral Parts of the *Wall* like ſo many Doors. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2107, &c. Ant. Chriſ. 1897, &c.

WHILST they were thus groping about in vain, the two Angels acquainted *Lot* with their Commiſſion; that their Errand was to execute the divine Vengeance upon that execrable Place; and therefore they advis'd him, if he had any Friends for whoſe Safety he was concern'd, that he wou'd immediately let them know their Danger, and warn them to depart in Time. *Lot* had no Relations, but only † two Sons-in-law, to whom his Daughters were contracted; but theſe, when he went to them early in the Morning, deſiring them to go along with him, and leave that accurſed Place, took the old Man to be crazy, or beſide himſelf, and made a Banter and Ridicule of all that he ſaid.

IN the Morning, as ſoon as it was Day, one of the Angels, obſerving *Lot* to linger (poſſibly to pack up ſome of his moſt valuable Goods) took him, his Wife and his two Daughters by the Hand, and carried them in a Manner forcibly, out of the City, bidding them to flee for their Lives; and, leſt they ſhou'd be involv'd in the common Ruin, to make the beſt of their Way to the Mountains. *Lot* looking before him, and perceiving the Mountains to be at a good Diſtance, began to fear that he ſhou'd not be able to reach them in Time; and therefore intreated the Angel, that he might be permitted to eſcape to a ſmall City, not far from *Sodom*, then called *Bela*, but afterwards *Zoar*, which he accordingly granted, and for his Sake ſpared the City; but then he urg'd them to be expeditious, and to make all poſſible Haſte thither, becauſe they cou'd not begin to execute their Commiſſion, until he was ſafely arriv'd. From Gen. xii—xxv. 11.

WHAT the Angels enjon'd them, at their Departure, was neither to tarry in the *Plain*, nor to look behind them. But, before they got to *Zoar*, ſo it was, that *Lot's* Wife, either out of Forgetfulneſs of the Prohibition, or out of Love to the Place of her Habitation, looking back, was turn'd into a Pillar of * *metallick* Salt, a laſting Monument of God's Vengeance on obſtinate and unbelieving Offenders: And no ſooner were the reſt arriv'd at *Zoar*, but the angry Heavens began to pour down Showers of *liquid* Fire upon *Sodom and Gomorrah*, and the other wicked *Cities of the Plain*, which, within a ſhort Time, ſo totally conſumed them, that, when *Abraham*, the next Morning, looked towards the Country, he ſaw it all in a Smoak, like the Smoak of a large Furnace. *The Fate of Lot's Wife.*

THE Judgment indeed was ſo very terrible, that *Lot*, not thinking himſelf ſafe at *Zoar*, withdrew to the Mountains, to which he was firſt directed, and, for want of Houſes, liv'd there, with his two Daughters in a Cave. His Daughters had loſt their eſpouſed Huſbands in *Sodom*, and, now deſpairing of having any *other*, they plotted together to deceive their Father, and have Iſſue by him. The Elder was the Forwarder of this wicked Contrivance; and therefore repreſenting *Lot's Inceſt with his two Daughters.*

† Several Tranſlators, as well as ſome *Rabbins*, ſuppoſe, that theſe were the Huſbands of ſome other of *Lot's* Daughters, who were actually married, and had left their Father's Houſe; which ſeems to be confirm'd by the Angels ordering him to take his Wife, and his two Daughters, that *were there preſent:* But the *original* Words, which in our Verſion are render'd, *his Sons-in-law, which married his Daughters*, may be tranſlated, according to the Interpretation of *Onkelos, his Sons-in-law, which* were *to marry*, &c. the Contract having been paſſed, but the Marriage not conſummated by Co-habitation. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 4.

* It is not agreed by *Commentators*, what was the Crime, for which *Lot's* Wife was ſo ſeverely puniſh'd. Some are of Opinion, that ſhe deſerv'd it, merely for diſobeying the Commandment of the Angel, and expreſſing too much Concern for a People, that deſerv'd no Compaſſion. Others ſay, that, being anxiouſly ſollicitous for her Daughters that were married there, and turning about to ſee, whether they follow'd her, ſhe ſaw the divine *Shechinah*, or Majeſtick Appearance of God, deſcending to deſtroy the Place, which was the Occaſion of her *Metamorphoſis*. Others ſuppoſe, that, being in Confederacy with the *Sodomites*, ſhe told them that her Huſband was *diſtracted*, and gave them Notice, when any Strangers came to lodge with him, by a Sign of Smoak by Day, and of Fire by Night; whilſt others again imagine, that the Scripture does not repreſent the Fate, which ſhe met with, as a Puniſhment for any Crime, but as a Thing merely accidental. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 4. There is one Circumſtance however in the Text, *viz.* that *ſhe looked from behind her Huſband*, whom ſhe follow'd, which ſeems to be mention'd, as the Reaſon of this her Preſumption, becauſe ſhe could do it without her Huſband's Obſervation or Reproof; to which ſhe ſeems to have had a greater Regard, than to the all-ſeeing Eye of God. *Pool's* Annotations.

A. M. 2107, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1897, &c.

to her Siſter the Condition they were in, ſhe propoſed the Expedient of making her Father drunk with Wine; and, accordingly, one Evening they put their Project in Execution. For, having intoxicated the old Man, they put him to bed, and the Elder, lying with him without his Privity, obtain'd her End. The next Night they employ'd the ſame Artifice, and the Younger had her Turn: So that, in the Event, they had each of them a Son from this inceſtuous Commerce, * whereof the *Elder*'s was called *Moab*, and the *Younger*'s *Ammon*, from whom the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites* (both bitter Enemies, in after Times, to *Iſrael*) were deſcended. But to return to *Abraham*.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1896, &c.

Abraham's *Intercourſe with* Abimelech.

AFTER the Deſtruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, he removed from *Mamre*, (probably to avoid the Stench of the Vale of *Siddim*) and came, and dwelt not far from † *Gerar*, a City of the *Philiſtines*, at a Place nam'd afterwards *Beerſheba*, between *Cadeſh* and *Shur*, where the ſame Adventure happened to him, which he had met with in *Egypt*. The King of *Gerar*, ſuppoſing *Sarah* to be no more than *Abraham*'s Siſter (for here likewiſe ſhe paſſed under that Character) † notwithſtanding her advanc'd Age, ſaw Charms enough in her, to invite her unto his Bed; but God appeared to him in a Dream, and threaten'd him with immediate Death, if he did not return her untouch'd to her Huſband. Whereupon *Abimelech* (for that was the common Name, in thoſe Days, of all the Kings of *Paleſtine*) calls for *Abraham*, and expoſtulates the Matter with him; who, in Excuſe for the Fiction, alledg'd his Fears, leſt the Beauty of his Wife ſhou'd have endanger'd his Life: Tho' it was not altogether a Fiction (*as he ſaid*) becauſe ſhe was ſo near a Relation to him (eſpecially by his Father's Side) as might properly enough be called a Siſter. This Apology pacify'd the King; ſo that he not only reſtored him his Wife, but giving her † a thouſand Peices of Silver, deſir'd her ‖ to buy a Veil with the Money, which might not only be a *Covering to her Face*,

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

* *Moab* ſettled himſelf in the Parts adjoining *Eaſtward* to the *Salt-ſea*, or *Lacus Aſphaltites*, and in the neighbouring Tract, on the River *Jordan Eaſtward*: For we plainly learn, that great Part of the Kingdom of *Sihon*, King of the *Amorites*, did formerly belong to the *Moabites*, Numb. xxi. 21. *Ammon* ſeated himſelf in the Parts adjoining to *Moab*: For it is evident from Scripture, that the *Ammonites* were formerly poſſeſs'd of the Parts on the *Eaſt* of *Jordan* about the River *Jabbok*, or of the *Northern* Part of that, which was afterwards the Kingdom of *Sihon*. *Vid.* Numb. xxi. 13. Joſh. xiii. 25. and Judg. xi. 13, 23. But theſe Things we ſhall have Occaſion to illuſtrate more fully, when we come to deſcribe the Courſe of the Travels of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, into the Land of *Canaan*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I.

† *Gerar* was a *regal* City, ſituate not far from the Angle, where the *South* and *Weſt* Sides of *Paleſtine* meet; and the Country, to which it gave the Name, extended itſelf pretty far into *Arabia Petræa*. *Beerſheba* ſignifies the *Well of the Oath*, becauſe here *Abraham* made a Covenant with *Abimelech* King of *Gerar*, concerning a Well, which he had digg'd hard by. Here he likewiſe planted a Grove, and inſtituted an *Oratory*, or Place of divine Worſhip; and, in Proceſs of Time, here was a City, or conſiderable Town built, which is taken Notice of by *heathen* Authors under the Name of *Berzimma*, or *Berſabe*. *Kadeſh* was a City, lying on the Edge of the Land of *Canaan*, to the *South* of *Hebron*; *Shur* was the Name of that Part of *Arabia Petræa*, which joins *Egypt*, and the *Red-ſea*; and ſomewhere between theſe two, was that *Well*, near to which *Abraham*, when he left *Mamre*, fixt his Habitation. *Wells*'s Geog. of the Old Teſt. Vol. I.

† SARAH was now ninety Years old, when *Abimelech* took her into his Family; whence it may ſeem very ſtrange, that a Woman of her Age ſhould look ſo very well as to be deſired by a King, who, in thoſe Days, might have commanded the moſt youthful Beauties in his whole Dominions. But, according to ſome Interpreters, People of *ninety* then were as freſh and vigorous as thoſe of *forty now*; and *Sarah* might, even in that reſpect, excel her Co-evals, by Reaſon of her *Sterility*, which is a great Preſerver of Beauty: Tho' others are of Opinion, that God, having taken away her Sterility, her Beauty returned with her Fruitfulneſs; for, by this Time, it is computed, that ſhe had conceived her Son. *Howell*'s Hiſt. l. 1.

† The original Word does not ſo properly mean *Pieces*, as *Weight*, becauſe Money was then paid by Weight; and may therefore be interpreted a thouſand Shekels of Silver, *i. e.* about 57 Pounds in the Value of our preſent Money. *Bedford*'s Script. Chronol. l. 3. c. 4.

‖ The Words in the Text, according to our Tranſlation, are theſe, ——— *And unto* Sarah *he ſaid, behold I have given to thy Brother a thouſand Pieces of Silver; behold he is to thee a Covering of the Eyes unto all, that are with thee, and to all others; thus ſhe was reproved.* Where we muſt obſerve, in the firſt Place, that the Word, which we render *reprove*, does more properly ſignify to *inſtruct*, which muſt certainly be the right Senſe of the Word here, conſidering

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1896, &c.

Face, and in every Country an Indication likewiſe of her being a married Woman, becauſe he held it inconvenient for her any more to paſs for her Huſband's Siſter. On her Huſband he beſtow'd in like manner Plenty of other Kind of Wealth, and made him a free Offer to live where he pleas'd, in his Dominions; which generous Treatment engag'd *Abraham* to interceed with God, † to remove the *Diſability*, which he had inflicted on the King, in order to reſtrain him from *Sarah*; and to reſtore the Queen, and the other Women of the Nation, to their wanted *Fertility*, which for ſome Time ſeems to have been obſtructed.

The Birth of Iſaac, *and Expulſion of* Iſhmael.

A YEAR was now paſs'd, and the Time appointed come, when *Sarah* brought forth a Son, whom *Abraham*, according to the divine Direction, call'd *Iſaac*, and circumcis'd him the eighth Day. They were now in the *Zenith* of their Happineſs. *Sarah* ſuckled the Child herſelf, and * weaned him at the uſual Time; and *Abraham*, upon this joyful Occaſion, made a great Feaſt: But, in the midſt of their Feſtivity, *Sarah* perceiving that *Iſhmael* treated her Son with Contempt and Deriſion, was ſo enrag'd againſt him, that ſhe never ceas'd importuning her Huſband, to turn both Mother and Son out of Doors. *Abraham* had the Tenderneſs of a Father to his Child. He loved *Iſhmael*, and was loth to part with him: And therefore apply'd himſelf to God, in this arduous Juncture, for Direction. But God confirming what *Sarah* had requeſted, and promiſing moreover to make of *Iſhmael* (becauſe he was his Son) a populous Nation, tho' his Portion and Inheritance was not to be in that Land, which was all along deſign'd for the Deſcendants of *Iſaac*, he was at laſt prevail'd on to ſend him and his Mother away.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

CALLING *Hagar* therefore, one Morning, to him, he order'd her to take her Son, ſome Water, and other Proviſions with her; to go into the neighbouring Wilderneſs, and to tarry by the Side of a certain Fountain, ſhe wou'd meet with there, until ſhe ſhou'd hear farther from him. She did as ſhe was ordered: but, miſtaking their Way, and miſſing of the Fountain, they had quite exhauſted the little Water they had, and her Son being in an high Fever, and ready to die with Thirſt, to ſhade him a little from the ſcorching Heat, ſhe placed him under a Tree, whilſt

that *Abimelech* had already accepted of *Abraham*'s Apology, and was ſo far from irritating either him, or *Sarah* by Reproaches, that, on the contrary, he was endeavouring to win their Friendſhip with very conſiderable Preſents. But then, as to *the Covering of* Sarah's *Eyes*, this may be variouſly expounded, according as the Words refer, either to *Abraham*, or to the *Pieces of Silver*. If they refer to *Abraham*, then the Meaning of the King's Words will be, *Thou needeſt no other Defence of thy Chaſtity, than he; nor haſt thou any Reaſon hereafter to ſay*, he is thy Brother; *for ſo dear is he to God, that God will defend him, and he will defend thee; and not only him, but all that are with thee, and that even among Strangers, without any ſuch Shifts and Equivocations, as you have hitherto thought fit to make uſe of.* But if the Words refer to the *Preſent* of a thouſand Pieces, then the Senſe muſt be, *I have given him that Sum of Money to buy thee a Veil, that all, who converſe with thee, here, or in any other Country, where thou ſhalt come, may know thee to be a married Woman.* This Senſe indeed is countenanc'd by the LXX: But others have thought, that it might better be render'd thus, ——— *This Money, which I have paid thy Huſband, as a Mulct, for my having endeavour'd to take thee from him, will be a Means to deter all others from having any Concern with thee, when once they ſhall hear, how much I have ſuffered upon that Account.* The Reader is left to his own Option; but we ſhould rather think, that the laſt of theſe Interpretations is preferable. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† The Text tells us, that *God had faſt cloſed up all the Wombs* of the Houſe of *Abimelech*, which Phraſe, in Scripture, does frequently denote *Barrenneſs*; but that it cannot do ſo here, is pretty plain from hence — That the Hiſtory of this Tranſaction is of too ſhort a Continuance, to give Space for a Diſcovery of this Kind, *viz.* whether the Women, by God's Inflict̃ion, were become actually barren or no: And therefore the other Opinion is more probable, *viz.* that it was ſuch an Indiſpoſition, or Sore, or Swelling in the ſecret Parts, that the Men could neither enjoy their Wives, nor the Women, who were with Child, could be delivered. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

* It is not eaſy to gueſs, how long it was, that Women gave ſuck in thoſe Days, becauſe the ancient *Hebrews* are divided about it: Some affirming that *Iſaac* was weaned, when he was *two*, ſome *five*, and others, not till he was *twelve* Years old. If however we will judge by what the young *Maccabee*'s Mother ſaid to him, *My Son, remember I have ſuckled thee three Years*, 2 Maccab. vii. 27. that Time will appear the moſt probable. For there is no Reaſon to believe, that *Iſaac* was weaned before the uſual Term, for Want of Care, or Affection in his Mother. *Patrick*'s Commentaries, and Univerſ. Hiſt. l. i. c. 7.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1806, &c.

whilſt herſelf, deſpairing to find any Succour in the Place, and not bearing to ſee him expire before her Eyes, withdrew a little, and began to bemoan her hard Fate, while, with earneſt Cries and Tears, the Child was imploring the divine Help and Commiſeration. The divine Help was not long a coming: For ſuddenly an Angel from Heaven bids the weeping Mother dry up her Tears, and fear not; tells her, that God had heard the Child's Prayer, and would make of him a great Nation; and, for their preſent Relief, points her to a Well of Water, which ſhe had not perceived before; and directs her how to cure her Son. Refreſh'd with this Water, and ſupported with other Things, which *Abraham*, (very probably) from time to time, might ſend them; *inſtead* of going into *Egypt*, as they firſt intended, they here took up their Abode in the Wilderneſs of *Paran*, where *Iſhmael*, in a ſhort Time, growing a very expert *Archer*, was able to get Proviſions both for himſelf, and his Mother; and when he grew up unto Man's Eſtate, his Mother, who was herſelf an *Egyptian*, married him to a Woman of her own Country, * by whom he had twelve Sons, who dwelt from *Havilah* unto *Shur*, *i. e.* in ſeveral Parts of *Arabia Petræa*, whereof the *Weſtern* Part, towards *Egypt*, is, in Scripture, call'd *Shur*, and the *Eaſtern* Part, towards the *Perſian Gulph*, *Havilah*.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

Abraham's *Covenant with* Abimelech.

ABRAHAM, in the mean Time, having accepted of *Abimelech*'s Offer, continu'd to live in the Land of *Paleſtine*, and, as his Riches and Power every Day increas'd, *Abimelech* fearing, leſt, at ſome Time or other, he might attempt Something in Prejudice of him, or his Succeſſors in the Government, came, with the *General* of his Forces, whoſe Name was *Phicol*, and made a ſolemn League of Friendſhip with him. Some † little Difference had ariſen between *Abimelech*'s Servants and *Abraham*'s, about a Well, which *Abraham*'s Servants had digg'd. But, after a little Expoſtulation, they quickly came to a good Underſtanding. The Well was reſtor'd to *Abraham*, and the Place, where they enter'd into this ſolemn Covenant, was thenceforth call'd *Beerſheba*. Here *Abraham*, intending to end his Days, unleſs God ſhou'd otherwiſe diſpoſe of him, planted a Grove for a Place of religious Worſhip, and built an Altar, and call'd on *the Name of the Lord, the everlaſting God*; who was minded ‖ to make one Trial more of his Faith and Fidelity, and a ſevere Trial it was.

Is order'd to Sacrifice his Son Iſaac.

God had order'd him to ſend away *Iſhmael*, and given him Aſſurance, that the Bleſſings, promis'd to his Poſterity, were not to take Place in any Part of that Branch of his Family, but that *Iſaac* ſhou'd be the Son of the Promiſe, and his Deſcendants, Heirs of that Happineſs and Proſperity,

* The Names of theſe Sons are, *Nebajoth*, *Kedar*, *Adbeel*, *Mibſam*, *Miſhma*, *Dumah*, *Maſſa*, *Hadar*, *Tema*, *Jethur*, *Naphiſh*, and *Kedemah*, *twelve Princes according to their Nations*, Gen. xxv. 13, &c. and as their Deſcendants were, from their Father, denominated by the common Name of *Iſhmaelites*; ſo, from *Hagar*, the Mother of *Iſhmael*, they are alſo called *Hagarens*, or *Hagarites*, under which Name we find ſome Footſteps of them in *Heathen* Authors; but certain it is, that the *Arabians* do, to this very day, value themſelves upon their being deſcended from *Iſhmael*. *Well*'s Geogr. of the Old Teſt. Vol. I.

† It will not ſeem ſtrange, that *Abraham* ſhould look upon the loſing of a Well as a Matter of ſuch Conſequence, conſidering how ill furniſhed theſe *Eaſtern* Countries were with Water; and 'twas highly prudent of him to complain of Grievances now, before he entred into Covenant with *Abimelech*, that, they being once redreſſed, there might remain no Occaſion of Quarrels afterwards. *Bibliotheca Bib.* Vol. I.

‖ The Words in the Text are, *that God did tempt* Abraham, but God is ſaid to *tempt no Man*; and therefore all that he could be ſuppoſed to do in this Caſe, was only to make Trial of him; and *that* to not to inform himſelf of the Sincerity and Steadineſs of his Faith, but in order to the holy Patriarch's own Juſtification, and to make him an illuſtrious Pattern of an entire Dependance on the Almighty, to future Saints, and Confeſſors. The *Jews* reckon up ten Trials of *Abraham*, of which the laſt was the greateſt. 1. God's Command to him to leave his Country. 2. The Famine, which forced him to go into *Egypt*. 3. *Pharaoh*'s taking his Wife from him. 4. His War with the four Kings. 5. His Deſpair of having *Iſaac* by *Sarah*, and marrying *Hagar* on that Account. 6. His *Circumciſion* in his old Age. 7. His Wife's being again taken from him by *Abimelech*. 8. The Expulſion of *Hagar*, when ſhe was with Child by him. 9. His Expulſion of her, and *Iſhmael*. And, 10. His Oblation of his only Son *Iſaac*. *Bibliotheca Bib.* Vol. I.

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ſperity, which he had made over to him; and now he was pleas'd to require him, with his own Hands, to deſtroy this *his Son, his only Son* Iſaac. A cruel Injunction! But *Abaham*, we ſee, never ſtay'd to expoſtulate about the Severity, or Unlawfulneſs of it, but, on the very next Morning, without ſaying a Word to any of his Family, gets all Things ready, and, leaving it to God to make good his own Promiſes, reſolves to obey. To that Purpoſe, taking his Son *Iſaac* with him, and ſome Servants, with Proviſions, and Inſtruments, proper for the Sacrifice, he ſets out; and, * in three Days Time, came within ſight of † Mount *Moriah*, the Place which God had appointed for that dreadful Scene. Here, leaving his Servants behind, that they might not diſturb him with their Interceſſions or Lamentations, he goes up to the Mount, without betraying any Sign of Grief or Concern, that might raiſe a Suſpicion in his Son. His Son, on the other Hand, laden with the Wood, and the other Materials for a Burnt-offering, but perceiving nothing proper for a Victim, cou'd not forbear aſking his Father, *Where it was?* Such a Queſtion, at ſuch a Time, was enough to have ſtagger'd any Heart leſs firm than *Abraham*'s, who only anſwer'd calmly, *That God wou'd provide himſelf with one*, little thinking how *prophetically* he ſpake: For he had no ſooner bound his Son upon the Wood, and ſtretched out his Hand to give the fatal Blow, ‖ but God was pleas'd to ſtop him ſhort ‖ by a Voice from Heaven, forbidding him to do it, and declaring a Satisfaction in this laſt Teſt of his Obedience. Surpriz'd at the Voice, *Abraham* turns about to ſee whence it came, and ſpies a Ram, caught by the Horns in a thick Buſh, which he immediately took and offer'd up for a Burnt-offering inſtead of his Son; and, in Memory of the whole Tranſaction, called the Place, where it was done, *Jehovah-jireh*, in Alluſion to the Anſwer, which he gave to his Son's Queſtion, *God will provide himſelf a Lamb.*

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

THUS

* The better to explain, how *Abraham* came to know the Place, which God had appointed, the *Jews* have a *Tradition*, that when God bad him go thither, and offer his Son, he aſked how he ſhould know it? To which the Anſwer was, That whereſoever he ſhould ſee the *Glory of the Lord*, that ſhould be the Place; and that, accordingly, when he came within Sight of Mount *Moriah*, he beheld a *Pillar* of *Fire*, reaching from the Earth to the Heavens, whereby he knew that *that* was the Place. *Hottingeri* Hiſtoria Orient. p. 36.

† This Mountain, whereon *Abraham* was ordered to offer his Son *Iſaac*, was certainly the ſame, on which the Temple was afterwards built by *Solomon*, and on Part of which, *viz.* Mount *Calvary*, *Chriſt* did afterwards actually offer himſelf unto God for the Redemption of Mankind: Which Offering of *his*, as it ſeems to have been deſignedly preſigured by the *intentional* Offering of *Iſaac*; ſo it might ſeem good to divine Reaſon to aſſign the ſame, for the *typical* Offering of *Iſaac*, where, in due Time, the *Antitype*, our Redeemer, was to be offered. But, inſtead of *Moriah*, the *Samaritans* read *Moreh*, and pretend that God ſent *Abraham* towards *Sechem*, where certainly was *Moreh*, [Gen. xii. 6. and Deut. xi. 30.] and that it was upon Mount *Gerizim*, that *Iſaac* was brought, in order to be ſacrificed. But this, in all Probability, is no more than a Contrivance to inhance the Glory of their Temple. *Wells*'s Geogr. and *Calmet*'s Hiſtory.

‖ The Words of God are, *Lay not thy Hand on the Child, neither do any thing unto him*, Gen. xxii. 12. and yet in *Heb.* xi. 17. we are told, *that* Abraham *offer'd up* Iſaac, *when he was tried.* But this is eaſily reconcil'd, if we do but remember, that God always takes that for done, (whether in the Commiſſion of Sin, or Performance of Duty) where there is a Will and Intention to do it, ſuppoſing the Perſon to have an Opportunity. *Street*'s Dividing the Hoof.

‖ The Words, in the Beginning of the Chapter, are, *that God tempted* Abraham, bidding him to go and ſacrifice his Son: But in Ver. 11. it is ſaid, that the *Angel of the Lord* forbad him to do it: From whence ſome may infer, that *Abraham* obey'd the Angel, who bad him ſpare his Son, againſt the Command of God, who bad him ſlay him. But, to ſolve this Difficulty (if it be thought any) we muſt obſerve, that, whenever the Holy Scriptures tell us, that God ſaid any thing, or that an Angel ſpake, we are always to underſtand both of them to have been preſent; for the Angels ever attend upon the *Divine Majeſty*, and, being his Miniſters, do nothing but by his Order: So that when he is ſaid to ſpeak, it is, *by them*; and when they are ſaid to ſpeak, it is *from him.* It is the Lord therefore that ſpeaks, whoſoever be the Miniſter. *Patrick*'s Comment. And the Speech, which God makes to *Abraham*, upon this weighty Occaſion, the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian comments upon in this Manner, "Hold thy Hand, and ſpare thy Son; "for I did not require it of thee, out of any Delight, I take in *human* Blood, or that I would make a Father the "*Aſſaſſin* of the very Child, which I myſelf have given him; but to ſee how far thou would'ſt ſubmit to thy God, "in a Self-denial to thine own Inclination and Nature. But now, ſince I find thy Piety to be Proof againſt all Temp-"tations, I do here confirm over-again to thee all my former Promiſes, &c. *Joſeph.* Antiq. l. 1. c. 14.

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THUS having perform'd an Act of ſuch perfect and heroick Obedience, as engag'd God to renew his Promiſe, with great Amplifications, and to confirm it to him with an *Oath*, he went, and rejoin'd his Servants; and, returning to *Beer-ſheba*, was no ſooner arriv'd, but he was welcom'd with the joyful News of the Increaſe of his Family, *viz.* that *Milcah*, his Brother *Nahor*'s Wife, * had born him a numerous Iſſue, which † determin'd him, at a proper Time, to ſend thither for a Wife for his Son *Iſaac:* But * before he did that, it happen'd that his own Wife *Sarah* died, in the 127th Year of her Age, at *Kirjatharba*, afterwards called *Hebron*, in the Country of *Canaan*.

Sarah's *Death and Burial.*

† *ABRAHAM* was then probably at *Beer-ſheba*, but, being inform'd of her Death, he came to *Hebron*, there to mourn and perform his laſt Offices for her; but what he wanted was a convenient Burying-Place. He therefore addreſs'd himſelf to the People, aſſembled in a Body † at the *Gate of the City*, intreating them to allow him the Liberty of burying his Wife among them; but, as he was a Stranger in the Country, and had no Land then of his own, he cou'd pretend to no Right of giving honourable Interment to his Dead, in the Sepulchres of the Country, without the Conſent of the Proprietors. He therefore deſir'd *Ephron*, one of the principal Inhabitants, † to ſell him the Field, called *Machpelah* †, with the Cave and Sepulchre belonging to it. The Purchaſe

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

* The Children of *Nahor*, by *Milcah*, were *Huz*, *Buz*, *Kemuel*, *Chezed*, *Hazo*, *Pildaſh*, *Jidlaph*, and *Bethuel*, who begat *Rebecca*, the Wife of *Iſaac*; and by his Concubine, whoſe Name was *Reumah*, he had *Tebah*, *Gaham*, *Thahaſh*, and *Maacah*, from whom the City of *Maacah*, or *Abel-Beth-Maacah*, whoſe Territories are ſuppoſed to have been ſituate between the two *Lebanons*, might probably receive its Name, Gen. xxii. 20, &c.

† *Nahor* very probably either removed with his Father *Terah* (as *Abraham* did) from *Ur* in *Chaldea*, and ſettled at *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*, or, not long after, followed them thither; becauſe, after that the Family left *Ur*, the firſt News, that we hear of him, is, that he was ſettled at *Haran*, and there had got a numerous Family; and 'tis upon the account of his Brother's reſiding there, as well as that himſelf had once lived there, that *Abraham* calls it his *own Country*, and the Place *where his Kindred dwelt*, Gen. xxiv. 4.

* Some of the *Arabian* Writers tell us, that, when *Sarah* heard that *Abraham* had taken her only Son into the Mountain, to ſacrifice to God, ſhe fell into a very great Agony, which brought on a Fit of Sickneſs, whereof ſhe died. *Eutychii* Annales, p. 74. *Joſephus* indeed informs us, that ſhe died ſoon after this Event; but if (as he ſays) *Iſaac* was five and twenty Years old, when his Father would have ſacrificed him, *Sarah* was ninety Years old when ſhe bore him, and 125 when ſhe died, ſhe muſt (according to his own Calculation) have lived eleven or twelve Years after it, and this our learned *Uſher* makes the Difference between his Sacrifice and her Death. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

† There is ſomething of Obſcurity in this Paſſage of the Hiſtory. *Sarah* is ſaid to have died at *Hebron*, and yet we have no Notice of *Abraham* removing from *Beerſheba*, to that Place; ſo that, upon ſome Occaſion or other, we muſt ſuppoſe them to have been parted, and that *Sarah* went to *Hebron*, while *Abraham* kept ſtill in his own Habitation: For to ſay that *Abraham* came from his own Tent to that of his Wife's, to make Lamentation for her, is not conſiſtent with the Sequel of the Text.

† The Gates of Cities, in theſe Days, and for many Ages after, were the Places of *Judicature*, and common Reſort. Here the Governors and Elders of the City met to hear Complaints, adminiſter Juſtice, make Conveyances of Titles and Eſtates, and, in ſhort, to tranſact all the publick Affairs of the Place: And from hence is that Paſſage in the *Pſalmiſt*, *They ſhall not be aſham'd, when they ſpeak to their Enemies in the Gate*, Pſalm cxxvii. Ver. ult. *i. e.* when they are accuſed by them before the Court of Magiſtrates. It is probable that the *Room*, or Hall, where theſe Magiſtrates ſat, was over the *Gate*, becauſe *Boaz* is ſaid to *go up to the Gate*; and the Reaſon of having it built there, ſeems to have been for the Convenience of the Inhabitants, who, being all Huſbandmen, and forced to paſs and repaſs every Morning and Evening, as they went, and came from their Labour, might be more eaſily call'd, as they went by, whenever they were wanted to appear in any Buſineſs. So that, from the whole it appears, that *Abraham* cou'd not have made his Purchaſe from *Ephron*, without his having Recourſe to the City Gates. Univerſal Hiſtory l. 1. c. 7.

† It is an Obſervation of all thoſe, who have written about the *Sepulture* of the Antients, that their *Dormitories*, or Burying-Places, were never in Cities, much leſs in Temples or Churches, but always in the Fields or Gardens. The Uſe of Grottos or Vaults is certainly very ancient. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I.

† The Word in *Hebrew* ſignifies *double*, whence it is ſuppos'd by ſome, that there was one Cave within another, or two or more contiguous to each other, in one of which *Sarah* was buried, and afterwards *Abraham* in another. But thoſe, who derive it from the *Arabick*, tell us, that, in that Language, it ſignifies *ſhut up, or walled up*, which, in *Eaſtern* Countries, was a common Way of making their Tombs, to prevent Thieves from harbouring in them, or to hinder them from being, in any Manner, violated or profan'd, And, if this be the right *Derivation*, then may *the Cave of* Machpelah be tranſlated, *the Cave that was ſhut up*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

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chaſe was made before all the People of *Hebron*, at the Price of 400 Shekels of Silver, *i. e.* about ſixty Pounds Sterling; and there he buried *Sarah*, after that he had mourn'd for her, † according to the Cuſtom of the Country.

Iſaac's *Marriage with* Rebecca.

BY this Time *Abraham* was well advanced in Years; and, being deſirous to ſee his Son *Iſaac* marry'd, and ſettled in the World, before he died, he called *Eliezar*, the Steward of his Houſhold, and, † having taken an Oath of him (in Caſe he died firſt) to procure his Son a Wife * of his own Kindred, and not of the *Canaanites*, he ſent him into *Meſopotamia*, with full Inſtructions and Authority to conclude the Marriage, and with a Train ſuitable to ſuch an Embaſſy.

ELIEZAR, in coming to *Haran*, the Place where his Maſter's Relations dwelt, ſtopped at the publick Well, (whither it was cuſtomary for the young Women of the Place to come every Morning and Evening for Water) to reſt, and refreſh his Camels; and, being penſive and ſolli-

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

citous how to perform his Meſſage to his Maſter's Satisfaction, he made a mental Prayer to God, that he would be pleas'd to give this Token of the Succeſsfulneſs of his Journey, *viz.* That the Perſon, deſign'd for his young Maſter's Wife, might diſcover it by ſome Token of Courteſy to him. In the mean Time * *Rebecca* came to the Well: And, when *Eliezar* deſir'd her to give him a Draught of her Water, ſhe offer'd her Service, not only to draw for him, but for his Camels likewiſe, which (being the very Sign he requeſted of God) he permitted her to do, for his fuller Conviction.

WHILE he ſaw her thus employ'd, he took Notice that the Damſel was exceeding beautiful; and, having enquir'd into her Relations and Family, he found that ſhe was his Maſter's Brother's Granddaughter: Whereupon he immediately took out a Pair of *Gold Ear-rings*, to the Weight of two *Shekels*, and a Pair of *Bracelets*, which weighed about *ten*, with which he preſented her, deſiring, at the

ſame

† What the *Rites* of *Mourning* for the Dead, in thoſe Days, were, 'tis harder to determine, becauſe we have, as yet, no Particulars of it recorded in Scripture. From the ſubſequent Practice however we may infer, that they ſhut themſelves up from Company, neglected the Care of their Bodies, and abſtained from their ordinary Food. They faſted, and lay upon the Ground; they wept, tore their Cloths, ſmote their Breaſts, went bare-foot, and pull'd off their Hair and Beards. The *Time* of Mourning was uſually for ſeven Days; but it was commonly lengthen'd or ſhorten'd, according to the State or Circumſtances, wherein they found themſelves: And, during this Period, they did not dreſs themſelves, nor make their Beds, nor cover their Heads, nor ſhave themſelves, nor cut their Nails, nor go into the Bath, nor ſalute any Body, nay, nor ſo much as read the Book of the Law, or ſay their uſual Prayers. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Mourning*.

† The Form, in which *Eliezar* took his Oath, was, we are told, by *putting his Hand under his Maſter's Thigh*. This is the firſt Time we read of that Ceremony, which was afterwards us'd by *Jacob*, and *Joſeph*, when they were a dying; and the Oddneſs of it has inclin'd ſome judicious Authors to think, that it implies a more ſolemn *Myſtery*, than Men are aware of. Some ſuppoſe that it was ſwearing by the *Meſſias*, (who was to come out of *Abraham*'s Loins or Thigh, (*Gen.* xlvi. 26.) others, by the Covenant of *Circumciſion*, the Part circumciſed being near the Thigh: But the moſt probable Conjecture is,———That, as it could not well be done but in a kneeling Poſture, ſo it was a Token of Subjection and Homage from a Servant to his Lord, he ſitting, and his Servant putting his Hand under him; and thereby implicitly declaring, *I am under your Power, and ready to do whatever you ſhall think fit to command me.* The Cuſtom however afterwards in Swearing was, to *lift up the Hand to Heaven*, (Gen. xiv. 22.) and upon acount of both theſe Ceremonies, the *Greek* Word ὅρκος, which ſignifies an *Oath*, is ſuppos'd to be derived from the *Hebrew Jereck*, a *Thigh*; as the Word ὀμνύω, to *ſwear*, is ſuppos'd to come from the *Hebrew Jamin*, which is the *Right Hand*. *Ainſworth*'s Annotations.

* Not but that *Laban* and his Family were Idolaters, as well as the *Canaanites*, but then he was much better than they, becauſe he ſtill retain'd the Worſhip of the true God, as appears from the Sequel of the Hiſtory, [Ch. xxiv. 37.] tho' blended and corrupted with very groſs Mixtures and Additions of his own, whereas the *Canaanites* had utterly revolted from it. *Grot.* Par.

* Great was the *Simplicity* and *Humility* of theſe early Days, when Perſons of the beſt *Rank*, and of the *Female* Sex too, did not diſdain to be employ'd in ſuch ſervile Offices. Thus, in the following Age, *Jacob* found his Couſin *Rachel* watering her Father's Sheep; and, ſeveral Ages after that, the ſeven Daughters of *Jethro*, who was a Prince, as well as a Prieſt of *Midian*, kept their Father's Flocks, and uſed to draw Water for the Cattle. So well has our Author expreſs'd that Simplicity of Manners, which we may obſerve in *Homer*, or *Heſiod*, or any of the moſt antient Writers. *Howell*'s Hiſtory. l. 1.

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ſame Time, that, if they had any Room at her Houſe, he might be permitted to lodge there that Night. Her Anſwer was, that *that* he might do very conveniently; and ſo, accepting of the Preſents, ſhe made haſte home to acquaint the Family with this Adventure, leaving *Eliezar* full of Contemplations, and Acknowledgments to the divine Favour for this happy, ſurprizingly happy Incident.

As ſoon as *Laban* had heard what his Siſter had to tell him, he went immediately, and, inviting the Stranger into his Houſe, order'd all proper Proviſion to be made for the civil Reception, both of himſelf and his Retinue. At his firſt Introduction, *Eliezar* opened to the Family the Occaſion of his Coming; acquainted them with the Succeſs, that had attended him in his Journey; and gave them a full Account of the Circumſtances of his Maſter's Family; of the Wealth and Proſperity, wherewith God had bleſſed him; of the Son and Heir, which he had given him in his old Age; and of the large Expectances, which this his Heir had, not only from the Prerogative of his Birth, but from the Donation and Entail of all his Father's Poſſeſſions: And, having, in this Manner, deliver'd his *Credentials*, he demanded immediately, even before he did either eat or drink with them, their poſitive Anſwer.

† *LABAN* and *Bethuel* were both of Opinion, that the Divine Providence was very viſible in this whole Affair; and therefore concluding, that it wou'd be mighty wrong to refuſe *Rebecca* upon this Occaſion, they conſented that he ſhou'd carry her to her intended Huſband, as ſoon as he pleaſed: So that Matters being thus far agreed on, he thought it now proper to preſent her with the *Jewels* of Silver, and Gold, and fine Rayment, which he had brought for her; and he having, at the ſame Time, made ſome conſiderable Preſents to her Mother, and Brethren, the Remainder of the Day they devoted to Feaſting and Mirth. In the Morning, *Eliezar*, who began to think the Time long till his Maſter was acquainted with the good Succeſs of his Negotiation, deſir'd to be diſmiſs'd. The Requeſt a little ſtartled them. They promis'd themſelves, that at leaſt, he would ſtay ten Days longer: But, he perſiſting in his Reſolution, the Thing was referr'd to *Rebecca*, who conſented to go with him, as ſoon as he pleas'd: So that, all Things being preſently made ready, and having * the *Bridal* Bleſſing beſtow'd upon her, ſhe took her Leave and departed, with her Nurſe (whoſe Name was *Deborah*) and other Servants appointed to attend her.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

Whilst *Eliezar* was conveying his fair Charge to his Maſter's Houſe, Providence had ſo order'd the Matter, that *Iſaac*, taking a ſolitary Walk in the *Fields* that Evening, happen'd to eſpy his Servants and Camels upon the Road, and thereupon went forwards to meet them. As ſoon as *Rebecca* was inform'd who he was, ſhe alighted, and * throwing her Vail over her Face (as the Manner of Women then was)

† This *Bethuel* cou'd not be her Father, becauſe, had he been ſo, it wou'd have been improper to have had *Laban*, either nam'd before him, or giving Anſwer to *Abraham*'s Meſſenger, when his Father was by; and therefore, ſince *Joſephus* makes the Damſel tell *Eliezar*, that her Father had been dead long ago, and that ſhe was left to the Care of her Brother *Laban*, this *Bethuel*, who is here nam'd after *Laban*, and is never more taken Notice of during the whole Tranſaction, muſt have been ſome younger Brother of the Family. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

* The Bleſſing is compris'd in theſe Words, *Be thou a Mother of Thouſands of Millions, and let thy Seed poſſeſs the Gate of thoſe that hate them*; which was afterwards made a ſolemn Form of Benediction in leading the Bride to her Bridegroom.

* The Uſe of the *Vail* was the univerſal Practice among all Nations, as far as Hiſtory can inform us, except the *Spartans*, who are reported to have been ſingular, in that their Virgins were permitted to appear without a Vail, but, after they were married, they were never to be ſeen in publick without it. It was from this Practice of Vailing the Bride, when ſhe was brought to the Bridegroom, in Token both of Modeſty and Subjection, that the *Preſents*, which he made her upon this Occaſion, were, by the *Greeks* called ἀνακαλυπτήρια: And thus the Poets, in celebrating the Marriage of *Proſerpine* to *Pluto*, have this Fiction ——— That upon unvailing his Bride, he preſented her with the Iſland of *Sicily*, in Lieu of her Vail, which he took from her. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I.

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was) ſhe waited to receive his firſt Compliments. † *Iſaac*, with great Reſpect, addreſs'd himſelf to her, and conducted her into his Mother's Tent, which was fitted up for her Apartment. Not long after they were married together, and *Iſaac* grew ſo fond of her, that the Love, he had for his Wife, help'd to alleviate the Grief, he had long conceived for the Loſs of his Mother.

Abraham's Marriage with Keturah, *and his Death.*

AFTER this happy Marriage of his Son, *Abraham*, ſtill finding himſelf ſtrong enough to make a new Addition to his Family, took another Wife, † whoſe Name was *Keturah*, by whom he * had ſix Sons: But, leſt they ſhould interfere with *Iſaac* in his Inheritance of *Canaan*, as they grew up, he portion'd them off, and ſent them away towards the *Eaſt*, where, ſetling in *Arabia* and *Syria*, they became, in Time, Heads of different Nations; whereof we have Foot-ſteps both in *Sacred* and *Profane* Hiſtory.

From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

THIS is the Subſtance of what the *Sacred* Hiſtory relates concerning the great Patriarch *Abraham*. † At length, laden with Honours, and out-worn with Age, after he had lived the Space of an hundred and ſeventy five Years, he took leave of this World: and, by his two Sons, *Iſhmael* and *Iſaac*, was buried in the Cave of *Machpelah*, (where, above forty Years before, he had repoſited the Remains of his beloved Wife, *Sarah*) leaving a Name, famous to all Poſterity, behind him.

† It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that, upon ſo ſingular an Occaſion, no mention ſhould be made of *Abraham*, who was a principal Party concern'd herein; but for this ſome account by ſuppoſing, that *Abraham*, before this, had married *Keturah*, (tho', not to break in with the Account of his Son's Marriage, the Hiſtory relates it later) and reſign'd his Eſtate, and the Government of his Family into the Hands of *Iſaac*, chuſing to live the Remainder of his Days in Retirement with his new Conſort.

† *Keturah* is ſuppos'd, by ſome *Jewiſh* Interpreters, to be the ſame with *Hagar*, whom *Abraham*, after his Wife's Death, ſent for again, and by her had all the ſix Sons here mention'd: But, beſides that *Hagar* muſt, by this Time, have been above 80 Years of Age, and, conſequently, too old to bear ſo many Children, the Text itſelf ſeems to be againſt this Suppoſition; For it informs us, that *Abraham added*, or *proceeded to take* another Wife, which is a different Thing to his *recalling* the *old* one. The more probable Opinion therefore is, that this *Keturah* was a Domeſtick of his own, a *Canaanite* perhaps, whom he had converted to the true Religion; but then the Difficulty is, how *Abraham* cou'd diſpoſe of ſo many Sons, in ſo ſhort a Space, as that which interven'd between his Wife's, and his own Death. To ſolve this, ſome have ſuppos'd, that this *Keturah* became his Wife, *i. e.* Wife of the *ſecond Order*, long before the Death of *Sarah*, even immediately after he parted with *Hagar*; but then this Suppoſition is contrary to the Senſe of the *Original*; and therefore, if we are minded to adhere to that, we muſt ſay, that *Abraham*'s living almoſt forty Years after *Sarah*'s Death gave him Time enough to diſpoſe of the Sons begotten of *Keturah*, as the Renovation of his Strength, which was certainly miraculous, (for forty Years before, he is ſaid to have been *dead* to all ſuch Purpoſes, *Rom.* vi. 19.) enabled him to beget them. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, *Ainſworth*'s Annotations, and Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

* His Sons were, *Zimram*, *Jokſham*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Iſhbak*, and *Shuah*, whereof *Jokſhim* had *Sheba*, and *Dedan*: *Dedan* had *Aſſhurim*, *Letuſhim*, and *Leumim*: And *Midian* had *Ephah*, *Epher*, *Hanock*, *Abidah*, and *Eldaah*, Gen. xxv. 2, &c. And the Footſteps we find of theſe in Hiſtory (according to the beſt Conjectures) are ſuch as follow. From *Zimram*, in all Probability, were deſcended the *Zamarens*, a People mentioned by *Pliny*, Natural Hiſtory l. 6. c. 28. From *Sheba*, the *Sabeans*, mentioned in *Job*, i. 15. From *Dedan*, the *Dedamim*, mentioned in *Iſaiah*, xx. 13. From *Midian*, the *Midianites*, mentioned in ſeveral Places. From *Shuah*, the *Shuites*, mentioned in *Job*, ii. 11. From *Ephah*, was a Town of the ſame Name, mentioned by *Iſaiah*, lx. 6. From *Hanock*, a Country call'd *Canauna*, mentioned by *Pliny*, Natural Hiſtory l. 6. c. 28. And (to name no more) from *Medan*, a Country call'd *Mediana*, in which is the famous City of *Mecca*, where *Mahomet* was born. *Bedford*'s Chronology, l. 3. c. 4. and *Well*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I.

† This Account of *Abraham*'s Death is given by way of *Anticipation*: for when the Text has recited his Sons, and their Settlement, it brings him, and *Iſhmael* to their Graves; not that they died before the Birth of his two Grandſons, *Jacob* and *Eſau*, as the Text has plac'd Things (for *Abraham* liv'd till they were *fifteen* Years old, and *Iſhmael* till they were *ſixty three*) but, having no more to ſay of the Father and the Son, *Moſes* here concludes their Hiſtory at once. *Lightfoot*.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1896, &c.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 18.

The Objection.

" BUT how great ſoever the Name " of the Patriarch *Abraham* may " be thought, there are ſome Grounds to " believe, that he did not deſerve proper- " ly all the Commendations, that have " been heap'd on him. The ſacred Hiſto- " rian indeed has been very copious upon " this Subject. He has employ'd no leſs " than ſeventeen *Chapters* in recording the " Tranſactions of his Life, and has drawn " ſome Parts of his Character in very fair " Colours. He has repreſented him * as " a ſtrenuous Oppoſer of Idolatry, and a " zealous Promoter of the true Worſhip " of God; wiſe and prudent, humble and " condeſcenſive, generous and hoſpitable; " with a Courage undaunted, a Faith " impregnable, and a Reſolution able to " ſurmount all Difficulties; honour'd and " beloved by his own Family, familiar " with Kings and Princes, converſant with " Angels, and intimate with God. But " notwithſtanding * all this Profuſion of " Praiſe, upon a nearer Enquiry, we ſhall " find, that ſome Paſſages have fallen from " his Pen, which darken, and obſcure " his Hero's Character not a little. For,

" (*b*) What Apology can be made for " his Denial of his Wife, at his going " down into *Egypt*, and at *Gerar?* He, " who was under the immediate Guidance " of God, and by whoſe Direction he left " his Country, might have adventur'd to " tell the Truth, and, in ſo doing, have " committed his Wife to the divine " Protection, with a much better Grace, " than in the Method he took of enga- " ging her in the Prevarication. Had he " done this but once indeed, we might " have called it the Effect of ſome violent " Fear, or Apprehenſion of Danger, " which put him upon an Evaſion not ſo " commendable; but when we find him " repeating the ſame Fallacy to *Abimelech*, " that he had us'd before to *Pharoah*, and " laying it down for a conſtant Rule of " Practice, that his Wife, becauſe ſhe was " beautiful, ſhould in every ſtrange Coun- " try, paſs for his Siſter; we can hardly " forbear thinking, (*c*) that he had a ſecret " Intent

* The *Jewiſh* Writers tell us, that *Abraham* was bred up in the Religion of the *Zabii*, who, in thoſe early Times, made Images or Repreſentations of the Sun, Moon, and Stars to worſhip, and that his Father *Terah* was a Maker, and Seller of theſe Images; that *Abraham*, being well ſkill'd in the Aſtronomy of thoſe Times, learn'd from thence, that the celeſtial Bodies could neither make, nor move themſelves by their own Power, but that there was one only God, who created, preſerv'd, and govern'd all other Things, and that therefore they ought to worſhip him alone; that his Father *Terah*, going from home about particular Buſineſs, and leaving *Abraham* in the Shop to ſell the Images, he, in his Abſence, broke them all, except the largeſt of them; that, upon this *Terah* being angry, brought *Abraham* before the chief King of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy to be puniſh'd for this Crime; that the King, being one of the *Magi*, commanded *Abraham* to worſhip the Fire, and, upon his Refuſal, order'd him to be thrown into an hot burning Furnace, but that *Abraham* came out unhurt in the Preſence, and to the Admiration, of them all. *Maimonides* in *Mor. Nevoc.* l. 3. c. 29. *Jad. Chaz.* de Idololatriâ, c. 1. *Shalſheleth*, p. 8. *Inchaſin*, Part. 9. Fol. 1. But ſome think that this whole Story roſe from taking the Word *Ur* to ſignify *the Fire*, as it is in the *Hebrew*, and thence interpreting the Saying of God to *Abraham* in this Manner, *I am the Lord, that brought thee out of the* Fire *of the* Chaldeans, *to give thee this Land to inherit it.* Since it is expreſsly ſaid, however, (Gen. xi. 31.) that *Terah*, *Lot*, *Abraham*, and *Sarah* his Wife, came all forth together out of *Ur of the* Chaldees, it may therefore very properly be taken for a City dedicated to the *Fire*, which was there principally worſhipped, and from thence it might take its Name.

* *Profane* Authors (if poſſible) ſay more in the Praiſe and Commendation of *Abraham*, than do the *ſacred*, but there is Reaſon enough to believe, that their Accounts are loaded with Fictions. Some have averred, that he reigned at *Damaſcus*; others, that he dwelt a long Time in *Egypt*, and taught the *Egyptians* Aſtronomy and Arithmetick. Some ſay that he invented Letters, and the *Hebrew* Language; that he was the Author of ſeveral Works, and, among others, of a famous Book, intituled *Jezira*, or the *Creation*: And, among the *Perſians*, ſo great a Man was he accounted, that the *Magi*, or Worſhippers of Fire, believe *Zoroaſtres*, (who was their Prophet) to be the ſame with the Patriarch *Abraham*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

(*b*) *Bayle*'s Dictionary under the Word *Sarah*.

(*c*) Chriſtianity as old, &c. p. 248.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1896, &c.

" Intent in this Tranſaction to betray her " Chaſtity, and, by an infamous Lye, to " make a Market of her Honour and Vir- " tue; ſince the Hiſtory acknowledges, " that, by this Conduct, he got from one " King, (*d*) *who treated him well for her* " *Sake*, Cattle in Abundance; and from " the other, (*e*) *a thouſand Pieces of Sil-* " *ver, beſides Sheep, and Oxen, and Men* " *Servants, and Women Servants.*

" WHAT Apology can be made for " his taking *Hagar* to Wife, and there- " by not only eſtabliſhing Polygamy (for " which he has been quoted ever ſince) " but expreſſing a Diſtruſt likewiſe of " God's Veracity, by endeavouring to " have Children by her, when God had " ſo often promiſed him Iſſue by *Sarah?* " *Sarah*, perhaps, might be a Woman " of an eaſy Temper, and ready to con- " nive at her Huſband's Failings: But to " have her introduced, as ſolliciting her " Huſband to commit Adultery with her " Maid, is ſomewhat incongruous; and " the more rational Suppoſition is, that " what he did of this Kind was more " from his own Appetite, than his Wife's " Requeſt, and poſſibly, with a Purpoſe to " make the Experiment on which Side " the Default, in their not having Chil- " dren, might lie.

" WHAT Apology can be made for " his ſevere Treatment of *Hagar* and " *Iſhmael*, in ſending them both away " into the wide World, in order to ſeek " their Fortune? *Iſhmael*, perhaps, might " be a waggiſh Boy, that, upon one " Occaſion or other, had put ſome little " Trick upon *Iſaac*, which his Mother " perceiving might fall into a Paſſion, " and pertinaciouſly inſiſt, that both the " Mother and Son ſhould, that Moment, " be turned out of Doors, which the poor " Patriarch, to preſerve Family-Peace, " might poſſibly be induced to do; but " then he ſhould have certainly ſent them " away in a better *Plight*, than we find he " did. (*f*) He is all along repreſented as " a Perſon of great Wealth and Opulence: " and therefore to have made ſome compe- " tent Proviſion for her and her Son, is no " more than what Juſtice, as well as com- " mon Compaſſion, exacted of him; but " to ſend a Woman into a deſolate Wil- " derneſs, with a little Child in her Arms, " and with no more than one Bottle of " Water, and ſuch a Quantity of Bread as " ſhe could carry, out of a Family, where " ſhe had, for a long Time, lived in " Affluence and Plenty, is ſuch cruel and " barbarous Uſage, as can hardly be ſup- " poſed to proceed from the *divine* " *Direction.*

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

" ABOVE all, what Apology can be " made for his Intent to ſacrifice his Son " *Iſaac?* (*g*) That God is to be obeyed " above all Things, and even in Oppoſi- " tion ſometimes to the Paſſions and Af- " fections, which he hath made connatural " to us, is not to be deny'd: And yet this " we may lay down for a certain Maxim, " that the Lord of the Univerſe governs " himſelf by the eternal Rules of Rea- " ſon, and can neither himſelf act, nor " command his Creatures to act, in any " Inſtance, contrary to them. Since " therefore, the Command of ſlaying an " innocent Child is a Contradiction of that " eternal Rule of Reaſon, by which Pa- " rents are obliged to preſerve their Off- " ſpring, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that " ſuch a Command ever came from God. " Much more probable it is, that it might " be the Deluſion of ſome wicked Spirit, " delighting in Cruelty and Blood; and " yet we find the Patriarch not making " the leaſt Demur upon this Occaſion, (*h*) " nor once expoſtulating for the Life of " his Son; tho', at another Time, he could " be importunate enough for the Pardon " of an impious, inhoſpitable, and inceſtu- " ous City.

" (*i*) *He believed in the Lord*, we are " told, *and his Faith was imputed to him* " *for Righteouſneſs*; and yet, in the very " next Verſe but one, we find him doubt- " ing

(*d*) Gen. xii. 16. (*e*) Chap. xx. 16. (*f*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 6. (*g*) Chriſtianity as old, &c. p. 97. (*h*) Lord *Shafteſbury*'s Characteriſticks, Vol. III. p. 10. (*i*) Gen. xv. 6.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1896, &c.

" ing of the divine Promiſe concerning the " Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*, and " requiring ſome Sign or Token from God, " *whereby ſhall I know that I ſhall in-* " *herit it?* A Friend he was reputed to " the true Worſhip of God, and a bitter " Enemy to all Idolatry; and yet we find " him planting ſuch Groves, as were (*k*) " afterwards *forbidden*, and ordered to be " *cut down, and burnt with Fire:* And, " as he gave Occaſion for theſe idolatrous " Places, ſo it is not unlikely, that the " barbarous Cuſtom of Men's *ſacrificing* " *their Children to Devils*, might be " introduced, in Imitation of this At- " tempt of *Abraham*'s to offer up his " Son.

" So that, upon the Whole, this great " *Friend* and *Favourite* of God, as he is " call'd, was not a whit better than his " Neighbours; ſince to his Wife *Sarah* " he was *perfidious*, and to his Wife *Ha-* " *gar inhumane*; turned the latter away " ſhamefully, and would have proſtituted " the former for Gain; to both his Sons " was *cruel* and unnatural, for as much as " he *expelled* the one, and would have " *deſtroyed* the other; was guilty of *Lying* " and Diſſimulation towards Men, of " *Diſtruſt* and Diffidence towards God; " and perhaps gave Occaſion to the moſt " horrid Kind of *Idolatry*, that ever was " invented, *the Oblations of Sons and* " *Daughters to infernal Spirits.*

" The like, if not worſe, may be ſaid " of his Nephew *Lot*; for (*l*) what can " we conceive more vile and abominable, " than the Offer of proſtituting his own " Daughters to a Pack of outragious *So-* " *domites?* The Laws of Hoſpitality may " engage a Man indeed to do much, but " never ſurely to commit ſuch an Enor- " mity, even for the Acquiſition of the " greateſt Good. His Daughters too ſeem " to have had too deep a Tincture of the " Vices of *Sodom*, when they were not " afraid to make their Father drunk, in " order to go to bed to him; nor aſham'd " to call their inceſtuous Iſſue by ſuch " Names, as would perpetuate the Me- " mory of the Fact. From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

" Had the Father indeed fallen into " theſe Crimes but once, ſomething might " have been imputed to the Imbecility of " his Age, and the intoxicating Quality " of the Liquor, which at firſt perhaps " he might not perceive; but to be guilty " of Drunkenneſs and Inceſt two Nights " ſucceſſively, argues a Propenſity to " Vice, and is no ſmall Indication of an " abandoned Character.

" In this Light has *Moſes* repreſented " ſome Part of the Conduct of the Uncle " and his Nephew, and, in the Courſe " of their Hiſtory, has related ſeveral " other Things, highly incredible, and " incongruous to Reaſon. For,

" What an odd Character is that of " *Melchizedeck*, a Kind of Linſey-wool- " ſey Brother, part King, and part Prieſt, " *to whom* Abraham *gave the Tithes of* " *all*; and eſpecially, if we take in the " additional Titles, which the Author to " the *Hebrews* gives him, (*m*) of *being* " *without Father, without Mother, with-* " *out Deſcent; having neither Beginning* " *of Days, nor End of Life; but being* " *made like unto the Son of God, and* " *abiding a Prieſt continually.*

" What a ſtrange Prophecy is that " concerning *Iſhmael*, (*n*) *he will be a* " *wild Man*, or, as it is in the Original, *a* " *wild Aſs-man*; *his Hand ſhall be againſt* " *every Man, and every Man's Hand* " *againſt him, and he ſhall dwell in the* " *Preſence of all his Brethren?* Cold " Comfort, one would think, it ſhould be " to *Hagar*, in her diſtreſſed and diſcon- " ſolate Condition, and enough indeed to " frighten her out of her Senſes, to be " told by an Angel, that what ſhe had " conceived in her Womb would become " a Monſter, part Man, and part Aſs; " and whoſe Fortune ſhould be to live all " his Life long by Thieving and *Mo-* " *roading.*

" † What

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(*k*) Deut. xvi. 21. (*l*) *Le Clerc's* Commentary. (*m*) Heb. vii. 3. &c. (*n*) Gen. xvi. 12.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1896, &c.

" † WHAT a ſenſeleſs, as well as immodeſt a Rite, is that of Circumciſion, " (ſuppoſing it to be of *divine* Inſtitution) " for a Sign of a Covenant between God " and *Abraham?* Where is the Senſe of " mutilating the Infants Body, and thereby endangering its Life, as ſoon as it is " born? If a corporeal Mark was abſolutely neceſſary to diſtinguiſh *Abraham*'s Poſterity from the reſt of Mankind, the Divine Wiſdom, one would " think, ſhould have pitched upon ſome " other Part of the Body, rather than " that, which common Modeſty labours to " conceal. (o) The more probable Opinion therefore is, that a Practice, ſo unaccountable in itſelf, was not of God's " Appointment, but what *Abraham* learnt " when he was in *Egypt*, and afterwards " impoſed upon his Poſterity to make them " more acceptable to that Nation, on " whom he foreſaw that they were for " ſome Ages to depend.

" WHAT a *romantick* Story is that of " *Abraham*'s fighting four victorious Kings, " and putting them to the Rout, with a " ſmall Handful of his own Domeſticks; " eſpecially when theſe Kings (according " to the Senſe of the beſt Commentators) " were no petty Princes, but the Governours of vaſt Provinces, under the Command of the *Aſſyrian* Monarch?

From Gen. xx--xxv. 11.

" WHAT a ridiculous Attempt is that " of *Abraham* to ſacrifice his Son, who, " (according to the beſt Computation) was " then in the Prime of his Life, at leaſt, " of an Age ſufficient to make a Reſiſtance; and Reſiſtance we may be ſure " he would not fail to make, rather than " ſuffer himſelf to be *butchered?*

" BUT above all, what an incredible " Story is that of *Lot*'s Wife's *Metamorphoſis*, of her being changed into a Pillar " of Salt, merely for turning about to ſee " the Deſtruction of the City, where ſhe " had ſo long lived; * eſpecially conſidering the ſeveral Improvements which " later Hiſtorians have made upon the Account, too light, and too improbable, " ever to be named?

" THESE, and many more, are the " Incongruities, which occur in this Period of Time; enough to ſtagger our " Belief, and to call the Authority of the " *ſacred* Penman into Queſtion."

BUT,

† The Manner of this Ceremony's being perform'd, whether in the publick Synagogue, or in private Houſes, is this, ——— The Perſon, who is appointed to be the *God-father*, ſets down upon a Seat, with a Silk-cuſhion provided for that Purpoſe, and ſettles the Child in a proper Poſture on his Knees, when he, who is to circumciſe him (which, by the bye, is accounted a great Honour among the *Jews*) opens the Blankets. Some make Uſe of Silver Tweezers, to take up ſo much of the *Prepuce*, as they deſign to cut off, but others take it up with their Fingers. Then he, who circumciſes the Child, holding the Razor in his Hand, ſays, *Bleſſed be thou, O Lord, who haſt commanded us to be circumcis'd*; And, while he is ſaying this, cuts off the thick Skin of the *Prepuce*, and then, with his Thumb Nails, tears off a finer Skin ſtill remaining. After this he ſucks the Blood, which flows plentifully upon this Occaſion, and ſpits it out into a Cup full of Wine: Then he puts ſome Dragon's Blood upon the Wound, ſome Coral Powder, and other Things to ſtop the Bleeding, and ſo covers up the Part affected. When this is done, he takes the Cup, wherein he had ſpit the Blood; moiſtens his Lips therewith; and then, bleſſing both that, and the Child, gives him the Name, which his Father had appointed, and, at the ſame Time, pronounces theſe Words of *Ezekiel, I ſaid unto thee, when thou waſt in thy Blood, live*, Ezek. xvi. 6. after which, the whole Congregation repeats the 128th Pſalm, *Bleſſed is every Man, that feareth the Lord*, &c. and ſo the Ceremony concludes. Only we muſt obſerve, that beſides the Seat, appointed for the God-father, there is always another left empty, and is deſign'd, ſome ſay, for the Prophet *Elias*, who, as they imagine, is inviſibly preſent at all Circumciſions. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Circumciſion*.

(o) Lord *Shaftſbury*'s Charact. Vol. III. p. 52. *Marſham*'s Can. Chron. p. 72. and Chriſtianity as old, &c. p. 94.

* The *Jewiſh* Doctors, as well as ſome *Chriſtian* Fathers, labour to perſuade us, that it was extant in their Days; that it was no Ways impair'd, and wou'd laſt as long as the World endur'd; that what it loſes by any Accident, or the Injuries of the Weather, is daily ſupplied, ſo that it continues ever the ſame; and, in ſhort, that it has all the Signatures and Infirmities of the Sex attending it, even as if it were alive. *Saurin*'s Diſſertations 18. Whether it was *Tertullian*, or St *Cyprian*, that was the Author of theſe Verſes, but ſo it is, that the Poet, be he who he will, has tack'd together ſeveral of theſe incredible Things.

In fragilem mutata ſalem ſtetit illa, ſepulchrum
Ipſaque Imago ſui, formam ſine Corpore ſervans.
Durat adhuc etenim nudâ ſtatione ſub Æthram,
Nec pluviis dilapſa ſitu, nec diruta ventis.
Quinetiam ſiquis mutilaverit advena formam,
Protinus in ſeſe ſuggeſtu vulnera complent.
Dicitur & vivens alio ſub Corpore ſexûs
Munificos ſolito diſpungere ſanguine Menſes.

Watſin. Miſcel. Sacra, Tom. 2.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1896, &c.

Anſwer'd by ſhewing why Moſes is ſo prolix in the Hiſtory of Abraham.

But, we certainly judge wrong of the Merits of any Author, when we ſuffer our Prejudice to blind our Underſtanding, and to hinder it from attending to its chief Drift and Deſign. The great End which *Moſes* had in writing this Part of his Hiſtory, was to inſtruct the *Jews* in their Riſe and Original, their Election and Separation from the reſt of Mankind: And therefore fit it was, when he enter'd upon the Hiſtory of their great Founder *Abraham*, in whom they became a *peculiar People*, a choſen Generation, and a Royal Prieſthood, (as the Apoſtle (*p*) ſtiles them) that he ſhould lay aſide his uſual *Conciſeneſs*, and endeavour to expatiate a little upon ſo uſeful, and ſo agreeable a Subject.

That the Patriarchs were not impeccable.

The Spirit of God very well foreſaw, that *Abraham*'s Character wou'd become renown'd in future Generations; that not only the *Jews*, but ſeveral other Nations wou'd lay claim to him, as their Progenitor; that not only the Saints and Prophets in the *Old* Teſtament wou'd make him the chief Pattern of Faith, and Obedience to God's Commands, but that, even under the *New*, his Example wou'd be propounded for our Imitation, and (*q*) *his Boſom* be made the happy Receptacle of the Souls of the Righteous, between their Death and their Reſurrection; and therefore it is no Wonder, that he led the holy Penman into a longer Recital of the Life and Adventures of a Perſon, who is ſtil'd the *Friend of God*, and *Father of the Faithful*; who was the great Founder of the very Nation, he was now writing to; whoſe Sons were to be *Kings* and *Princes* in their ſeveral diſtant Countries, and in *whoſe Seed all the Nations of the Earth were to be bleſſed.*

We muſt obſerve however, that one great Error in thoſe, that have *undertaken* to vindicate the Holy Scriptures, is, their Unwillingneſs to ſuppoſe any Faults in the Lives of the antient *Patriarchs*; and therefore they ſtudy to apologize for every thing they did, and ſometimes labour even to conſecrate their very Vices. Their Opinion is, that the *Holy Spirit* has preſcrib'd them as *Patterns*, every Way worthy of our Imitation; and therefore they think it a Diſparagement to the Scriptures themſelves, if any Blemiſh or Defect ſhould occur in theſe Men's Characters; whereas the Scriptures have no Manner of Concern in any ſuch Thing. Their Purpoſe is to repreſent Mankind, as they are cloath'd with Infirmities, and beſet with Temptations to Sin; and it is a glorious Inſtance of their Truth and Veracity, when we find the Faults and Failings of ſome of their greateſt *Worthies* related, as they really happened, and ſet in a true Light, without Extenuation or Excuſe. "The "moſt celebrated of the Saints of God, "(*r*) *ſays St* Auſtin, are not impeccable; "and from their Faults there is no arguing "to the Prejudice of the *Book*, in which, "as we find them recorded as Matter of "Hiſtory, ſo we find them condemn'd as "Matter of *Morality*. God has informed "us, *ſays he*, of what paſs'd, but not au- "thoriz'd it, and ſet the Example before "us, not for a *Pattern*, but for a *Warn-* "*ing*."

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

That Abraham, *in* denying *his Wife* Sarah, *was culpable.*

ABRAHAM, in the Age wherein he liv'd, was certainly accounted a Man of great Piety and Worth. (*s*) We have the Teſtimony of ſeveral *Heathen* Authors in his Favour, and *Beroſus* in particular, (*t*) (as he is quoted by *Joſephus*) give us this Character of him, *viz. That in the tenth Generation, after the Flood, there was a Man among the* Chaldeans, *who was very juſt, and great, and ſought after heavenly Things.* But, notwithſtanding this, it muſt be acknowledg'd, that, in this Inſtance of denying his Wife *Sarah*, he was guilty, at leaſt, of a manifeſt Diſſimulation.

'Tis in vain to ſay, (*u*) that ſhe was really his Siſter by another Wife, whom his Father *Terah* might marry, after the Death of his Mother; for this brings upon him the Charge of *Inceſt*. 'Tis in vain to ſay,

(*p*) 1 Pet. ii. 9. (*q*) Matt. viii. 11. (*r*) *Fauſtus*, l. 22. c. 41. (*s*) Vid. *Grot.* de Verit. l. 1. §. 16. (*t*) Lib. 1. c. 8. (*u*) *Calmet*'s Dictionary under the Word *Sarah*.

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ſay, (*x*) that, as he was a *Prophet*, he was directed by the Holy Spirit to make uſe of this *Subterfuge*, in order to preſerve his Life; for this is making God the *Author of Sin*. 'Tis in vain to ſay, (*y*) that what he declared was Truth, tho' not the whole Truth; that he conceal'd what was proper, and told nothing that was falſe; becauſe his declaring her to be his Siſter was in Effect denying her to be his Wife, which was a direct *Falſhood*. Men certainly have a Right to conceal their Sentiments, upon ſeveral Occaſions, by a prudent Silence; but whenever they make Uſe of Words, and pretend thereby to diſcover their Thoughts, they impoſe upon their Hearers, if they do not really expreſs what they pretend: And in this the very Formality of Lying does conſiſt, namely, in a ſettled Intention to deceive others. "(*z*) For, whatever is ſaid, "whether in itſelf it be true or falſe, "whether it agrees with the Thoughts of "the Speaker or not, yet, if it plainly "tends to deceive the Hearer; if he, who "ſays it, perceives the Tendency, and ac- "cordingly uſes it to this End, however "diſguiſed it is, under whatever Forms "it is expreſs'd, it is, to all Intents an "Purpoſes, a Lye."

'TIS in vain then to pretend to aſſoil the *Patriarch* from the Imputation of Lying or Diſſimulation in this Caſe; but then this may be ſaid in Extenuation of his Fault, —— That it proceeded from a Weakneſs of Faith, and a Prevalency of Fear, which are ſometimes found to be incident to the beſt of Men. He conſider'd himſelf as a Stranger, among a licentious Sort of People, and expoſed to the Power of an *arbitrary* Government; and, from a Principle of worldly Caution, both to preſerve his own, Life and his Wife's Modeſty, he concluded that this would be the beſt Expedient: but much more wiſely had he done, had he committed the whole Matter to God's Management, in Reliance on his Promiſes, and, in Confidence of his Protection. From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

IT cannot however, with any tolerable Conſtruction, be charged upon him, that he went about *to betray his Wife's Chaſtity*, ſince, according to his preſent Sentiments, he took the moſt effectual Method to prevent it. (*a*) For, in declaring her to be his Siſter, he made it known that ſhe was committed to his Care and Diſpoſal; and from hence he ſuppos'd it would come to paſs, that, if any of the Country was minded to make his Addreſſes to the Siſter, he wou'd, of Courſe, come and apply himſelf to the Brother. The firſt Motions of Love he knew were moſt impetuous, and apt to hurry Men into Violence and Outrage; and therefore he thought with himſelf, that, if he ſhould paſs for her Huſband, ſuch, as were in love with her, wou'd have no other Way of accompliſhing their Deſires, but at the Expence of his Life: Whereas, if he paſs'd for her Brother, Time might be gain'd, the Treaty of Marriage prolong'd, and ſeveral unforeſeen Accidents happen, that might give the divine Providence a ſeaſonable Opportunity to interpoſe in his Favour, as we find it did. *But he had no Deſign to betray her Chaſtity.*

NOR can the Preſents, which both *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech* gave *Abraham* upon the Delivery of his Wife, with any Juſtice, be imputed to his Management, ſince they were *voluntary* Acknowledgments for his interceding for them; Oblations of *Gratitude* for their Recovery from the *ſore Plagues*, wherewith God had afflicted them; and a Kind of Commutation for the Injury and Affront, they had put upon Perſons, ſo highly favour'd by God, that, (*b*) *at what Time they went from one Nation to another, from one Kingdom to another People, he ſuffer'd no Man to do them wrong, but reprov'd even Kings for their Sakes.*

HAGAR, according to the Opinion of ſome of the *Rabbins*, who love to magnify *In marrying* Hagar *he was excuſable.*

(*x*) Vid. *Heidegger's* Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. II. Exercit. 4. (*y*) *Waterland's* Scripture Vindication, Part 1.
(*z*) Biſhop *Smalridge's* Sermon of *Lying*. (*a*) *Heidegger's* Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 4. (*b*) Pſal. cv. 13, 14.

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nify every Matter, was one of the Daughters of *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt*, whom he ſent along with *Abraham*, when he diſmiſſed him ſo honourably: She was an *Egyptian* indeed, very probably one of thoſe *Servants*, that were given to *Abraham*, and was employ'd about *Sarah*'s Perſon as her Waiting-Maid; but we have no Grounds to think, that a Woman of her Extraction, (had ſhe been *Pharaoh*'s Daughter) wou'd have condeſcended to ſerve in any Capacity. However this be, *Sarah*, ſeeing herſelf now grown old and barren, and knowing that God had promis'd a numerous Poſterity to *Abraham*, believ'd that, in order to contribute to the Accompliſhment of theſe Promiſes, ſhe ought to give her Servant to him for a Wife; and accordingly ſhe is introduc'd, as making the firſt Offer: (*c*) *Behold, now the Lord hath reſtrain'd me from bearing, I pray thee go in unto my Maid; it may be, that I may obtain Children by her.* This Propoſal, (as St *Chryſoſtom* (*d*) obſerves) and the ſoft Manner of making it, diſcover'd a very uncommon Love and Reſpect to her Huſband; that ſhe herſelf ſhou'd perſuade, and urge him to this Expedient, in order to make him eaſy in that Particular, which gave him ſo much Diſturbance, *the Want of Iſſue*, the Default of which ſhe ſuppos'd to be owing to herſelf: * And, 'twas purely in Compliance to this Sollicitation of her's, that he took *Hagar* to his Bed. *Sarah* undoubtedly, was by far the more beautiful Woman, at leaſt if ſo good Judges, as the King of *Egypt* and his Subjects may be depended on: *Abraham* had now liv'd many Years, without giving any Occaſion to have his Modeſty and Continence ſuſpected: *Hagar* too was no more than his Wife's Servant, and inferior to her in Perſon, as much as in Condition: In a ſhort Time after, when, upon her Conception, ſhe grew undutiful to her Miſtreſs, *Abraham* never interpoſed in her Favour, but left her entirely to her Lady's Diſcretion: From all which Circumſtances it appears, that his taking *Hagar* to be his *concubinary* Wife, was not from any Motive of Senſuality, but from a true Principle of conjugal Affection to *Sarah*.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

(*e*) God had indeed promis'd him the Land of *Canaan*, and a numerous Iſſue to ſucceed him; but whether that Son, from whom that Iſſue was to ſpring, was properly to be his own, or only *adoptive*; or, if his own, whether begotten of *Sarah*, or of ſome other Woman, was not reveal'd to him. Seeing, therefore, he had no Child of his own, and yet ſtedfaſtly believed the Promiſes of God; the only Way that he could deviſe, whereby to have theſe Promiſes accompliſh'd, was by Way of *Adoption*, and therefore he ſays, (*f*) *Lo! one born in my Houſe is my Heir*; upon which God clears the *firſt* of theſe Doubts to him, *viz.* whether his Seed was to be *natural*, or *adoptive*; (*g*) *This ſhall not be thine Heir, but one, that ſhall come forth out of thine own Bowels, ſhall be thine Heir:* But ſtill the *ſecond* Doubt remain'd, whether he was to be his Heir by *Sarah*, or by ſome other *Woman*, which, for the farther Trial of his Patience, God thought proper to conceal. No Wonder then, if *Abraham* (having no longer Hope of Iſſue by his Wife, finding her indeed as impatient for a Child as himſelf, and deſirous to have ſuch a Child, as ſhe might account her own, being begotten by her Huſband and her Maid) yielded to her Importunity, not ſo much to pleaſure himſelf, as to gratify her Deſire. And this ſeems to be the Reaſon why *Sarah* made Choice

(*c*) *Gen. xvi. 2. (*d*) In Locum, Hom. 38.

* The Words of St *Auſtin* upon this Occaſion are very nervous, and very ſignificant. Ulus enim eſt *Hagare* (ſcilicet *Abraham*) ad generandum prolem, non ad explendam Libidinem, non inſultans, ſed potius obediens Conjugi; quæ ſuæ ſterilitati credidit eſſe ſolatium, ſi fœcundum ancillæ uterum (quoniam natura non poterat) voluntate fecerit ſuum. Nulla hic eſt cupido Laſciviæ, nulla nequitiæ turpitudo. Ab uxore, causâ prolis, ancilla marito traditur; à marito, causâ prolis, accipitur. *De Civit Dei.* l. 16. c. 25. where he concludes, with theſe exclamatory Words, O virum viriliter utentem fœminis, conjuge temperanter, ancillâ obtemperanter, nullâ intemperanter! 2

(*e*) *Auguſtinus* contra *Fauſtum*, l. 22. c. 32. (*f*) Gen. xv. 3. (*g*) Ver. 4.

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Choice of a *Slave* (as *Hagar* is call'd in the Text) rather than a *free Woman*, to bring to her Huſbands Bed, *viz.* (*h*) that the Child, which the *former* might happen to bear, might, *imputatively* at leaſt, be accounted hers; whereas one conceiv'd by a Woman that was *free*, would properly belong to the Mother herſelf.

WHETHER *Polygamy*, in the Age of the Patriarchs, was innocent, or no, is a Queſtion that has much employ'd the Pens of the Learned. * Moſt of the antient Fathers of the Church maintain its *Lawfulneſs*, and (*i*) ſome of our later Divines can hardly perſuade themſelves, that a Practice, which the moſt holy and venerable Men ordinarily engag'd in, and, during that Engagement, continued an intimate Converſation and Familiarity with God; a Practice, which God never blam'd in them, even when he ſharply reproves other Vices, and for which they themſelves never ſhewed the leaſt Remorſe, or Tokens of Repentance, ſhou'd be deteſtable in the Sight of God. Our bleſſed Saviour, who has reſtor'd Matrimony to its primitive Inſtitution, has certainly declar'd it to be *criminal*; but whether it was ſo, under a leſs perfect Diſpenſation, is not ſo well agreed. At preſent, if we ſuppoſe it only *tolerated* by God, in the Time of the *Patriarchs*, we ſhall ſoon perceive another Inducement for *Abraham*'s complying with his Wife's Requeſt; and that is, *viz.* The paſſionate Deſire for a numerous Progeny, which, in thoſe Days, was very prevalent; ſo very prevalent, that we find Men accounting of their Children as their Riches, their Strength, their Glory, and ſeveral Families reckoning them up with a Sort of Pride, and placing the chief of their Renown in the Multitude of them; (*k*) *For Children, and the Fruit of the Womb, are an Heritage and Gift, that cometh of the Lord; like as Arrows in the Hand of a Giant, ſo are young Children. Happy is the Man, that has a Quiver full of them; he ſhall not be aſhamed, when he ſpeaketh with his Enemies in the Gate.* From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

THUS the Deſire of a numerous Iſſue, the Entreaty of a beloved Wife, and the ſuppos'd Innocence of *Concubinage* in that Age, may, in ſome meaſure, plead *Abraham*'s Excuſe in aſſuming *Hagar* to his Bed: But, then, what ſhall we ſay for his turning her away ſo abruptly, and in a ſtarving Condition, after ſhe had lived ſo long with him in the Capacity of a Wife, and had borne him a Son? To clear up this Matter, we muſt enquire a little into the Time and Occaſion, as well as the Manner, and Conſequence of this her Diſmiſſion.

In diſmiſſing her, and her Son, was not cruel, or hard-hearted.

THE whole Account of this Tranſaction is thus related by the ſacred Hiſtorian. (*l*) *And the Child* (meaning the Child *Iſaac*) *grew, and was weaned, and* Abraham *made a great Feaſt the ſame Day, that* Iſaac *was weaned. And* Sarah *ſaw the Son of* Hagar, *the* Egyptian, *which ſhe had borne unto* Abraham, *mocking; Wherefore ſhe ſaid unto* Abraham, *caſt out this Bond-Woman, and her Son, for the Son of the Bond-Woman ſhall not be Heir with my Son, even with* Iſaac. *And the Thing was very grievous in* Abraham's *Sight, becauſe of his Son. And* God *ſaid unto* Abraham, *let it not be grievous in thy Sight, becauſe of the Lad, and becauſe of thy Bond-Woman; in all that* Sarah *hath ſaid unto thee, hearken unto her Voice; for in* Iſaac *ſhall thy*

(*h*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 6.

* The Words of St *Ambroſe*, l. 1. c. 4. concerning the Patriarch *Abraham* are very remarkable, and comprehend indeed the Sentiments of moſt of the reſt. Conſideremus primum, quia ante legem *Moſis*, & ante Evangelium, fuit, nondum interdictum adulterium videbatur. Pœna criminis ex tempore legis eſt, quæ crimen inhibuit, nec ante legem ulla rei damnatio eſt, ſed ex lege. Non ergo in legem commiſit *Abraham*, ſed legem prævenit. Deus in *Paradiſo* licet *Conjugium* laudaverit, non tamen *Adulterium* damnaverat. *Durandus, Toſtatus, Selden, Grotius,* and others, are clearly of Opinion, that, before the Promulgation of the Law, *Polygamy* was no Sin; but as their Error turns upon this, that the firſt Inſtitution of Marriage between one Pair in Paradiſe was not deſign'd by God for a Law, ſo have they receiv'd an ample Confutation from the learned *Heidegger* in his Hiſtoria Patriar. Vol. I. Exercit. 1. and Exercit. 7. and Vol. II. Exercit. 6.

(*i*) Vid. *Saurin* in Diſſertation 19. (*k*) Pſal. cxxvii. 3, &c. (*l*) Gen. xxi. 8, &c.

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thy Seed be called: and alſo of the Son of the Bond-Woman will I make a Nation, becauſe he is thy Seed. And Abraham *roſe up early in the Morning, and took Bread, and a Bottle of Water, and gave it unto* Hagar *(putting it on her Shoulder) and the Child, and ſent her away, and ſhe departed, and wandered in the Wilderneſs of* Beer-ſheba.

The Nature of Weaning-Feaſts.

WHAT the Manner of celebrating this *Weaning-Feaſt*, or Feaſt of *Initiation*, was, we can only conjecture from certain Circumſtances, and ſome parallel Paſſages, and Cuſtoms. There are no more, than the Weaning of *Iſaac*, and the Weaning of *Samuel*, (two very extraordinary Perſons, both foretold by the Spirit of Prophecy, and both miraculouſly born) which are taken Notice of in the ſacred Hiſtory. And (if we may be allow'd to ſuppoſe a Parallel between them) as the Feaſt at the Weaning of *Samuel* was a ſacred Feaſt, and kept (*m*) *before the Lord*, (for the Child was brought by his Mother to the *Sanctuary*, there preſented, and there *initiated*, or dedicated by the High-Prieſt, whereupon a *Sacrifice* firſt, and then a *Feaſt* did enſue;) ſo we may ſuppoſe, (*n*) 1. That, at the Weaning-Feaſt of *Iſaac*, there was a Burnt-Sacrifice, which *Abraham*, as *Prieſt* and *Prophet*, might early in the Morning offer, in order to ſanctify both the Feaſt, and thoſe, that were to communicate in it: 2. That there were Changes of Raiment given to all the Gueſts, and to all the Servants, to keep the Feaſt in, and that, without theſe *Feſtival-Robes*, no one was allow'd to ſit down at the Table: 3. That a new Sort of Veſture was given to *Iſaac*, as an Habit of Diſtinction, by which he was declar'd Heir of the Family, and the moſt honourable, next to his Father: 4. That there was a Dedication of the Child, or an holy *Initiation* of him, in a very religious and ſolemn Manner, perform'd by both the Parents: 5. That there was probably a Commemoration of the Entertainment of Angels in *Pilgrims-Habit*, and of the joyful Meſſage then brought, together with the killing of the fatted Calf, and other Proviſions made for them: And, 6. That, upon this Occaſion, there was certainly a ſumptuous Entertainment made for their Gueſts, ſuitable to the Character of the Maſter of the Feaſt, who was a Prince, as well as a Prophet, and anſwerable to the End and Deſign of it, which was to commemorate the higheſt divine Bleſſing that could be given, not to one Family only, but to all the Generations of the World.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

ON this Feſtival Occaſion it was, very probably, that *Sarah* perceiv'd *Iſhmael* treating her Son with Contempt and Deriſion. The Initiation of *Iſaac*, and his Father's Declaration concerning him, which *Iſhmael*, who thought he had a *prior* Right, was not able to bear, was enough to exaſperate his rough Nature to commit ſuch Rudeneſs, as could not but break the Merriment of the Feaſt, and thereupon provoke *Sarah* to exert her Authority, by ſhewing the Difference between the Son of a *Bond-Woman*, and the Heir apparent of the Family. I ſay, *to exert her* Authority; (*o*) For as *Hagar* was *Sarah*'s *Dotal* Maid-Servant, ſhe was entirely at her Diſpoſal. *Abraham* had no Cognizance of her; from his Juriſdiction ſhe was exempt, and by Marriage-Articles (as we call it) reſerv'd to her Miſtreſs *in Property*; and therefore we find God interpoſing in the Affair, and adviſing *Abraham*, in all that *Sarah ſhou'd ſay unto him, to hearken to her Voice* (*p*).

THE Expulſion of *Hagar* and her Son, is repreſented indeed, by our Tranſlation, under Circumſtances ſomewhat dolorous; but if we enquire into Particulars, we ſhall find them not near ſo full of Diſtreſs, as this Repreſentation ſeems to make them. *Abraham* is ſaid to have ſent them away *early in the Morning*; but this might be done on purpoſe to prevent what might paſs between them, at ſo ſorrowful a Parting,

(*m*) 1 Sam. i. 24. (*n*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſional Annot. 24. (*o*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſional Annot. 32. See alſo the Note at the end of the Objection, Chap. III. of this Book. (*p*) Gen. xxi. 12.

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ing, from being obſerv'd by too many Eyes. He is ſaid to have *given them Bread, and a Bottle of Water*; but, as Bread and Water include *Eatables* and *Drinkables* of all Kinds, ſo there is no doubt to be made but that *Iſhmael* was able enough to carry an handſome Competency of Proviſion for a few Days, or that his Mother might very well carry a large Bottle of Water, or other Liquor, to ſupport them for a Week, or ſo, while they were travelling thro' the Wilderneſs. Their whole Misfortune was, in miſtaking their Way, and wandering about in the Deſert, until their Water was conſum'd; but this was a mere Accident, wherein *Abraham* had not the leaſt Concern.

ISHMAEL indeed is, in ſeveral Places call'd *a Child*, and from thence we may ſuppoſe, that he was a Burthen and Incumbrance to his Mother: But, if we look into his Age, we ſhall find, that, when *Iſaac* was born, he was *fourteen*; and therefore allowing two Years between *Iſaac*'s Birth, and his *Weaning*, he could not be leſs than *ſixteen*, when *Abraham* ſent him and his Mother away, and was, conſequently, a Youth capable of being a Support and Aſſiſtance to her. (*q*) For the Circumſtances of the World, we may obſerve, at this Time, were ſuch, that it was an eaſy Matter for any Perſon to find a ſufficient and comfortable Livelihood in it. Mankind were ſo few, that there was, in every Country, Ground to ſpare; ſo that any one, who had Flocks, or a Family, might be permitted to ſettle any where, to feed and maintain them, and ſo grow, and increaſe, and become wealthy; or Creatures in the World were ſo numerous, that a Perſon, who had no Flocks or Herds, might, in the Wilderneſs, and uncultivated Grounds, (as *Iſhmael* we find became an *Archer*) find Game enough of all Sorts, whereby to maintain himſelf, and his Dependants, without doing any Injury, or being moleſted for ſo doing.

ISHMAEL indeed had, for ſixteen Years, continu'd in *Abraham*'s Family, and at firſt perhaps it might be diſputed, whether he, or his Brother *Iſaac*, ſhou'd ſucceed to their Father's Inheritance: But, after that this Point was determin'd, and God himſelf had declar'd in the Favour of *Iſaac*, he muſt of Courſe have become *Iſaac*'s Bond-Man or Servant, had he continu'd in *Abraham*'s Family. So that, it was both kindly, and prudently done of his Father, to take Occaſion from *Sarah*'s Diſguſt againſt him, to *emancipate*, and ſet him free, by ſending him abroad to acquire an *independent* Settlement, which was all the Proviſion that Parents, in thoſe Days, cou'd make for their *younger* Children. 'Twas the ſame Proviſion, that his Father *Abraham* made for the Sons, which he afterwards had by his Wife *Keturah*; for ſo we are told, that (*r*) *he gave all that he had unto* Iſaac, *but unto the Sons of his Concubines he gave Gifts, and ſent them away from* Iſaac *his Son, Eaſtward, unto the Eaſt-Country*. Nay, 'twas the ſame Proviſion, which *Iſaac* made for his Son *Jacob*, tho' he was the Heir of the Bleſſing. When he went from his Father's Houſe to *Padan-Aran*, we read of no Servants or Equipage attending him, nor any Accommodations prepar'd for his Journey. He was ſent (as we call it now-a-days) to ſeek his Fortune, (*s*) only inſtructed to ſeek it among his Kinsfolk, and Relations and he went to ſeek it upon ſo uncertain a Foundation, that we find him moſt earneſtly praying to God to be with him *in the Way he was to go*, not to ſuffer him to want the Neceſſaries of Life, but to *give him Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on*: And yet we ſee, that, by becoming an hired Servant to *Laban*, (*t*) he both married his Daughters, and, in a few Years, became Maſter of a very conſiderable Subſtance.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

IT is our Miſtake in the Cuſtoms of the Times therefore, that makes us imagine, that *Hagar* and *Iſhmael* had any hard Uſage in their Ejectment. Whatever the Nature of their Offence might be, or whatever

(*q*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 7. (*r*) Gen. xxv. 6. (*s*) Ibid. xviii. (*t*) Ibid. xxx. 43.

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whatever Grounds *Sarah* might have for her Indignation againſt them, there is no Reaſon to accuſe *Abraham*'s Conduct in this Affair, ſince what he did was purſuant to a divine Direction, which he durſt not diſobey; was agreeable to the Practice of the Times, wherein he liv'd; and no more than what all other Fathers, in thoſe Days, impos'd upon their younger Sons: Since the Hardſhips, they ſuffered, were *accidental*, but the Benefits, which accrued to them, were *deſign'd*: Since *Abraham*, by this Means, reſcu'd them from a State of Servitude for ever; and, according to the divine Prediction, was perſuaded, that this would be the only Expedient to make of *Iſhmael* a flouriſhing Nation.

Abraham's *Obedience, not to be paralleld.*

ABRAHAM's great Readineſs to ſacrifice his Son, upon the firſt Signification of the divine Pleaſure, is an Inſtance of Duty and Obedience, not to be equall'd in all the Records of Hiſtory. *Sanchoniatho* indeed (as he is quoted by (*u*) *Euſebius*) tells us of one *Chronus*, King of *Phœnicia*, who, in a Time of great Diſtreſs, and extreme Peril of War, took his Son *Jeud* (which, according to the *Phœnician* Language, means *only-begotten*) and, with his own Hand, ſacrificed him on an Altar of his own erecting. But, as * this Action was certainly ſubſequent to the Times we are now ſpeaking of, there are good Reaſons to believe, that the whole Account of it is no more than a Relation of *Abraham*'s intended Sacrifice of *Iſaac*, bating ſome Additions and Miſtakes. (*x*) For, whereas it is ſaid of this *Chronus*, that he was the Son of a Father, who had three Children; that himſelf had one Son only by his Wife, but more by other Women; that he circumcis'd himſelf and his Family; and that he ſacrific'd his only Son with his own Hands; all theſe Circumſtances concur in the Caſe of *Abraham*: The chief Difference is, that *Chronus* is by the *Phœnicians* call'd *Iſrael*, which was properly the Name of *Abraham*'s Grandſon; but this is a ſmall Miſtake, conſidering that moſt of the *Heathen* Writers had a general Notion, that *Iſrael* was the Name of ſome one famous Anceſtor of the *Iſraelites*, but were not exact in fixing it upon the right Perſon.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

(*y*) The only Inſtance, which ſeems any Ways to come near the Caſe before us, is that of *Agamemnon*'s conſenting that his Daughter *Iphigenia* ſhould be ſacrific'd; but the Diſparity ſoon appears, if we conſider, that *Agamemnon*, in all Probability, had other Children, and a Queen neither barren, nor old, and yet, ſore againſt his Will, did he comply, and perhaps for Fear of provoking his Subjects in Arms; nor cou'd he bear the Sight of his Daughter's laſt Minutes, tho' he attain'd thereby his End, *viz.* the Gratification of his ambitious Views in the War, wherein he was embark'd. Whereas *Abraham* had no other, nor cou'd expect any other Child by his Wife, but this Son, who was a Pledge from Heaven of all the glorious Bleſſings, that God had promis'd him; and yet, upon this harſh Command, we find him in no Uneaſineſs or Confuſion, but perfectly compos'd and eaſy, fix'd and reſolv'd to put it in Execution, and waving the Weapon in his own Arm, ſtretch'd out to take away his own Child's Life; tho' he could not but foreſee, that, by ſuch an inhuman Act, he wou'd not only exaſperate his own Family againſt him, but expoſe himſelf likewiſe to the Hatred and Indignation of all the Nations round about him.

The Truth is, ſeveral Examples there have been, eſpecially of Perſons of a *publick*

(*u*) Præp. Evan. l. 1. c. 10.

* A learned Author, in his *Connection of ſacred and profane* Hiſtory, having, by two different Ways of Computation, prov'd, that *Abraham* was older than *Chronus*, ſubjoins theſe Words, "And thus, by both theſe Accounts, "*Chronus* cannot be more antient than *Abraham*, rather *Abraham* appears to be more antient than he: And this "muſt be allow'd to be more evidently true, if we conſider, that it was not *Chronus*, the Son of *Ouranus*, who "made this Sacrifice of his only Son, but rather *Chronus*, who was call'd *Iſrael*, and was the Son of *Chronus*, call'd "*Ilus*, and therefore ſtill later by one Generation." Vol. II. l. 6.

(*x*) *Shuckford*, ibid. Vol. II. l. 6. (*y*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 28.

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lick Character, who have ſacrific'd themſelves, or their neareſt Relations: But what has it been to? Even to Deſperation, or the Apprehenſion of human Force and Power; to a wicked and ſuperſtitious Cuſtom; to Pride and Vain-glory; or to the Hopes of preventing or ſtopping ſome dreadful and publick Calamity: But the Caſe of *Abraham* is ſo ſingularly circumſtantiated, that none of all theſe can be imputed to it: The only Motive we can poſſibly imagine, muſt have been his earneſt Deſire to teſtify his Obedience to God, in all, even his moſt arduous Commands.

How he cou'd certainly know that ſuch a Command came from God, will beſt appear by enquiring a little † into the ſeveral Ways, wherein we find God revealing himſelf to this beloved Patriarch. And, to this Purpoſe, we muſt obſerve, that, at firſt, he left his own Country and Kindred, by the expreſs Command of God, and went into a ſtrange Land, which God had promis'd to give his Poſterity. We are not told, indeed, in what Manner God appear'd to him, when he gave him this Command; but we can hardly think, that a Perſon of his Gravity and Years wou'd incline to ſeek unneceſſary *Adventures*; nor can we imagine, why his aged Father ſhould accompany him in them, unleſs there was a manifeſt Conviction that the Call was from God.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

How he was convinc'd, that the Command of ſacrificing his Son *came from God.*

AFTER he had been for ſome Time ſettled in *Haran*, long enough to have his Family and Fortune increas'd in it, and probably long enough to like it, and be contented with it; God commands him thence into another ſtrange Country, in all Appearance no better than that where he then was, and conſequently none of his own Option; and there he appear'd to him the ſecond Time, and renew'd his former Promiſe of giving him *the Land*, whereinto he had thus conducted him (z).

AFTER this, when he was driven by Famine into *Egypt*, God ſufficiently manifeſted his ſignal Protection of him, by plaguing *Pharaoh* and his Houſe upon his Account. Upon his Return to *Canaan*, he renew'd his Aſſurance of giving him the promis'd Land; and then it is ſaid, that *the Word of the Lord came to him in a Viſion*, wherein the Promiſe of an Heir, and a numerous Poſterity is added to that of *Canaan*; and, as *Abraham* requeſted a Sign in Confirmation of all this, ſo God was pleas'd to comply with his Requeſt, and, accordingly, again, he appears to him in a Viſion, repeats again the Promiſe to him, ſupports the Promiſe

† The uſual Ways, recorded in the *Old Teſtament*, of God's revealing himſelf to his Servants, were by Dreams, by Voices, and by Apparitions. 1. *Dreams* are, in ſome Places, call'd *Viſions*, and *Viſions of the Night*, becauſe Perſons, under this Form of Revelation, ſaw Things, and heard Voices, as plainly to all Imagination, as if they had been awake: But what ſort of Ideas and Images affected their Minds at ſuch a Time, and how they diſtinguiſh'd *divine* Dreams from ſuch, as were purely *natural*, we are no where told; only if we may be allow'd to conjecture, 1ſt, Such Dreams, as were *Divine*, had none of thoſe confus'd and idle *Phantoms*, which are found in other Dreams, but diſtinctly repreſented to their Minds whatever Things, or Beings, God was pleas'd to ſend, without any Mixture of foreign Images, or Words: 2dly, They were more *lively*, than other Dreams; their Images were ſtrong and vigorous, and fix'd deeply in the Soul; and, 3dly, they were either attended with the Voices of God or Angels, ſpeaking diſtinctly to them, or had ſome particular Inſtinct, always accompanying them. 2. *Voices* were frequently heard without any Appearance or Repreſentation, and proceeded ſometimes from the Clouds, from out of the Fire, out of the Whirlwind, &c. in which Caſes, to judge of the Veracity of a Revelation, it was generally thought, that when the Voice was greater, than any human Voice, (as it was on the Top of the Mountain when God deliver'd the Law) or proceeded from a Place, where no human Creature was, (as in the Inſtance before) that it came either from God himſelf, or from ſome Meſſenger ſent from Heaven. 3. At other Times, a Figure or Reſemblance has appear'd to Perſons awake, talk'd with them, and done ſeveral Things in their Company, as if it had been an human Creature; and yet the Event has ſhewn, that it was either God himſelf, or an Angel conceal'd in human Shape. And, in this Caſe, the Way of diſcerning them ſeems to have been, either by the Air and Majeſty of their Looks, (as in the Angel that appear'd to *Manoah*'s Wife) or by ſome miraculous Actions, that were above the Power of human Performance (as in that, which appear'd to *Gideon*). In any of theſe Methods of Revelation, where theſe ſeveral Circumſtances concurr'd, it was always preſum'd, that the *Dream*, or *Voice*, or *Viſion*, was from God; ſince it is not to be ſuppos'd, that he, who ſees and hears all Things, and himſelf is a Lover of Truth, wou'd ever ſuffer thoſe, that love and fear him, to be impos'd upon by evil Spirits, or even perplex'd by the phantaſtical Operations of Nature itſelf. Vid. my *Body of Divinity*, Part ii. c. 3.

(z) Revelation examin'd, Vol. II. Diſſertation 8.

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by a Miracle, and confirms a Covenant by Fire from Heaven, to consume the Sacrifice, which he had commanded him to offer.

AGAIN, when *Abraham* was ninety-nine Years old, God appear'd to him, and, that his Appearance was in some glorious visible Form or Figure, is sufficiently clear from the Text, which tells us, *that* Abraham *fell upon his Face, while God convers'd with him.* Here *Isaac* is promis'd, and *Circumcision* instituted, a painful hazardous Rite, which the Patriarch wou'd never have comply'd with, but from a full Conviction of a divine Command.

AFTER this, he appear'd unto him under the Tree of *Mamre*, in the Shape of a Pilgrim, and, by his whole Conversation with him, concerning the Fate and Iniquity of *Sodom*, discover'd himself to be God, or (to speak more properly) the *Messias* in human Shape. Soon after this, he appear'd to *Abimelech* in *Abraham*'s Behalf, and inflicted a Distemper upon his whole House, which was remov'd upon *Abraham*'s Prayer; and soon after this, God's Promise of an Heir was fulfill'd in the Birth of a Son from a barren Woman, which was a Proof equivalent to a thousand Miracles.

ONCE more, God commanded *Abraham* to comply with his Wife's Request, in casting out *Hagar* and her Son, though the Text implies that he lov'd them both very tenderly. This was a Command so seemingly cruel and severe, that nothing but a full Conviction of its coming from God cou'd have exacted *Abraham*'s Submission to it: And now, after all these Manifestations of himself to the Patriarch, God commands him to offer up his Son *Isaac*; and will any one say, that *Abraham*, by this Time, had not sufficient Evidence that this Command was of the same Original with the rest? God had, some Way or other, appear'd, and manifested himself to him, nine Times before this Command. Twice in Vision, twice in Miracle, twice under some sensible Appearance, and thrice in some Manner, not explain'd. He had given him three preceding Commands, which no Man in his Senses cou'd obey, without full Assurance that they were enjoin'd from above. He had often, before this Time, call'd to him, spoke to him, convers'd with him, and, on one Occasion, very familiarly and long; and, as we may reasonably suppose, that he always spoke with the same Voice, there is no Doubt to be made, but that he certainly knew that it was God, who spake to him upon this Occasion. For why shou'd *Abraham* suspect that God Almighty wou'd suffer an evil Spirit to delude him into the greatest and most irretrievable Calamity, acting in the Honesty and *Sincerity of his* Heart, and from a Principle of the most exalted Obedience to the divine Will? In so long a Succession of Miracles, Discourses, and Appearances, he must have acquir'd as certain and perfect a Knowledge of the *Deity*, whenever he vouchsafed to reveal himself to him, as another Man has of his *Friend*, when he hears his Voice, and converses in his Presence: And if *Abraham* was fully satisfy'd in this, his Obedience could not fail of being built upon a good Foundation.

From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

'TIS allow'd, indeed, that there is something shocking, at first Sight, in the Idea of a Parent's taking away the Life of his own Child; but then an express Command, from a competent Authority, alters the Case, and makes that, which otherwise would be a Sin, become a Duty. It may justly be said, that he is a barbarous Parent, who commands his Children to be beat to Death with Rods before his Eyes. —— This Position is undoubtedly true in the general; but does it follow from hence, that the first *Brutus* was either a bad Man, or a bad Parent, for commanding his Sons to be serv'd in this Manner, when the Duty, he ow'd to his Country, requir'd it? And did *Abraham* owe less Duty to God, than *Brutus* owed to his Country? A Captain, who should command his valiant and victorious Son to be put to Death, for exerting his Prowess upon the Enemies of his Country, must surely be a Monster among Men. This

That upon such Conviction he was oblig'd to do it.

Position,

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Poſition, laid down without any Limitation, is undeniably true: But will it therefore follow, that *Manlius* was a Monſter, tho' he put his own Son to Death for killing *Geminius*, General of the *Latins*, contrary to the Diſcipline of the War? And yet it would badly become us to ſay, that the Diſcipline of War is a ſtronger Obligation, than an expreſs, poſitive, unerring Command, from the great Ruler of the World, the ſovereign Arbiter of Life and Death.

His Reaſoning hereupon.

So good a Man, as *Abraham* is repreſented, cou'd not but antecedently be ſatisfy'd, that a Being of infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs cou'd give no Command, that would *ultimately* terminate in Calamity upon Innocence and Obedience; and therefore, when a Command of an intricate and myſterious Nature was given him, what had he to do, but to obey? He knew this Son, whom God now demanded, was given him in an *extraordinary* Manner, and why might he not be taken away in a Manner as extraordinary? And when he was taken away, he very well knew, that God cou'd again reſtore him in a Manner yet more extraordinary, and that raiſing him from the Grave had no more Difficulty with *infinite* Power, than raiſing him from the Womb of a Woman, barren at firſt, and now, by the Courſe of Nature, long paſt the Power of Conception, which makes St *Paul*'s Reflection a lively Comment upon the Principles of *Abraham*'s Obedience on this Occaſion: (*a*) *By Faith* Abraham, *when he was tried, offer'd up* Iſaac, *and he, that had receiv'd the Promiſes, offer'd up his only begotten Son, of whom it was ſaid,* that in *Iſaac* ſhall thy Seed be called, *accounting that God was able to raiſe him up, even from the Dead, from whence alſo he receiv'd him in a Figure.*

And why he made no Remonſtrance.

AND this, by the Bye, ſuggeſts a Reaſon, why the holy Patriarch, who, in other Caſes, was charitable enough to intercede for the Wicked, does not ſo much as offer up one Petition for the Life of his innocent Son. He had that true Senſe of the Power and Veracity of God, that he was fully perſuaded, that the Fate of his Child, and the Tenour of God's Promiſes wou'd, one Way or other, be made conſiſtent, and therefore he left it upon his infinite Wiſdom to find out the Means of unravelling this intricate Affair, without ever once murmuring, or making the leaſt Remonſtrance. But ſuppoſing that *Abraham* had taken upon him to expoſtulate with God upon this hard Injunction; yet, (*b*) what cou'd he have urged, but that the Perſon, whom he order'd him to ſlay, was his Son, his only Son, his Son whom he tenderly lov'd, and that he could not, without the greateſt Force upon paternal Affection, lay violent Hands upon him: But now all Pleas of this Kind were fully anticipated by the divine Command, *Take now thy Son, thine only Son* Iſaac, *whom thou loveſt, and get thee into the Land of* Moriah, *and offer him there for a Burnt-Offering, upon one of the Mountains, which I will tell thee of,* i. e. " notwithſtanding he is thy Son, thine " only Son, and a Son thou haſt ſet thine " Heart upon, yet muſt thou ſacrifice him " unto me."

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

IN the Caſe of *Sodom*, Almighty God is repreſented as deliberating, and undetermin'd, and there *Abraham*'s Humanity, and the Rectitude of his Mind were at Liberty, nay, were engag'd to interpoſe; but in the Caſe of his own Son, God appear'd fix'd and determin'd, and there his Humility, and the Deference due to his God forbad him to expoſtulate. Not to ſay, that, if he erred in the *firſt* Caſe, he knew it was the Error of an upright, a humane, and a generous Spirit; but an Error in the *latter* would be the Effect of Partiality, and Self-intereſt; and *Abraham*'s Heart was too honeſt, and too enlarged, to allow him in a Conduct, that could any way fall under the Suſpicion of ſuch mean and ſordid Principles. This ſeems to vindicate the Conduct of *Abraham* in paying a ready Obedience to the divine Command;

(*a*) Heb. xi. 17, &c. (*b*) Revelation examin'd, Vol. II. Diſſert. 8.

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Command; but then, what ſhall we ſay to the Goodneſs and Juſtice of God in impoſing it?

Why God impoſ'd ſo hard a Command.

God indeed governs himſelf by the eternal Rules of Reaſon, and can give no Command in Contradiction to them; but then common Senſe tells us, that theſe are Rules not of *human* Reaſon, but *divine*, and, conſequently, ſuch Rules, as muſt reſult from the Relation, which the whole Univerſe, and all the Parts thereof have to one another; an immenſe Compaſs and Variety of Things, which nothing, but infinite Wiſdom can comprehend! And therefore we take quite wrong Meaſures, when we eſtimate the Nature and Perfections of God from what we find in ourſelves; for *as the Heavens are higher than the Earth, ſo are his Ways higher than our Ways, and his Thoughts higher than our Thoughts.*

Upon the Suppoſition however, that God really intended that *Abraham* ſhou'd have taken away his Son's Life, there cou'd have been no Injuſtice in the Injunction, ſince God, who is the Author and Giver of Life, has an undoubted Right to reſume it, when, and in what Manner, he thinks fit, and his infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs ſecure us from all Suſpicion of his taking it away *arbitrarily* or *unlawfully*: So that, had the Command been actually executed, we muſt have ſuppos'd it to have been wiſe, juſt, and good, becauſe a divine Command neceſſarily implies Wiſdom, and Juſtice, and Goodneſs, in the higheſt Degree, tho' the Reaſon of that Command ſhould not appear to ſuch limited, ſhort-ſighted Creatures, as we are.

But this was not the Caſe: God never intended that this Command ſhould be put in Execution. His only Purpoſe was, to make a Trial of *Abraham*'s Obedience, not to inform himſelf in any Thing, who was *omniſcient*, and knew beforehand, both what was in *Abraham*'s Heart, and how he would acquit himſelf in this important Juncture; but to make him more *perfect by ſuffering*, and his Example more conſpicuous, (*c*) *that the Trial of his Faith* (as the Apoſtle words it) *being much more precious than of Gold, that periſheth, (tho' it be tried by Fire) might be found unto Praiſe, and Honour, and Glory*; and that all future Generations, reading the Hiſtory of his Patience and Perſeverance, his Courage and Conſtancy, his Faith, and Hope, and Magnanimity, might glorify God in him, and look upon his Example, as a ſhining *Light*, which the Hand of Providence has ſet up in the *Firmament* of his *Church*, to guide ſucceeding *Saints* in the intricate and arduous Paths of their Duty.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

The Meaning of Abraham's *requeſting a Sign.*

Those, who would gladly find any Flaw in our Patriarch's Character, are apt to ſuggeſt, that his deſiring of God a Sign concerning the Land of *Canaan*, which had been ſo lately promiſed him, (*d*) (*whereby ſhall I know that I ſhall inherit it?*) proceeded from a Defect of Faith, for which, as ſome pretend, he was ſo renown'd: But, without ſtraining any Point to get over this Difficulty, we may fairly own, that *Abraham* is here doing no more, than what many *Worthies* of old are known to have done after him, when they were put upon any difficult Services; namely, requeſting of God ſome outward Token or Repreſentation, to ſtrengthen and confirm his Faith concerning the divine Promiſes, which is an Argument of Modeſty, not of any Diffidence in the divine Veracity; and therefore the Words are very properly paraphras'd, by St *Chryſoſtom*: "I "firmly believe, that, what thou haſt "promis'd, ſhall come to paſs, and there- "fore I aſk no Queſtions out of Diſtruſt; "but I ſhall be glad to be favour'd with "ſome ſuch ſpecial Token, or Anticipa- "tion of it, as may ſtrongly affect my "Senſes, and raiſe my poor weak Ideas "and Imaginations about it."

His Practice gave no Occaſion to Idolatry.

Those, that are diſpoſed to find Faults, are always provided with an Handle; otherwiſe, one would wonder, that *Abraham*'s making *Groves* the conſtant Place of

(*c*) 1 Pet. i. 7.

(*d*) Gen. xv. 8.

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of divine Worſhip, ſhou'd be ever brought as an Accuſation againſt him, merely becauſe, in After-Ages, they came to be perverted into Scenes of the groſſeſt Superſtition and Idolatry; or that, becauſe his Intention to offer up his Son gave Umbrage to human Sacrifices afterwards, he ſhould be thought chargeable with the Event. The Groves of *Moreh* and *Mamre*, which were the principal ones, that he planted, were (*e*) (as we hinted before) certain *Oratories*, or Sanctuaries, expos'd to the open Air, (*f*) but planted with Trees, for the Benefit of their Shade, and for the more ſolemn Compoſure of the Mind, and Recollection of the Thoughts for heavenly Contemplation. Before the Inſtitution of more commodious Receptacles for divine Worſhip, theſe, and ſuch like Places were uſually frequented for that Purpoſe; and therefore they had ſometimes the Name given them of *the Houſes of God*, *the Courts of God*, and their Trees, were call'd the *Trees of God*. In theſe Places it was that *Abraham* offer'd up his Morning and Evening Sacrifice with Acceptance; and if, in After-Ages, they came to be applied to abominable Purpoſes, he is no more to be blam'd for that Abuſe, than *Moſes* was for ſetting up a *Brazen-Serpent* in the Wilderneſs, which was afterwards perverted to Idolatry, tho', in its *primary* Intendment, it was *ſanative* and *medicinal*.

AND, in like Manner, if the Cuſtom of ſacrificing Children took its Origin from ſome *Tradition* founded on the Hiſtory of *Iſaac*'s being offer'd, wherein, I pray, is either *Abraham* to be blam'd, or God, for appointing him to this Office; ſince, whether the Cuſtom was *prior*, or *ſubſequent*, to this Tranſaction, God has herein taken an effectual Care to diſcountenance it?

(*g*) FOR if, as ſome imagine, this impious and abominable Rite obtain'd at this Time; 'tis evident, that nothing cou'd be better calculated to aboliſh it, than this Command to *Abraham*, which was a plain Document to the whole World, that *human* Sacrifices were not acceptable to God: For, if they could be acceptable from any Hand, they muſt certainly have been ſo from *his*, who, of all Men in the World, ſtood higheſt in the Favour of Almighty God. And therefore, when it appears, in the Event, and this Command was only in Trial of Obedience, and that, when it came to the Point of Execution, *Abraham* was expreſsly forbid to execute it by a Voice from Heaven, and, (to ſhew God's Averſion to human Sacrifices) by his Appointment, a Brute-Animal was ſubſtituted in the Place of *Iſaac*; when all this is conſider'd, I ſay, we can hardly think of a clearer Monition to Mankind upon this Head, than God's own Prohibition of that Practice by Command from Heaven, and a miraculous Interpoſition of a *vicarious* Oblation.

From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

ON the other Hand, if this impious Cuſtom had not yet obtained, but God, in his great Knowledge, foreſaw that Superſtition would ſoon introduce it; what could be a more effectual Means, either to prevent, or repreſs it, than the Atteſtation of all *Abraham*'s diſperſed Servants and Deſcendants, vouching every where with one Voice, that God himſelf had prohibited their Maſter from practiſing it. And 'tis not improbable (from the Fable of the Goddeſs *Diana*'s ſubſtituting a Deer in the Room of *Iphigenia*, who was to be offer'd) that the Memory of God's prohibiting all human Sacrifices was handed down to late Poſterity.

How far Lot, *and his* Daughters *were to blame.*

THUS we have endeavour'd to vindicate ſome Paſſages in *Abraham*'s Life, which ſeem'd moſt liable to Exception; and come now to enquire into the obnoxious Part of the Conduct of his Nephew *Lot*.

(*h*) IT is not to be doubted, but that *Lot*, who, by the Aſſiſtance of his Uncle *Abraham*, had done ſuch ſignal Services to the *Sodomites*, was, by this Time, become a Perſon of ſome Eminence among them;

(*e*) Vid. Page 215, in the Notes. Examin'd, Vol. II. Diſſertation 8.

(*f*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 20.

(*g*) Revelation

(*h*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 21.

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them; had probably married a Woman of a principal Family; and was admitted into ſome conſiderable Poſt of Honour and Authority. The *Jewiſh* Doctors will needs perſuade us, that he was now one of the Judges in *Sodom*, and, as ſuch, *ſat at the Gate of the City*, where the Courts of Judicature were uſually held. His *ſitting at the Gate* however ſeems rather to have been (according to the Hoſpitality of thoſe Days) with an Intent to invite Strangers into his Houſe, the better to ſecure them from the libidinous Outrage of his Neighbours.

Two Strangers, (who afterwards prov'd two Angels) he had now under his Roof, when the Inhabitants, from all Parts of the City, flocking together, ſtorm'd the Houſe, and demanded the two Strangers to be brought out to them, that they might abuſe their Bodies: Whereupon *Lot*, deeply concern'd, leſt the Right of Hoſpitality ſhou'd be violated, is reſolv'd to expoſe both himſelf, and *his*, to the utmoſt Peril, rather than thoſe, whom he had taken under his Protection, ſhou'd come to any Harm. Upon this Principle he ventures out of Doors alone among this lewd licentious Rabble, that he might calmly expoſtulate the Matter with ſome of the Chief of them, and divert them, if poſſible, from the Violence, they intended againſt his Gueſts.

The Offer, which he made them upon this Occaſion, *viz.* to give up his two Daughters to their Luſt, ſeems to be a ſtrange one; but then we are to conſider, that, as it was made in the utmoſt Perplexity of Mind, and out of a vehement Deſire to ſecure his Gueſts; ſo may it, after all, imply no more than this,—— "God forbid, my Friends, that you ſhould "make yourſelves guilty of a Crime of ſo "high a Nature, as to offer the leaſt In- "dignity to theſe noble Strangers, whom "I have receiv'd into my Houſe, and "whom I therefore cannot put in your "Power upon any Terms whatever.. "Much rather had I part even with my "own dear Daughters, who are in my "Power, and who are alſo marriageable, "than with theſe, whom I am not autho- "riz'd to diſpoſe of. Wherefore, I be- "ſeech you, Brethren, deal not ſo fool- "iſhly in this Matter, but conſider what "ye are now going to do; and ſince, of "two Evils, 'tis better to commit the leſs "than the greater, are there not Women "among you, whom ye may chuſe for the "ſatisfying the Deſires of your Fleſh, and "not ſin againſt the Order of Nature? But "if there are none found, that can pleaſe "you, and you will nevertheleſs perſiſt, I "proteſt to you, Sirs, I will ſooner loſe my "own Children, with all that I have in the "World, than even once conſent to de- "part from my Word, which I have gi- "ven to theſe worthy Perſons. There- "fore do as you pleaſe with me, and "mine, ſeeing that I am in your Hand; "only touch not *theſe* *." This ſeems to be, in a great Meaſure, the Purport of *Lot*'s Propoſal to the Men of *Sodom*; and yet, with all this Mollification, it has not unjuſtly incurr'd the Cenſure of (*i*) St *Auſtin*. *We muſt not conſider*, ſays he, *the Offer, which* Lot *made to the Inhabitants of* Sodom, *as proceeding from a wiſe, ſober, and a premeditated Deſign, but rather as a Speech, which dropp'd from a Man, ſtruck with Horror at the Thoughts of the abominable Sin, they were going to commit, and who, by the Surprize and Trouble, that he was in, had loſt the Uſe of his Reaſon and Diſcretion. For, if once we lay it down for a Rule, that there may be a Compenſation of Sin* (as he calls it)

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

* *Le Clerc*, in his Commentaries upon the Place, aſſigns another Reaſon, why *Lot* might, with better Courage, make an Offer of his Daughters to the *Sodomites*. For, ſuppoſing him to be a conſiderable Man in the City, and his Daughters both betroth'd (as we find they were betroth'd, *Gen.* xix. 14.) to two young Gentlemen of Eminence, he might ſafely propoſe the Thing, as knowing very well, that they neither *durſt*, nor *wou'd* accept of it. That they *durſt not*, for Fear of Puniſhment from Perſons of their Rank and Authority; and that they *wou'd not*, becauſe Brothers in Iniquity (however outrageous they may be againſt others) affect always to maintain ſome Form of Decency between themſelves. But it is hard to ſay, what Perſons of their Complexion wou'd either have been *afraid* or *aſham'd* to do, had the Bent of their Inclination tended that Way.

(*i*) In Gen. Tom. 4. Quæſt. 46. & contra Mendatium, c. 9. & c. 7.

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it) *i. e. that we may commit leſs Sins, in order to prevent others from running into greater, we ſhall, in a ſhort Time, lay waſte all Bounds, and ſee every Manner of Wickedneſs come ruſhing in upon us without Controul.*

AFTER the Deſtruction of *Sodom*, and *Lot*'s Departure from *Zoar*, he retired, we are told, into a *Cave*, where his two Daughters betrayed him into the double Sin of *Drunkenneſs* and *Inceſt*; and, with what Deſign they did it, (*k*) the Authors, who would fain apologize for their Conduct, do generally run into this Strain, *viz.* that theſe two *Maids*, having ſome Notions of a general *Conflagration* of the World, and ſeeing their own City and Country conſumed by Fire, were fully perſuaded, that the divine Indignation, which had conſumed the *Sodomites*, had fallen over the Face of the whole Earth, and that their Father was the only Man left, from whoſe Body Mankind was to be repropagated. They were *young*, and unexperienced, *ſay they*, and might therefore very well be ignorant, that ſeveral Parts of the Earth were inhabited, as well as the Plain of *Sodom* had been. As far as their Eye would reach, they ſaw nothing, but ſulphureous Flames, and a wide Theatre of Perdition; and this they look'd upon as the final Cataſtrophe, which, as they had been told, was to put a Period to Nature. They had unaccountably loſt their Mother too; ſo that they concluded, that they, and their Father, were the only Survivors of human Nature, (as *Noah* and his Family had been after the Flood) and that therefore 'twas their Duty to take Care to prevent the Extinction of the *Species*. And, tho' they knew it to be a very grievous Sin in itſelf, to betray their own Father into a carnal Knowledge of themſelves; yet they thought they ſhou'd be more inexcuſable, if they ſhould rate the Chaſtneſs of their Bodies ſo high, as not to part with it, rather than Mankind ſhould be no more.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

BUT all this is no more than a plauſible Fiction, without any Foundation to ſupport it. They had lately left *Zoar*, and knew that it was well inhabited; and were therefore convinc'd, that they and their Father were not the only three Perſons left alive in the World: But this they knew very well, (*l*) that there was not ſo much as one of all their Kindred left, by whom they could raiſe up Seed or Succeſſors to their Father; thoſe, of their Father's Side, being at a vaſt Diſtance from them; and thoſe, of their Mother's, every one deſtroyed in the Conflagration of *Sodom*.

NOW it was at that Time an univerſal Law, which became afterwards a particular one of the *Jews*, that Marriages ſhou'd be contracted within the Family, to preſerve Inheritances, and to avoid the Mixture of Seeds: So that the two Siſters here argu'd very juſtly upon the Principles then univerſally admitted, *i. e.* upon the general Law of Nations. For, ſeeing they had no Brother to keep up their Name and Family, and their Father had loſt their Mother, by whom he might have had other Children, and they themſelves, their Huſbands, before Conſummation, in the common Deſtruction; there was no apparent Poſſibility of preſerving their Father's Family from utter Extinction after their three Lives, or of averting the ſaid *Curſe of Exciſion*, but by the very Method, which, at laſt, they concerted between them. So that they had the Plea of Neceſſity on their Sides to excuſe, if not to juſtify them: And, that they were not led by any Spirit of Uncleanneſs to this Action, we have theſe Preſumptions to believe: —— That, in the Midſt of all the Impurities of the moſt wicked City under Heaven, they had preſerv'd their Innocence and Virginity; that they unanimouſly joined together in the ſame Contrivance, whereas vicious Intrigues are ſeldom communicated, and, whenever they are, always occaſion Quarrels; that, what they did once they never

(*k*) *Origen*'s Hom. 5. p. 15. col. 2. St *Ambroſe* de *Abrahamâ*, l. 1. and St *Chryſoſtom*'s Hom. in Locum. (*l*) *Bibliotheca Bib.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 23.

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never repeated, and ſo cannot be ſuſpected of having been incited by brutal Luſt; and, laſtly, that they were ſo far from being conſcious to themſelves of having acted upon any baſe and ſinful Inducement, that, in the Names of their Children, they took Care to perpetuate the Memory of it to Poſterity; which they never would have done, had they thought it a Reproach to their Father's Name.

THEIR Father too, in the Matter of Inceſt, may in ſome Meaſure be excus'd, for as much as he offer'd no Violence to his Daughters, but was altogether paſſive, and impos'd upon by them; but then, it muſt be conſider'd, that had he not allow'd himſelf to drink to Exceſs, it had not been in the Power of his Daughters to deceive him. The Daughters indeed, without this Expedient, *cou'd* not have attain'd their *End; but* then the Unjuſtifiableneſs of the Means diſſecrates the End, even tho' it were good and laudable before. The ſhort is, both Father and Daughters, in this whole Tranſaction, were not without Sin: And therefore whatever may be ſaid in Mitigation of their Faults, we miſtake the Matter widely, if we think that the ſacred Hiſtory, in barely relating them, means either to approve or commend them.

Melchiſedeck's *Character explain'd, and juſtified.*

IT cannot be denied indeed, but that ſundry Difficulties occur in the Character of *Melchiſedeck*, as he is deſcrib'd in the Holy Scriptures; but there is certainly no Incongruity in his being both King and Prieſt in one Perſon. For, if we caſt our Eye into any antient Writer, we ſhall find that, before the Inſtitution of a ſeparate Order of Men, the *regal* and *ſacerdotal* Offices both went together; and that he, who was appointed to govern the Affairs *of State*, had always a Right to *miniſter about holy Things*. This is an Obſervation, that the Writings of *Homer* will verify in almoſt innumerable Inſtances; but (to mention but one, out of each of his Poems) after *Agamemnon* was conſtituted the Head of the *Grecian* Army, (*m*) we find him every where, in the publick Sacrifices, performing the Prieſt's Office, and the other *Grecian* Kings and Heroes bearing their Parts under him in the Adminiſtration: And (*n*) when *Neſtor* made a Sacrifice to *Minerva*, *Stratius* and the noble *Ecepheron* led the Bull to the Altar; *Aretus* brought the Water, and Caniſters of Corn; *Perſeus* brought the Veſſel to receive the Blood; *Thraſimedes*, Son of *Neſtor*, knock'd down the Ox; but *Neſtor* himſelf acted as Prieſt, and perform'd the reſt of the Ceremony. From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

IF we look into ſome of the beſt Hiſtorians, we ſhall find this Point more confirm'd. For, among the *Lacedemonians*, whenever they went to Battle, the King, according to (*o*) *Plutarch*, always perform'd the Sacrifice; and, in the Army (as *Xenophon* (*p*) informs us) his chief Buſineſs was, to have the ſupreme Command of the Forces, and to be their Prieſt in the Offices of Religion. In the Time of the Heroes, ſays *Ariſtotle*, (*q*) the Cuſtom was, for one and the ſame Perſon to be General of the Forces, Judge, and High-Prieſt, according to that known Verſe in (*r*) *Virgil*,

Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique ſacerdos.

So that, in ſhort, from any Thing that appears in the Hiſtory, we have no Reaſon to think, that, until ſome Ages after *Homer*, Mankind had any other publick Miniſters in *Religion*, but thoſe who were the Kings, and Governors of the *State*.

THERE were indeed, in antient Times, many little Iſlands, and ſmall Tracts of Land, where Civil Government was not ſet up in Form; but the Inhabitants liv'd together in Peace and Quiet, under the Direction of ſome eminent Perſon, who rul'd them by wiſe Admonitions, and by inſtructing them in the great Principles of Religion; and the Governors of theſe Countries

(*m*) Iliad 3. Iliad 8. & in aliis locis. (*n*) Odyſſ. 5. (*o*) In Lycurgo. (*p*) De Repub. Lacedem. (*q*) Polit. l. 1. (*r*) Æneid. iii. ver. 80.

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Countries affected * to be called *Prieſts* rather than *Kings*. But, if at any Time they, and their People came to form a *political* Society, upon more expreſs Terms and Conditions; then we find theſe Sort of Perſons call'd both Prieſts and Kings. Theſe ſmall States indeed cou'd have but little Power to ſupport themſelves againſt the Encroachment of their Neighbours. Their Religion was their greateſt Strength: And therefore it was their happieſt Circumſtance, that their Kings or Governors were reputed ſacred by their Neighbours, and ſo highly favour'd by God for their great and ſingular Piety, that it was thought a dangerous Thing to violate their Rights, or injure the People under their Protection.

SUCH a King as this was the great *Melchiſedeck*, who came out to gratulate the Patriarch *Abraham*: And 'tis no bad Conjecture of ſome, that he was called the King of *Salem*, not ſo much upon Account of *Salem*'s being the proper Name of any determinate Place, the Seat of his Dominion; as that, in general, it ſignified *Peace*, and that therefore *Melchiſedeck* was the King of Peace, or the *peaceable King*; becauſe the Sacredneſs of his Character ſecur'd him from being invaded by his Neighbours, and his wiſe Adminiſtration kept all Things in good Order, ſo that he was never moleſted by his Subjects.

THIS however is no more than a Conjecture, becauſe it is certain, that there were two Places in *Paleſtine*, which went under that Name; the one, the ſame with that, which was afterwards called *Jeruſalem*, and the other, a Town lying upon the Banks of the River *Jordan*, not far from the Place, (*s*) where *John* (our Saviour's *Forerunner*) is ſaid to have baptiz'd. Here formerly were ſeen the Ruins of the Palace of this *Melchiſedeck*, which, in the Time of St *Jerom*, (as he tells us) diſcover'd the Magnificence of it's Structure: and, upon that Father's Authority, ſeveral modern Authors have gone into the Opinion, that this Place was the Metropolis of that Prince. But ſince that City, even according to the Teſtimony of the ſame St *Jerom*, was quite demoliſh'd by *Abimelech*, 'tis hardly conceivable, how ſuch remarkable Remains ſhould be of ſo long Continuance, and yet eſcape the Obſervation of *Joſephus*, who was no undiligent Enquirer into the Antiquities of the *Jewiſh* Nation, and yet his expreſs Declaration is, That *Melchiſedeck* (*t*) *was King of* Solyma, *which is now called* Jeruſalem. From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

IT is the much more probable Opinion therefore, (*u*) that this Palace was built by *Jeroboam*, when he repair'd *Salem*, and that the Inhabitants (poſſibly the *Samaritans*) in After-ages, either deviſed, or promoted a falſe *Tradition*, that it originally belong'd to *Melchiſedeck*. For the general Conſent of the Antients give it clearly for *Jeruſalem*, as duly conſidering, that *Abraham*'s Rout, in returning from the Territories of *Damaſcus* to *Hebron*, was directly through its Coaſts, (whereas the other *Salem* lay devious, to the North) and that there was a Kind of *Propriety* in the Myſtery, and what the *Analogy* of the Thing ſeem'd to require, that *Melchiſedeck* ſhould be King of that very Place, in which the true *Prince of Peace*, (whereof he was a *Type* and *Repreſentation*) was, in future Ages, to make his Appearance.

WHO this *Melchiſedeck* was, is ſtill an hard Queſtion, that has puzzled moſt Interpreters. The Author to the *Hebrews* indeed has recorded a Deſcription of him; but this is ſo far from giving us any Light, that it has, in a great meaſure, been the Occaſion of leading ſome into a Perſuaſion, (*x*) that the Perſon, here call'd *Melchiſedeck*, was an Angel; others, that he was the Son of God; and others, the Holy Ghoſt, in the Shape and Appearance of

* Thus *Jethro* is called by *Moſes*, not the King, but the Prieſt of *Midian*; and thus *Chryſes*, the Prieſt of *Apollo* at *Chryſa*, and not the King of *Chryſa*, tho' both he and *Jethro* were the Governors of the Countries, where they liv'd. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 6.

(*s*) John iii. 22. (*t*) Antiq. l. 1. c. 11. (*u*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. I. Exercit. 2.

(*x*) Vid. *Calmet*'s and *Saurin*'s Diſſert. ſur *Melchiſedeck*. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. II.

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Man; becauſe they cannot conceive how the Qualities, aſcrib'd to this excellent Perſonage, can comport with any human Creature. The Phraſe however made uſe of by the Apoſtle, ἀγενεαλόγητος *without Deſcent*, or *without Genealogy*, explains what the Apoſtle means by, *without Father, and without Mother*, i. e. * without any Father or Mother, mention'd in the Genealogies of *Moſes*, where the Parents of all pious *Worthies* are generally ſet down with great Exactneſs: (y) So that there being no Genealogy at all of *Melchiſedeck* recorded in Scripture, he is introduc'd at once; even like *a Man dropp'd down from Heaven*, for ſo the Deſcription goes on, *having neither Beginning of Days, nor End of Life*, i. e. in the Hiſtory of *Moſes*, which (contrary to its common Uſage, when it makes mention of great Men) takes no Notice at all of the Time, either of his Birth, or Death, and herein *he is made like unto the Son of God*, i. e. by the Hiſtory of *Moſes*, which mentions him appearing, and acting upon the Stage, without either *Entrance* or *Exit*, as if, like the *Son of God*, he had *abode a Prieſt continually*.

This is the common, and † the beſt approv'd Interpretation of the Apoſtle's Words; but ſtill the Queſtion returns upon us, to whom can this *Character*, even with this *Comment*, belong?

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

Who this Melchiſedeck *was not.*

The *Jews* are generally of Opinion, and herein are follow'd by ſome *Chriſtians*, that *Melchiſedeck* was the ſame with *Shem*, one of the Sons of *Noah*, whom they ſuppoſe alive in the Days of *Abraham*, the only Perſon upon Earth, *ſay they*, who cou'd, with Juſtice, be called his *Superior*, and whom the Deſcription of the Apoſtle cou'd, in any tolerable Manner, befit, as being a Perſon of many Singularities, born before the Deluge, having no Anceſtors then alive, and whoſe Life had been of an immenſe Duration, in Compariſon of thoſe, who came after him. But, not to diſpute the Fact, whether *Shem* was, at that Time, alive or no, (z) it ſeems very incongruous to think, that *Moſes*, who all along mentions him in his proper Name, ſhou'd, upon this Occaſion, diſguiſe his Senſe with a fictitious one; and very incompatible it is with what we knew of *Shem*, that he ſhou'd be ſaid to be *without Father*, and *without Mother*, when his Family is ſo plainly recorded in Scripture, and all his Progenitors may, in a Moment,

* From the Times of *Epiphanius* there were Names invented for the Father and Mother of *Melchiſedeck*. To his Father was given the Name of *Heraclas*, or *Heracles*; and to his Mother, that of *Aſtaroth*, or *Aſtaria*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

(y) *Scott*'s Chriſtian Life, Part ii. c. 7.

† The learned *Heidegger*, in my Opinion, has *taken the right* Method to explain this difficult Paſſage of St *Paul* to the *Hebrews*. He ſuppoſes, (as there really is) a two-fold *Melchiſedeck*, the one *hiſtorical*, whereof *Moſes* gives us an Account in the xivth Chapter of *Geneſis*, as that he was the King, as well as Prieſt of *Jeruſalem*; the other *allegorical*, whom St *Paul* deſcribes in the Words now under Conſideration, and this allegorical Perſon is *Chriſt*. The Word *Melchiſedeck*, ſimply conſider'd, means the *King of Righteouſneſs*; and, from this Senſe of the Word, in its appellative Acceptation, and the Remembrance of this Perſon's being a *Prieſt*, as well as a King, the Apoſtle took Occaſion to draw the Compariſon between him and Chriſt, in order to ſhew the Pre-eminence of the *Chriſtian*, above the *Aaronical* Prieſthood; and what he aſcribes to the hiſtorical *Melchiſedeck*, upon this Account, is only to be underſtood in an *imperfect* and improper Senſe, that is, really and litterally true only in the Perſon of Chriſt. The Apoſtle was minded, in ſhort, to illuſtrate his Argument with ſome Compariſon; aud, writing at this Time to the *Jews* (who were well acquainted with this *allegorical* Way of arguing) he cou'd meet with none, in the whole Compaſs of their Law, ſo commodious for his Purpoſe, as this of *Melchiſedeck*: and therefore as Chriſt, the heavenly *Melchiſedeck*, was *without Father, without Mother, without Deſcent* here on Earth, in reſpect of his Divinity, *having neither Beginning of Days, nor End of Life*; ſo the like Properties may, in ſome meaſure, be applied to the earthly *Melchiſedeck*. Foraſmuch as, in the Book of *Geneſis*, wherein all great Mens Genealogies are ſuppos'd to be recorded, there is no Mention made, either of his Birth, Family, or Death; only he was inveſted with a Royal Prieſthood, which aſſimulates him to Chriſt. He had a Father and Mother, no doubt, and was born, and died, like other Men; but, becauſe theſe Things are not related by *Moſes*, the Apoſtle looks upon them, as tho' they had never been. So that the whole Hinge of the Compariſon turns upon the Silence of the ſacred Hiſtorian, who, in a Book (wherein it might be expected otherwiſe) makes no manner of Mention, either of the Beginning or Ending of *Melchiſedeck*'s Life or Prieſthood: And 'tis for this Reaſon, that he, who wrote by the Guidance of the bleſſed Spirit, was directed to conceal theſe Matters; that, in this Situation, this ſame *Melchiſedeck* might be a more proper *Type* of ſo ſublime a Thing, as that of the Prieſthood of Jeſus Chriſt. Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 2.

(z) *Bochart*'s Phaleg. l. 2. c. 1.

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Moment, be trac'd to their Fountain-Head in *Adam*. Beſides, had *Melchiſedeck* and *Shem* been the ſame Perſon, the Apoſtle wou'd hardly have made him of a Family different to *Abraham*, much leſs wou'd he have ſet him in ſuch an Eminence above the *Patriarch*, or thereupon broke out into this Exclamation concerning him; *Conſider how great this Man was, unto whom even the Patriarch* Abraham *gave the Tenth of the Spoils!*

THESE Arguments ſeem to evince that *Melchiſedeck* and *Shem* were different Perſons; and much more Reaſon have we to ſuppoſe, that he and *Ham*, that wicked Son of *Noah*, were ſo. For who, upon deliberate Thoughts, can believe, that this curſed Perſon was the *Prieſt of the moſt high God*, from whom *Abraham* ſo joyfully receiv'd the *ſacerdotal* Benediction, that he returned it with the Payment of his *Tithes?* And much leſs can we believe, that one of his *ill* Character was the *Type* of the *bleſſed Jeſus*. *Jeſus* indeed himſelf, if he be taken for *Melchiſedeck*, appearing to *Abraham* in an human Shape, (as he is often ſuppos'd to do in Scripture) will anſwer all the Character, which the Apoſtle gives of this extraordinary Perſon: But then the Wonder is, that the Hiſtorian ſhou'd never give us the leaſt Intimation of this; that *Abraham* ſhou'd expreſs no Manner of Surpriſe upon ſuch an Interview; and (what is more) how the *Type* and the *Antitype* can poſſibly be repreſented the ſame. (*a*) For this is the Caſe: Here *Melchiſedeck* was a Repreſentative of our Saviour, according to that of the Apoſtle, *Jeſus was a Prieſt after the Order* of *Melchiſedeck*, which he explains in another Place, *after the Similitude of Melchiſedeck, there ariſeth another Prieſt*; as much as to ſay, *Melchiſedeck* and *Chriſt* were like one another in ſeveral Things, and thereupon one was deſign'd to be a fit *Type* of the other: But as it is unreaſonable and abſurd to ſay, that a Perſon is like himſelf, ſo we cannot rationally imagine, that *Chriſt*, who, as St *Paul* ſays, was *after the Similitude of Melchiſedeck*, was, in reality, the ſame Perſon with him.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

THUS we have look'd into * ſome of the chief Conjectures concerning this great Man, which ſeem to have any Plauſibility in them; and, after all, muſt content ourſelves with what the Scriptures nakedly report of him, *viz.* That this *Melchiſedeck* was both a King and a Prieſt (for theſe two Offices were antiently united) in the Land of *Paleſtine*, in the City of *Jeruſalem*, deſcended, not improbably, * from wicked and idolatrous Parents, but himſelf

(*a*) *Edwards*'s Survey of Religion, Vol. I.

* The ſole Queſtion concerning the Perſon of *Melchiſedeck*, would ſupply Matter for a whole Volume, even tho' one ſhou'd do no more than recite the Catalogue of the different Opinions, to which it has given Riſe, and the Reaſon, upon which each Conjecturer has endeavour'd to eſtabliſh his own. The *Melchiſedecians*, a Sect in the early Times of the Church, maintain'd, that he was a certain divine Power ſuperior to *Chriſt*: *Hieraxes* the *Egyptian*, that he was the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe compar'd to the Son of God: The *Samaritans*, and many *Jews*, that he was *Shem*, the Son of *Noah*. Mr *Jurieu* [in his *Hiſt. Critique des Dogmes*, &c. l. 1.] of late, that he was *Ham*, another Son of his: *Origen*, that he was an Angel: *Athanaſius*, that he was the Son of *Melchi*, the Grandſon of *Salaad*: *Patricides*, that he was the Son of *Phaleg*: *Irenæus*, that he was King of *Jeruſalem*: St *Jerom*, that he was the King of *Salem*, in *Scythopolis*; and a certain anonymous Author, that he was a Man immediately created by God, as was *Adam*: And becauſe he is ſaid to have had no Relations, ſome have given out, that the Earth open'd her Mouth, and ſwallow'd them all up; whilſt others, becauſe he is ſaid to have *had no End of Life*, ſuppoſe that he was tranſlated, and is now with *Enoch* and *Elias*, in a State of Paradiſe. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exerc. 2. But all theſe Opinions are at preſent reduc'd to theſe two, whether this *Melchiſedeck* was a meer mortal Man, or the Son of God in human Shape, which the Reader may find ſupported with Arguments on both Sides, in both *Saurin*'s and *Calmet*'s Diſſertations upon this Subject.

* Thoſe, who make him to be the Son of *Melchi*, an idolatrous King, and of a Queen nam'd *Salem*, have an antient Tradition, that *Melchi* having reſolv'd to offer a Sacrifice to his Gods, ſent his Son *Melchiſedeck* to fetch him ſeven Calves, that he might ſacrifice them; but that, as he was going, he was enlighten'd by God, and immediately return'd to his Father to remonſtrate to him the Vanity of Idols. His Father in Wrath ſent him back to fetch the Victims, and while he was gone, offer'd up to his Gods his own Son, who was the elder Brother of *Melchiſedeck*, with a great Number of other Children. *Melchiſedeck* returning, and conceiving a great Horror at this Butchery, retir'd to Mount *Tabor*, where he liv'd for ſeven Years without Clothes, and without any other Food, but wild Fruits, or any other Drink, but the Dew, that he ſuck'd up from the Plants; till, at length, *Abraham*, by the Direction of God,

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himself a Person of singular Virtue and Piety, the *Priest of the most high God*, but perhaps the first, and the last of his Race, who was so, which might give Occasion to the *Apostle* to describe him under such ambiguous Terms; for the whole of these (according to the Judgment of a learned Author) * may not improperly be reduc'd to this single Proposition, (*b*) *that* Melchisedeck *was the most illustrious of his Family, and had neither Predecessor, nor Successor in his Employ.*

The Prophecy concerning Ishmael *explain'd, and justify'd.*

We readily grant indeed, that there is something very strange and uncommon in the Prophecy relating to *Ishmael*; but the Question is not concerning the *Singularity*, but the *Reality* rather of the Matters contained in it. If these are explicable in themselves, and, upon Examination, found to be true, then is the Prophecy so far from losing its *Credit* upon the Account of its Strangeness, that, for this very Reason, it demonstrates its divine *Origin*; because nothing, but an omniscient Mind, could foresee Things so strange and unaccountable; and nothing but an Almighty Power and Providence could bring these Things to pass, and make the Event exactly agree with the Prediction.

Now, in order to explain the Prophecy itself, and thence to observe how perfectly it has all along been fulfill'd, it must be remember'd, that, (according to the known Stile of the *Old Testament*) what is here said of *Ishmael* must be chiefly understood of his Descendants, in the same Manner (*c*) as what *Jacob* predicts of *Judah*, and the rest of his Sons, was to relate to their Posterity, and be indeed the Characteristick of their several Tribes. And therefore (to take Notice of two of the most odd and unaccountable Branches of his Character) *he will be a wild Man*, or a Man like *a wild Ass*; this (from the known Properties of that Creature) several Interpreters have resolv'd into these Qualities, —— *Fierce, and cruel, loving Solitude, and hating Confinement of any Kind.*

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

How far this Part of the Character was verify'd in *Ishmael*, who liv'd in the Wilderness, and became an expert *Archer*, his very Condition of Life shews us; and how properly it belongs to his Posterity, the *Arabians*, who, in every Nation, have very justly obtained the Appellation of *wild*, a small Inspection into History will inform us.

To this very Day (as (*d*) *modern* Travellers do inform us) great Numbers of them live in the Deserts, and wander about from Place to Place, without any certain Habitation. They neither plow the Ground, nor apply themselves to any Kind of Husbandry, tho' there are several fruitful Places in the Wilderness, that would repay their Pains. Their whole Occupation

God, went up to the Mount, found out *Melchisedeck*, clothed him, and brought him down with him. But those, who wou'd have him be the Son of *Phaleg*, relate a still stranger Story, *viz.* That *Noah*, upon his Death-Bed, charged his Son *Seth* to take *Melchisedeck*, the Son of *Phaleg*, with him, and go to a Place, which the Angel of the Lord shou'd shew them, and there bury the Body of *Adam*, which he had preserv'd in the Ark during the Flood; that in that Place *Melchisedeck* should fix his Habitation, lead a single Life, and entirely addict himself to the Practice of Piety, because God had made Choice of him for his *Priest*, but allow'd him not to shed the Blood of any Animal, nor to offer any other Oblation to him, but that of Bread and Wine only; that *Seth* and *Melchisedeck* did as *Noah* had enjoin'd them, and buried *Adam* in the Place, which the Angel pointed out; that, upon their parting, *Melchisedeck* betook himself to the monastick Course of Life, which *Noah* had prescrib'd him; but that twelve neighbouring Kings, hearing of his Fame, and desirous of his Acquaintance, consulted together, and built a City, whereof they constituted him King and Governor, and, in Honour to his Merit, call it *Jerusalem*. Vid. *Selden* de Jure Nat. l. 3. c. 2. and *Heidegger*'s Hist. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 7.

* The same learned Author, who makes the *Melchisedeck* spoken of in Scripture, in one Sense to be *historical*, and in another *allegorical*, defines the *Historical* in these Words, —— *Verus, & merus homo, ex* Adamo & Noacho, *per ejus Filium* Chamum, & *nepotem* Cananaum, *satus, Hierosolymæ Rex, veri Dei sacerdos, gratiâ communi omnibus fidelibus regeneratus & sanctificatus, atque ad beatum Resurrectionem, & vitam æternam obsignatus.* And the *Allegorical* in these of St *Paul*, —— *Qui est Rex Justitiæ & Pacis, sine Patre, sine Matre, sine Genealogiâ, sacerdos in perpetuum, & habens testimonium quod vivat.* Quæ omnia, ut jam annuimus, *says he*, conveniunt *Melchisedeco*, in sensu minutiore, & allegorico, & (ut patres amant loqui) κατ' οἰκονομίαν; Christo autem in Emphasi, & rei veritate. Historia Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 2.

(*b*) *Outram* de Sacrificiis. (*c*) Gen. xlix. (*d*) Vid. *Rauwolf*'s Travels, Part ii. c. 3.

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tion (beſide ſpoiling their Neighbours) lies in hunting, and killing wild Beaſts, in which there are but few, that make uſe of Fire-Arms: The much greater Part of them make uſe of the *Bow*, and do herein imitate their great Progenitor, that they are the moſt exquiſite *Archers* in the World.

BEFORE the Introduction of *Mahometaniſm*, they were as *vagrant* in their Luſt, and as little reſtrain'd in the Uſe of Females, as the brutal Herd: And, even now, they take as many Wives, as do the *Turks*, i. e. as many as they can keep, whom they purchaſe of their Parents, uſe with Indifference, and diſmiſs at Pleaſure. They rove about like the fierceſt Beaſts of Prey, ſeeking continually whom they may devour; inſomuch, that the Governor of *Grand Cairo* is forced to keep a Guard of four thouſand Horſemen every Night, on the Side of the City next the Wilderneſs, to ſecure it againſt their Incurſions. Nor is the Wilderneſs only the Scene of their Depredations: They rove all over the *Southern* and *Eaſtern* Seas, viſit every Creek, and Coaſt, and Iſland, and (as the (*e*) Hiſtorian compares them) come *ſouſing* like an *Hawk*, with incredible Swiftneſs, upon their Prey, and are gone again in an Inſtant. And, as they have always thus prey'd upon Mankind, the neceſſary Conſequence is, that they have always been at Variance and Hoſtility with them; and therein have made good the other Branch of *Iſhmael*'s Character, *His Hand ſhall be againſt every Man, and every Man's Hand againſt him.*

THERE is not the leaſt Hint in Scripture, nor any Manner of Reaſon to believe, that *Iſhmael* dwelt in a *perſonal* State of Hoſtility with his Brethren, nor is it conceivable, how he cou'd have maintain'd himſelf againſt their united Forces, had he ſo done; and therefore, this Prediction can no otherwiſe be underſtood, than as it relates to his Poſterity, the *Arabians*. Now, that any one Nation ſhould be of ſo ſingular and perverſe a Character, as to ſet themſelves in open Oppoſition to the reſt of the World, and live in perpetual, profeſs'd Enmity with all Mankind; and that they ſhou'd continue to do ſo, not for one Age or two only, but for four thouſand Years together, is ſurely the ſtrangeſt and moſt aſtoniſhing Prediction, that ever was read or heard of. And yet, if we attend a little to the Hiſtory of theſe People (as ſoon as Hiſtory takes notice of them) we ſhall find, in ſeveral Inſtances, a full Accompliſhment of it.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

WHEN *Alexander*, and his victorious Army over-ran a great Part of the *Eaſt*, the *Arabians* (as we are told by *Arrian*, and *Strabo*) of all the *Aſiaticks*, were the only People, who ſent him no Ambaſſador, nor made any Submiſſion to him; which Indignity he intended to have reveng'd in a particular Expedition againſt them, but was prevented by Death.

(*f*) WHAT *Alexander* intended, *Antigonus*, the greateſt of his Succeſſors, attempted; but he was repuls'd with Diſgrace, and the Loſs of above 8000 Men: And when, enrag'd at this Repulſe, he made a ſecond Attempt upon them with a Number of ſelect Men, under the Command of his valiant Son *Demetrius*, the Reſiſtance, he met with, was ſo obſtinate, that he was forced to compound the Matter, and leave them in the quiet Poſſeſſion of their Liberty and Peace.

WHEN the *Romans* and *Parthians* were Rivals for the Empire of the *Eaſt*, the *Arabians* join'd, and oppos'd each Nation, as they thought fit, but were never entirely devoted to either; for their Character always was, that they were *fickle*, if not *faithleſs* Friends, and *fierce* Enemies, who might be repuls'd, and repreſs'd for a Seaſon, but could never be totally vanquiſh'd, or ſubdu'd.

MEN of this Character ſoon became the Objects of the *Roman* Enmity and Ambition, which could endure nothing that was free and independant; and accordingly ſeveral Attempts were ſet on Foot by *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, and other great

(*e*) *Ammianus Marcellinus.*

(*f*) Vid. Dr *Jackſon* on the Creed.

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Generals, in order to enſlave them; but all prov'd ſucceſsleſs: And, tho' they are ſometimes ſaid to have been defeated, yet is there no Account, that we can properly depend on, until we come to the Expedition, which *Trajan* is known to have made againſt them.

(*g*) *TRAJAN* was certainly a long experienc'd and ſucceſsful Warrior. He had ſubdued the *German*, humbled the *Parthian*, and reduc'd already one Part of *Arabia* into a Province; and yet, (*h*) when he came to beſiege the City of the *Hagarenes*, upon every Aſſault, * his Soldiers were ſo annoy'd with Whirl-Winds and Hail, and ſo frighten'd with Thunder and Lightening, and other Apparitions in the Air, (whilſt their Meat was ſpoil'd and corrupted with Flies, even as they were eating it) that he was forced to give over the Siege, and was, not long after, ſeiz'd with a Diſeaſe, whereof he died.

About eight Years after this, the Emperor *Severus*, a very valiant and proſperous Warrior, whom *Herodian* makes no Scruple to prefer even before *Cæſar*, *Marius*, and *Sylla*, diſdaining (as *Trajan* had done) that the *Hagarenes* ſhould ſtand out ſtill againſt the *Romans*, when all the reſt about them had yielded, beſieg'd their City (tho' it was but a ſmall one) twice, and was twice repuls'd with Shame, and great Slaughter of his Men. In the ſecond Aſſault indeed, he beat down ſome of their City-Wall, and thereupon ſounded a Retreat, in Hopes that they would have *capitulated*, and ſurrender'd up the hidden Treaſure, ſuppos'd to be conſecrated to the *Sun*: But when they continued reſolute a whole Day, without giving any Intimations of a Treaty for a Peace, on the Morrow following, the *Roman* Army was quite intimidated. The *Europeans*, who were gallant Men before, refus'd to enter the Breach; and the *Syrians*, who were forced to undertake that Service, had a grievous Repulſe: Whereupon the Emperor, * without making any freſh Attack, decamped from before the City, and departed to *Paleſtine*: *Thus God deliver'd the City*, ſays Dio, *recalling the Soldiers by* Severus, *when they might have enter'd, and reſtraining* Severus *the ſecond Day, by the Soldiers Backwardneſs.*

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

There are only theſe two Things more, which we may obſerve from our Hiſtorian, worthy our Notice upon this Occaſion: The firſt is, that the *Arabians* ſtood *ſingle* in this their Extremity, againſt the whole *Roman* Power; for none of their Neighbours wou'd aſſiſt them. The other Thing is, that the Emperor had Soldiers of all Nations in his Army; for, "whereas other Emperors, (*i*) *ſays our* "*Author*, were contented with Guards of "four different *European* Countries, *Severus* fill'd the City with a mixt Multitude "of Soldiers of all Kinds, ſavage to look "on, frightful to hear, and rude and wild "to converſe with." So that, conſidering all Things, I think we may fairly conclude, that, *every Man's Hand was*, at this Time, *againſt*

(*g*) *Dio*, Hiſt. l. 68. (*h*) Revelation Examin'd, Vol. II. Diſſertation 4.

* The above-recited Author, from whom I have compil'd this Account, aſſures his Reader, that he had, with all the Care he cou'd, examin'd all the Accounts of *Arabia*, that came in his Way, to ſee whether the Phænomena, and Calamities, here mention'd by *Dio* to have diſtreſs'd the *Roman* Army, were frequent in that Region, and that he had never been able to meet with any Inſtance of one of them, except ſometimes Storms of Wind. If Hail, frightful Appearances in the Air, and Food infeſted with Flies, were ordinary Calamities in this Region, all the Accounts of the *Caravans*, that travel thro' the Deſarts, wou'd neceſſarily be full of them; whereas it is notorious, that the beſt Writers, who have left us faithful Diaries of theſe Affairs, do not ſo much as mention any of them: and therefore they muſt certainly have proceeded from a divine Interpoſition in Favour of the *Hagarenes*, in Accompliſhment of the Prediction concerning *Iſhmael* and his Poſterity.

* The Hiſtorian tells us farther, that, after the Breach was made, the Conqueſt of the City was deem'd ſo eaſy, that a certain Captain in the Army undertook to do it himſelf, if he might have but 550 *European* Soldiers aſſign'd him: *But, where ſhall we find ſo many Soldiers?* ſays the Emperor, meaning it of the Diſobedience of the Army, to which he imputed his not carrying that Place. But now, how a Commander, who was at once belov'd and revered almoſt to Adoration by his Soldiers, cou'd not, with all his Authority, influence them to aſſault, when they were, in a Manner, at his Mercy, this can be no ways reconcil'd, without the Suppoſition of that Mighty Being occaſioning it, *who poureth*, when he pleaſes, *Contempt upon Princes, and bringeth their Counſels to nought.*

(*i*) *Ammianus Marcellinus.*

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againſt Iſhmael, and *his Hand*, his only Hand, *againſt every Man*'s; and yet he dwelt, and ſtill dwelleth *in the Preſence of all his Brethren:* For not long after this, it is very well known, that the *Iſhmaelites* join'd the *Goths* againſt the *Romans*, and, having afterwards overcome both, * under the Name of *Saracens*, they erected a vaſt Empire upon their Ruins; and thus *Iſhmael*, in the full Extent of the Prophecy, *became a great Nation.*

Circumciſion of divine Inſtitution.

CIRCUMCISION is the cutting off the Fore-ſkin of the Member, which, in every Male, is the Inſtrument of Generation; and, whoever conſiders the Nature of this Operation, painful, if not indecent in thoſe of Maturity, and to ſuch, as live in hot Countries, highly inconvenient, if not dangerous; an Operation, wherein we can perceive no Footſteps of human Invention, as having no Foundation either in Reaſon, or Nature, or Neceſſity, or the Intereſt of any particular Set of Men, we muſt needs conclude, that Mankind cou'd never have put ſuch a Severity upon themſelves, unleſs they had been enjoin'd, and directed to it by a divine Command. Nay, this ſingle Inſtance of *Abraham*, who, in the advanc'd Age of *ninety-nine*, underwent this hazardous Operation, and the very Indecency of it, in a Man of his Years and Dignity; theſe two Conſiderations are in the Place of ten thouſand Proofs, that it was forc'd upon him; but Nothing, but the irreſiſtable Authority of God, could be a Force ſufficient in thoſe Circumſtances. So that the Strangeneſs and Singularity of this Ordinance is ſo far from being an Argument againſt it, that it is an evident Proof of its divine Inſtitution; and, what was originally inſtituted by God, cannot in Strictneſs be accounted *immodeſt* (tho' we perhaps may have ſome ſuch Conception of it) ſince (*k*) *unto the Pure all Things are pure, but unto them that are defiled, and unbelieving, nothing is pure, but even their Mind and Conſcience is defiled.* From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

THE *Egyptians* indeed, (as (*l*) *Herodotus* informs us) pretend to practiſe this Rite, from no other Principle, but that of *Cleanlineſs*; and poſſibly, at that Time, they might ſo far have loſt the Memorial of its true Origin, as not to retain any other Reaſon for their Obſervation of it: But ſince it is evident to a Demonſtration, that they might, to all Intents and Purpoſes, be as clean without this Rite, as with it, 'tis abſurd to ſuppoſe, that any Man of common Senſe ſhou'd undergo Pain, and Hazard himſelf, and force the ſame Inconveniences upon his Poſterity, merely for the Attainment of an End, which cou'd as fully and perfectly have been accompliſh'd with it.

Not found firſt among the Egyptians.

THERE is a Paſſage indeed in the ſame *Herodotus*, wherein he tells us, "That the "*Colchians*, the *Egyptians*, and the *Ethio-*"*pians*, were not the only Nations, that "circumciſed *from the Beginning*, and "that the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, who "liv'd in *Paleſtine*, acknowledg'd they "borrow'd that Rite from them." But here the Hiſtorian is leſs to be blam'd for having run into this Error, ſince the *Egyptians* were a People naturally ſo vain, and conceited of their Antiquity, that they choſe rather to impoſe upon him by a falſe Information (for all this Account he had but from Information) than confeſs that they receiv'd Circumciſion from any other People. In the other Part of the Story 'tis manifeſt, that they did impoſe upon him, when they told him that the Inhabitants of *Paleſtine* (whom he calls *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*) *confeſs'd*, that they receiv'd Circumciſion from them; whereas there were no Inhabitants in *Paleſtine* circumcis'd but the *Jews*, and theſe always profeſs'd

* The *Iſhmaelites*, as ſome imagine, upon the Reproaches of the *Jews*, who upbraided them with *Baſtardy*, became aſham'd of their old Names, deriv'd from *Hagar* and *Iſhmael*, which carried an Odium in the Sound, and took upon them the Name of *Saracens*, deſiring to be accounted as the Deſcendants of *Abraham* by his Wife *Sarah*; but what deſtroys this *Etymology* is this, that the Antients call'd them *Sara-kenoi*, and not *Sarænoi*, as they muſt have been call'd, if their Name had been deriv'd from *Sarah*; and therefore the learned *Scaliger* ſuppoſes the Word to come from the *Arabick* Word, *Sarack*, which ſignifies to *ſteal* or *plunder*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

(*k*) Tit. i. 15. (*l*) Lib. 2.

A. M. 2108, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1896, &c.

feſs'd to have receiv'd it directly from *Abraham*.

(*m*) *HERODOTUS* indeed, in all his Writings, has ſhewn, that he was a great Stranger to the Affairs of the *Jews*, and much more to the Hiſtory of the Patriarchs, who ſo long preceded the Inſtitution of their Republick. What he tells us of the Origin of Circumciſion, *viz.* that it was among the *Egyptians from the Beginning*, is in a looſe and vagrant Expreſſion, accidentally dropt from him, or rather contriv'd on Purpoſe to conceal his Ignorance of the Matter: Whereas *Moſes*, who was long before him, knew the Hiſtory of the Patriarchs, and particularly that of *Abraham*; and therefore he does not content himſelf with popular or fabulous Reports, or endeavour to conceal his Meaning under indefinite and general Expreſſions, but marks out the particular Period, and gives us a plain and full Account both of the Cauſes and Circumſtances of the whole Inſtitution. The Truth *is*, there is no Compariſon between the two Hiſtorians in this Particular; and therefore, if we will credit the *ſacred Penman* in a Point, wherein his Knowledge could hardly be defective, ſo far were the *Egyptians* from preſcribing to the *Hebrews* in the Rite of Circumciſion, that, when *Abraham* was in *Egypt*, there was no ſuch Cuſtom then in Uſe.

Not in Egypt *in* Abraham's *Time.*

It was twenty Years after his Return from that Country, that God enjoin'd him the Rite of Circumciſion; and then it is ſaid, that (*n*) *Abraham took* Iſhmael *his Son, and all that were born in his Houſe, and all that were bought with his Money, and circumciſed the Fleſh of their Fore-skin.* Now it is evident, that when he came out of *Egypt* he brought *Men-Servants and Maid-Servants* with him in abundance; and therefore, unleſs we can ſuppoſe that all theſe *Egyptian* Men-Servants died within twenty Years, when the ordinary Period of Life was at leaſt an Hundred; or that, when they died, none of them left any Male-Iſſue behind them; we cannot but conclude, that Circumciſion was not known in *Egypt* in *Abraham*'s Time, becauſe it is expreſly ſaid, that *every Male, among the Men of* Abraham's *Houſe, was circumciſed* at the ſame Time that *he* was, which could never have been, had they undergone that Operation before. From Gen. xx—xxv 11.

At what Time the Rite of Circumciſion obtain'd in *Egypt*, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to determine; there is a Paſſage however in the Prophet *Jeremiah*, which, if taken in a literal Senſe, is far from encouraging any high Pretenſions to Antiquity: (*o*) *Behold the Days come, ſaith the Lord, that I will puniſh all them, that are circumcis'd, with the uncircumcis'd*; Egypt, *and* Judah, *and* Edom, *and the Children of* Ammon, *and* Moab, *&c. for all theſe Nations are uncircumcis'd, and all the Houſe of* Iſrael *are uncircumcis'd in their Heart:* The plain Senſe of which Words is this, —— That God would viſit the Houſe of *Iſrael* like ſtrange Nations; becauſe, as the latter were uncircumcis'd *in the Fleſh*, ſo the former were *in the Heart*. Not but that, in the Days of *Jeremiah*, the Rite of Circumciſion was known and practis'd among the *Egyptians*, as well as among other Nations; but then it was not ſo common and general, nor was it at all us'd any where, till long after *Abraham*'s Days.

One probable Opinion therefore is, that the *Arabians* receiv'd it from the *Iſhmaelites*; that the *Egyptians* receiv'd it from the *Arabians*, or perhaps from *Abraham*'s Children by *Keturah*; and that from the *Egyptians* the People of *Colchis*, knowing themſelves to be of *Egyptian* Extract, embrac'd it, in Imitation of their illuſtrious Anceſtors. But even ſuppoſe that this Cuſtom was not eſtabliſhed in *Egypt* by the Poſterity, either of *Hagar*, or *Keturah*; yet why might not *Joſeph*, in the Courſe of a moſt abſolute Miniſtry for fourſcore Years together, be able to introduce

(*m*) *Baſnage*'s Hiſtory of the *Jews*. (*n*) Gen. xvii. 11, 25, 27. (*o*) Jer. ix. 25, 26.

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duce it? (*p*) 'Tis the Practice, we know, nay, 'tis the Pride of Slaves, to imitate their Maſter's Manners, eſpecially if he ſeems ſollicitous to have them do ſo; and therefore we need not doubt, but that, upon the leaſt Intimation of his Pleaſure, the *Egyptians* would readily embrace the religious Rites of ſo great, ſo wiſe, ſo powerful a Miniſter, who had preſerv'd every one of their Lives, who had ſav'd the whole Kingdom from Ruin, and was himſelf ſo viſibly, and ſo remarkably guided by the Spirit of God. But whenſoever, or from whomſoever it was, that the *Egyptians* learned this Rite, 'tis certain, that the Reaſon of its Inſtitution was not with them the ſame, that it was among the *Jews*, and therefore the Circumciſion itſelf muſt not be accounted the ſame.

The Reaſons and Ends of its Inſtitution.

WHOEVER looks into the Life of *Abraham*, will ſoon perceive, that God did, all along, deſign him for a Pattern of Faith and perfect Obedience, to all ſucceeding Generations. (*q*) The more his Faith was tried, the more illuſtrious it became, and the more Obſtacles there were rais'd in the Accompliſhment of the divine Promiſes, the more the good Patriarch ſhew'd, (in ſurmounting theſe Obſtacles) the high Conception, he had entertain'd of him, from whom theſe Promiſes came. For, after a Promiſe of a numerous Poſterity, why was it ſo long before he gave him any Son at all? After the Birth of *Iſhmael*, why ſo long before the Promiſe of an Heir by his Wife *Sarah*? And after that Promiſe was given, why ſo long, even till the Thing was impoſſible, in an ordinary Courſe of Nature, before the Promiſe was accompliſh'd, and the Child ſent? All this was to exerciſe his Faith, and to give him an Opportunity of ſhewing to the World, how fully he was convinc'd, that, notwithſtanding all theſe Impediments and Delays, God would certainly, by one Means or other, effectually make good his Promiſes. The like may be ſaid of the Command of *Circumciſion*. God did not only defer, for the Space of twenty whole Years, the Birth of that Son, who was ſo ſolemnly promis'd, and ſo impatiently deſir'd, but even, when that Time was expir'd, and *Abraham* might now juſtly hope to ſee the Promiſe accompliſh'd, and his Faith crown'd; God was pleas'd to croſs it again, by requiring of him the Performance of an Act, which, in all Appearance, would be a total Defeat to all his Hopes. For this Injunction, *My Covenant ſhall be in your Fleſh*, to a Man of advanc'd Age, ſeems as oppoſite to the Promiſe of having a Son, as that other of *taking his Son, his only Son* Iſaac, *and offering him up for a Burnt-Sacrifice*, was to the Promiſe of his being the Father of a numerous Poſterity.

From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

BUT *Abraham*'s Faith triumph'd over this, as well as all other Obſtacles. He immediately perform'd the Operation, notwithſtanding its Oddneſs, its Danger, its ſeeming Indecency, and the apparent Oppoſition it had to the divine Promiſes: And, 'tis to preſerve the Remembrance of the Faith of their great Anceſtor, who, in ſo many diſcouraging Circumſtances, *waited patiently on God, and againſt Hope believ'd in Hope* (as the Apoſtle expreſſes it) that God preſcrib'd to the *Jewiſh* Nation the Sacrament of Circumciſion. For this was a farther End of its Inſtitution, not only to be a *Mark of Diſtinction* between the Poſterity of *Abraham*, and all other Nations, but a *Token* likewiſe of God's Covenant made with him, and his Poſterity, and a *Note of Commemoration* to put thoſe, who bore it, continually in mind, whoſe Offspring they were, and what Advantages entitled to upon that Account, provided they took Care not to degenerate from the Glories of that Stock, from whence they ſprang.

AND indeed, conſidering that *Abraham* was the firſt, we read of, whom God reſcued from the general Corruption of Faith and Manners, which the World had now, a ſecond Time, relaps'd into; and conſidering withal, that this Perſon and his Poſterity were ſingled out

(*p*) Revelation Examin'd, Vol. II. Diſſertation 4.

(*q*) *Saurin*'s Diſſertation 15.

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for a *choſen Generation*, the *Repoſitory* of Truth, and the *Receptacle* of God *incarnate*; there was Reaſon in Abundance, why this Remembrance ſhould be very grateful to them: And apt enough, 'tis plain, upon all Occaſions, they were to value themſelves, and deſpiſe others, upon the Account of ſo particular an Honour. (*r*) But the Misfortune was, the moſt uſeful Part of the Reflection, *viz.* the eminent Faith and ready Obedience of ſo renown'd an Anceſtor, and the noble Emulation of his Virtues, which ſuch a Pattern ought to have inſpir'd; this they were too apt to over-look, tho' any conſidering Man (as the Apoſtle (*s*) excellently argues) could not but perceive, that the only valuable Relation to *Abraham* is not that of *Conſanguinity*, and natural Deſcent, but the Reſemblance of his Virtues, and claiming under him as the *Father of the Faithful*.

And this ſuggeſts another, and indeed none of the leaſt conſiderable Ends, for which Circumciſion was inſtituted; *viz.* to be a *Sign* of inward Virtue, and to figure out to us ſome particular Diſpoſitions of Mind, which bore Reſemblance to the outward Ceremony, and were requir'd to render it effectual; for which Reaſon it is, that we read ſo much, in the *old* Law (*t*), of *circumciſing the Foreſkin of the Heart*, and hear the Apoſtle ſo frequently telling us, in the *new*, (*u*) *of putting off the Body of the Sins of the Fleſh by the Circumciſion of* Chriſt; (*x*) *for he is not a Jew, who is one outwardly, neither is that Circumciſion, which is outward in the Fleſh; but he is a Jew, who is one inwardly, and Circumciſion is that of the Heart, in the Spirit, and not in the Letter, whoſe Praiſe is not of Men, but of God.*

Abraham's Conqueſt of the four Kings accounted for.

It may ſeem a little ſtrange at firſt perhaps, that *Abraham*, whoſe Courſe of Life was *retir'd* and *philoſophical*, ſhou'd, all on a ſudden, commence ſo great a Warrior, as to be able to defeat four Kings, at once, and their victorious Armies, with a ſmall Number of his *Domeſticks*, and ſome Aſſiſtance, that was given him by his Neighbours. His own Men were *three hundred and eighteen*; and what Force his Confederates, the three *Phœnician* Princes, brought to his Aſſiſtance, we do not find mention'd. We may probably enough ſuppoſe, that they did not exceed his own Domeſticks; but then we are not oblig'd to affirm, that he fell upon the whole Body of the *Aſſyrian* Army with this ſmall Retinue. This certainly wou'd have been too bold an Attempt for the little Company, which he commanded, and therefore the more likely Suppoſition is,——That coming up with them by Night, he divided his Men into two or three Parties, the better to make a Diverſion, and conceal his Strength; that with *one* Party himſelf might attack the Head Quarters of King *Cherdorlaomer*, where the chief Feaſting and Revelling was kept for Joy of their late Victories; that with *another* he might fall upon thoſe, who were appointed to guard the Captives and the Spoil; and with a *third* might be beating up other Quarters; ſo that the *Aſſyrians*, being fatigu'd in their late Battle, ſurpriz'd at finding a new Enemy, and not knowing what their Number or Strength might be, or where their principal Attack was to begin, might endeavour to ſave themſelves by Flight; which *Abraham* perceiving, might take the Advantage of their Fright, and purſue them, until he had made himſelf Maſter of the Priſoners and the Spoil, and then retire himſelf, as not thinking it adviſeable to follow them until the Day-light might diſcover the Weakneſs of his Forces.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

All this might well enough be done by a common Stratagem in War, without any miraculous Interpoſition of Providence: But it is much more likely, that the ſame God, (*y*) who, in After-Ages, inſtructed one of his Poſterity, even with ſuch another little Handful of Men, not only to break

(*r*) *Stanhope*, on the Epiſtles and Goſpels. (*s*) Rom. iv. 11. (*t*) Deut. x. 16. (*u*) Col. ii. 11.
(*x*) Rom. ii. 28, 29. (*y*) Judges, at the viith and viiith Chapters.

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break an Army of about two or three hundred thouſand, but to kill of them, upon the Spot, no fewer, than an hundred and twenty Thouſand; to diſperſe, at leaſt as many more; to vanquiſh, after this, a Party of fifteen Thouſand, that had retir'd in a Body; and, at laſt, to take all the four Kings, who were the Leaders of this *numerous*, or rather *numberleſs* Army (z); 'tis much more likely, I ſay, that the God of *Abraham* wou'd not be wanting to his Servant in his Counſels, and Suggeſtions upon this important Occaſion: And, if a Party of three hundred Men, under the Conduct of a Perſon, every way inferior to *Abraham*, was, by a Stratagem in the Night, and by the Help of a ſudden *Panick*, which God injected, enabled to defeat four mighty Princes, and to make ſuch a prodigious Slaughter in their Camp; I cannot ſee, why a Perſon of that conſummate Wiſdom, and ſo highly favour'd by God with extraordinary Monitions upon all remarkable Emergencies, as *Abraham* was, might not, by God's Advice, make uſe of ſome ſuch Stratagem, as *Gideon* did, tho' the Scripture is herein ſilent, that the Succeſs might be imputed to the Operation of Faith in him, and not to the Agency of ſecond Cauſes, or, what ſome call, the *Chance of War*.

Why Iſaac *ſubmitted to be ſacrificed.*

OF what Age *Iſaac* was, when *Abraham* was order'd to offer him up, is no where declar'd in Scripture. The Opinion of ſome learned *Jews*, that he was but twelve Years old, is ridiculous; ſince, at that Age, it wou'd have been impoſſible for him to have carry'd ſuch a Load of Wood, as was requiſite upon that Occaſion: And others run it into a contrary Extreme, by ſuppoſing, that he was then ſeven and thirty Years of Age, which muſt have been the Year, wherein his Mother died, and yet ſhe is ſaid to have been alive when this Tranſaction happen'd. *Joſephus* indeed makes him five and twenty, and ſome *Chriſtian* (both antient and modern) Commentators ſuppoſe, that he was paſt thirty; but whatever his Age might be, 'tis acknowledg'd, that he was capable of making Reſiſtance, and wou'd certainly have done it, had he not been very well ſatisfy'd, that the Command came from God. To this Purpoſe the * *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian introduces *Abraham*, as making a very tender and pathetick Speech to his Son; inſpiring him with a juſt Contempt of Life; and exhorting him to a due Submiſſion to the divine Order and Decree; to all which *Iſaac* attended (ſays our Author) with a Conſtancy and Reſignation, becoming the Son of ſuch a Father: And upon this their mutual Behaviour, (a) a very eloquent Father of the *Greek* Church has made this beautiful Reflection: "All "the Strength of reluctant Love cou'd not "with-hold the Father's Hands, and all "the Horror of a *Diſſolution* cou'd not "tempt the Son to move for his own "Preſervation. Which of the two, *ſhall "we ſay*, deſerves the Precedence in our "Wonder and Veneration? For there "ſeems to be a religious Emulation, or "Conteſt between them, which ſhould "moſt

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

(z) *Bibliotheca Bib.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 19.

* The Words, wherein *Joſephus* makes *Abraham* addreſs his Son upon this Occaſion, are theſe: —— "My dear "Son, thou haſt been the Child of many Prayers to me, and, ſince thy Coming into the World, I have ſpar'd for "Nothing in thy Nurture and Education. There is not any Happineſs, I have more wiſhed for, than to ſee thee "ſettled in a conſummated State of Age and Reaſon; and, whenever God ſhall take me to himſelf, to leave thee in "Poſſeſſion of my Authority and Dominions. But, ſince it has been the Will of God, firſt to beſtow thee upon me, "and now to call thee back again, my dear Son, acquit thyſelf generouſly under ſo pious a Neceſſity. It is to "God, that thou art dedicated, and deliver'd up on this Occaſion, and it is the ſame God that now requires thee of "me, in Return for all the Bleſſings and Favours he hath ſhower'd down upon us, both in War and Peace. 'Tis "agreeable to the Law of Nature, for every one that is born, to *die*; and a more glorious End thou canſt never "have, than to fall by the Hand of thy own Father, a Sacrifice to the God and Father of the Univerſe, who "hath rather choſen to receive thy Soul into a bleſſed Eternity, upon the Wings of Prayer, and ardent Ejaculations, "than to ſuffer thee to be taken away by Sickneſs, War, Paſſion, or any other of the common Chances of Mankind. "Conſider it well, and thou wilt find, that in that heavenly Station, to which thou art now call'd, thou mayeſt "make thyſelf the true Support of thy aged Father, and that, inſtead of my Son *Iſaac*, I ſhall have God himſelf "for my Guardian." Antiq. l. 1. c. 14.

(a) *Gregor. Nyſſ.* de Deitate Fil. & Spirit. Sanct. p. 908.

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" moſt remarkably ſignalize himſelf; the " Father, in loving God more than his " own Child, and the Son, in the Love " of Duty above his own Life."

THIS is a gallant Inſtance of a profound Submiſſion to the divine Will; and yet (not to detract from the Merit of it) if we conſider the Matter cooly, it was no more, than what many *Martyrs*, even under the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy, equally have perform'd. They have given themſelves up, in Teſtimony of their Love to God, to Deaths as cruel, as terrible, as this, which *Iſaac* was to ſuffer; (*b*) *They were ſtoned, were ſaw'd aſunder, were tortur'd; and yet they accepted not Deliverance, that they might inherit* a joyful *Reſurrection.*

Various Opinions concerning the Pillar of Salt.

THE *Metamorphoſis* of *Lot*'s Wife is one of the moſt wonderful Events in Scripture, and therefore thoſe, who are unwilling, *as they ſay*, to multiply Miracles without a Cauſe, from the different Senſes, which the Words in the Text are capable of, have endeavour'd to affix another Interpretation to them. Thus the Word, which we render *Pillar*, or *Statue*, beſides its obvious Signification, may, in a *metaphorical* Senſe, be applied to denote any Thing, that, like a Pillar, or Stone, is *immoveable* and *hard*; and, according to this Acceptation, theſe Interpreters ſuppoſe, that *Moſes* might intend no more, than that *Lot*'s Wife was ſtruck dead with Fear, or Surpriſe, or any other Cauſe, and ſo remain'd motionleſs, like a Stone.

IN like Manner, (*c*) the Word, which we render *Salt*, beſides its common Signification, does ſometimes denote *a dry and barren Soil*, ſuch as is found about the *Aſphaltic* Lake: And thus the Senſe of the Words, applied to *Lot*'s Wife, intimates, that the Place of her Death was in a *barren* Country, or in the *Land of Salt*. At other Times it ſignifies a *long Space*, or *Continuance of Time*, becauſe (*d*) we find an *everlaſting Covenant*, call'd a *Covenant of Salt*, (Salt being therefore an Emblem of *Eternity*, becauſe the Things, that are ſeaſon'd therewith, continue incorrupt for many Years) and in this Senſe *Lot*'s Wife may be ſaid to become an (*e*) *everlaſting Monument* of the divine Diſpleaſure, without any Conſideration either of the *Form* or *Matter*, whereinto ſhe was chang'd: And from theſe Significations of the Words, they draw this Explication of the Paſſage. —— " That *Lot*'s Wife, " either looking back upon the City, when " ſhe ſaw it all in a Smoak, and Fire from " Heaven pouring down upon it, was " ſtruck dead with the frightful Sight, in " a Country, that was *afterwards* barren " and unfruitful: Or that, not only ſtop- " ping, but returning towards the City " (when the Angel was gone) ſhe was ſuf- " focated by ſome poiſonous Vapour, and " periſh'd in the common Conflagration." And this, *as they ſay*, ſaves a Miracle, and anſwers the End of Providence full as well, as if the Woman had actually been turn'd into a *Pillar of Salt*, which never was, and never will be prov'd by any authentick Teſtimony.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

ALL this is plauſible enough; and yet thoſe, who adhere to the *literal* Senſe of the Words, have this to ſay in their Vindication, —— That the Vale of *Siddim*, where *Sodom*, and the other Cities ſtood, was originally a very fruitful Soil (as moſt bituminous Countries are) which induc'd *Lot* to make Choice of it for the Paſturage of his Cattle, but is, at preſent, the very Reverſe, a poor, barren Land, full of Sulphur and Salt-Pits: And hence they infer, that all the ſulphureous and ſaline Matter, which is found in this Tract of Ground now, was the Effect of divine Vengeance, and ſhower'd down upon it, when God deſtroyed *Sodom*, and its neighbouring Cities. They therefore ſuppoſe, that the Woman, ſtanding ſtill too long to behold the Deſtruction of her Country, ſome of that dreadful Shower, in the Manner of great *Fleaks* of Snow, fell upon her, and, clinging to her Body, wrapp'd it all over, as

(*b*) Heb. xi. 35, 37. (*c*) Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Diſſert. in Locum. (*d*) Numb. xviii. 19. (*e*) Deut. xxix. 23.

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as it were in a Sheet of *nitroſulphureous* Matter, which congeal'd into a Cruſt as hard as a Stone, and made her appear like a Statue or Pillar of † *metallick* Salt, having her Body enclos'd, and, as it were, *candied* all over with it. And, to maintain this their Hypotheſis, they aſſert, That all *indurated* Bodies (as *Chymiſts* well know) are (as they ſpeak) highly *ſaturated* with a *ſaline* Principle, and that all Coagulations and Concretions, in the Mixture of Bodies, are effected by this Means: So that it was not poſſible to expreſs ſuch a Traſmutation as *Lot*'s Wife underwent, whether it was ſimply by *Incruſtation*, or by total *Penetration*, more properly, than *Moſes* has done. They produce Inſtances from the beſt Hiſtorians of ſeveral *Petrefactions*, both of Men and Cattle (almoſt as wonderful, as this of *Lot*'s Wife) ſtanding in the very ſame Poſture, wherein they were found at the Inſtant of their Tranſmutation, for ſeveral Generations afterwards; and, for the Confirmation of this in particular, they vouch the Teſtimony of the Author of the *Book of Wiſdom*, who makes mention *of a ſtanding Pillar of Salt, as a Monument of an unbelieving Soul*, and the Authority of the LXX Interpreters, who expreſsly render it ſo. Among *Jewiſh* Writers, they cite the Words *(f)* of *Joſephus*, who tells us, that *Lot's Wife, caſting her Eye perpetually back upon the City, and being too much concern'd about it, contrary to what God had forbid her, was turn'd into a Pillar of Salt, which I myſelf*, as he tells us, *have ſeen:* They cite the Words of *Philo*, who frequently takes notice of this *Metamorphoſis*, and, in his *Allegories of the Law*, more particularly, declares, that, *for the Love of* Sodom, *Lot's Wife was turn'd into a Stone:* And, among *Chriſtian* Writers, they produce that Paſſage of *Clemens*, in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*; Lot's *Wife went along with him, but being of a different Spirit, and not perſiſting in Concord with him, ſhe was therefore placed for a Sign, and continues a Statue of Salt to this very Day*; together with the Teſtimony of *Irenæus*, and ſeveral other Fathers of the Church.

From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

THE Accounts, which *modern* Hiſtorians and Travellers give us of this Matter, are ſo very different and uncertain, that we cannot ſo well tell where to fix our Belief. *Bochart*, in his Deſcription of the *Holy-Land*, tells us, that he gave himſelf the Fatigue of a very troubleſome Journey, to behold this Statue, but was not ſo happy as to ſatisfy his Curioſity; for the Inhabitants aſſur'd him the Place was inacceſſible, and cou'd not be viſited without apparent Danger of Death, becauſe of the prodigious Beaſts and Serpents that abounded there, but more eſpecially, becauſe of the *Biduini*, a very ſavage and inhuman Sort of People, that dwelt near it: And yet, if we will believe other Writers of this Kind, they will tell us expreſsly, that there is ſtill ſome Part of it remaining, and to be ſeen, between *Engaddi* and the *Dead-Sea*.

WE will ſuppoſe however for once, that the long Duration of this Monument is an Impoſition of the Inhabitants upon the Credulity of Strangers; yet it will not therefore follow, that there never was any ſuch Thing in being, unleſs we can think it inconſiſtent with the Nature of God to work a Miracle for the Puniſhment of a wicked Woman. Miracles indeed are not to be multiplied, unleſs there be Occaſion for them: But, when the plain Senſe of the Words leads us to ſuch a Conſtruction, 'tis a Niceneſs, I think, no way commendable, to endeavour to find out another, merely for the Sake of avoiding

† Moſt of the Interpreters have obſerv'd to us, that we muſt not take the *Salt*, here mention'd, for common Salt, which Water ſoon diſſolves, and cou'd not poſſibly continue long, being expos'd to the Wind and Rain; but for *metallick* Salt, which was hewn out of the Rock, like Marble, and made uſe of in building Houſes, according to the Teſtimony of ſeveral Authors. *Watſius*, Miſcell. Tom. 1. and *Pliny* (l. 31. c. 7.) tell us, that in *Africa*, not far from *Utica*, there are vaſt Heaps of Salt, like Mountains, which, when once harden'd by the Sun and Moon, cannot be diſſolv'd with Rain, or any other Liquor, nor penetrated with any Kind of Inſtrument made with Iron. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 8.

(f) Antiq. l. 1. c. 12.

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the Miraculouſneſs of the Fact; as if the Scriptures were more valuable, for containing Nothing but obvious Matters, and the *Majeſty* of God any way magnify'd, by ſeeming to exert as little of its *omnipotent* Power, as poſſible.

The Probability of its Exiſtence.

THE ſhort of the Matter is this, —— We have a clear Account, in a Book full of Wonders, of a Woman, confeſſedly guilty of Diſobedience and Ingratitude, ſtruck dead by the Hand of God, and turn'd into a Statue of Salt, for a Monument of Terror to future Generations. And, is there any Thing in this, ſo repugnant to Reaſon, or ſo incongruous for God to do, that we muſt immediately flee to another Interpretation, and to make the Matter eaſy, reſolutely maintain, that the whole Purport of the *Thing* is only this, ——That *the poor* Woman either ſuddenly died *of a Fright*, or indiſcretely fell into the Fire? God certainly may work a Miracle when he pleaſes, and puniſh any wicked Perſon in what Manner he thinks fit; nor is there any more Wonder in the *Metamorphoſis* of *Lot*'s Wife, than there was in changing the Rod of *Moſes* into a Serpent. The ſame Power might do both; and ſince the ſame Hiſtory has recorded both, there is the ſame Reaſon for the Credibility of both. Nay, of the two, the Transformation of *Lot*'s Wife ſeems more familiar to our Conceptions, * ſince we want not Inſtances, as I ſaid before, of Perſons ſtruck with Lightening, and kill'd with cold Vapours, that have immediately petrify'd in the ſame Manner.

Why God puniſh'd Lot's *Wife ſo ſeverely.*

WHY ſhe was turn'd into a Body of *Salt*, rather than any other Subſtance, is only reſolvable into the good Pleaſure of God. The Conjecture of *Jewiſh* Writers upon this Head, we acknowledge, are trifling; nor are we reſponſible for the *Reveries* of ſuch *Chriſtian* Commentators, as wou'd croud in a Multitude of palpable Abſurdities, merely to make the Miracle more portentous: But, why God exacted ſo ſevere a Penalty for an Offence ſo ſeemingly ſmall, is not ſo hard to be reſolv'd; becauſe, according to the Light, wherein we are to conſider this Woman, her Diſobedience to the divine Command had in it all the Malignity of an obſtinate and perverſe Mind, unthankful to God for his Preſervation of her, and too cloſely attach'd, if not to the wicked Cuſtoms, at leaſt to the Perſons and Things, which ſhe had left behind her in that Sink of Sin and Senſuality. From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

BUT there is another Obſervation, which we may draw (*g*) from our Saviour's Application of this Story, as well as (*b*) the Angel's Expreſſions to *Lot*, viz. that ſhe loiter'd by the Way, if not return'd to the City; and if ſo, 'tis no Wonder that ſhe ſuffer'd, when ſhe was found within the Compaſs of the *ſulphureous* Streams from Heaven; nor can God be blam'd for his exemplary Puniſhment of her, unleſs we think it reaſonable for his Providence, in this Caſe, to have interpos'd, and wrought a Miracle for *her* Preſervation, who had ſo little deſerv'd it, and had run herſelf voluntarily into the Jaws of Deſtruction.

THUS we have endeavoured to vindicate the Character of the Patriarch *Abraham*, and to account for ſeveral Tranſactions and Paſſages in Scripture, which ſeem to give Heathen *Teſtimonies to the ſame Purpoſe.*

* *Biſſelius* [in his Argon. Americ. l. 14. c. 2.] has a very remarkable Story to this Purpoſe: He tells us, that *Badicus Amalgrus*, who was the firſt Man that ever march'd an Army over the Mountains between *Peru* and *Chili*, by the Extremity of the Cold, and Unwholſomneſs of the Air, loſt, in that Expedition, a great many Men. Being oblig'd however, ſome few Months after, to return the ſame Way, what the Hiſtorian tells us upon this Occaſion is very wonderful——Stabant adhuc equites peditesque, qui quinto ante menſe, obriguerunt, immoti, inconſumpti, ſitu, formâ, habitu, quo repentina peſtis quemque alligaverat. Alius pronus, humi ſtratus, alius rectus, non nemo videbatur inſerta manibus fræna quaſſare. Ad ſummam, invenit eos tales, quales reliquerat; odore nullo tetro, colore non ſolito funeribus, ac, niſi quod anima dudum intercidiſſet, cætera ſpirantibus, quam extinctis, ſimiliores. To the like Purpoſe it is related by *Aventinus*, (Annot. Bavar. l. 7.) a credible Hiſtorian, that, in his Time, above fifty Country People, with their Cows and Calves, in *Carinthia*, were all deſtroy'd at once by a ſtrong ſuffocating Exhalation, which immediately after an Earthquake (in the Year 1348) aſcended out of the Earth, and reduc'd them to *ſaline Statues*, ſuch as that of *Lot*'s Wife, which, he tells us, were ſeen both by himſelf, and by the Chancellor of *Auſtria*. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 22.

(*g*) Luke xvii. 31, 32. (*b*) Gen. xix. 22.

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give Umbrage to Infidelity, during the Compaſs of his Life. And for the Confirmation of all this, we might now produce the Teſtimony of *profane* Authors, and make it appear, that *Abraham*'s Fame for a juſt, virtuous, and religious Man, is ſpoken of by *Beroſus* in a Fragment preſerv'd (*i*) by *Joſephus*: That his being born in *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, his Removal into *Canaan*, and afterwards Sojourning in *Egypt*, is related by *Eupolemus*, as he is quoted (*k*) by *Euſebius*: That the Captivity of his Nephew *Lot*, his Victory over the four Kings, and honourable Reception by *Melchiſedeck*, King of the ſacred City of *Argarize*, and Prieſt of God, are recorded by the ſame Author: That his marrying two Wives, one an *Egyptian*, by whom he had a Son, who was the Father of twelve Kings in *Arabia*, and the other a Woman of his own Kindred, by whom he had likewiſe one Son, whoſe Name in *Greek* was Γελὸς, which anſwers exactly to the *Hebrew* Word, *Iſaac*; and that this *Iſaac* he was commanded to ſacrifice, but, when he was going to kill him, was ſtopp'd by an Angel, and offer'd a *Ram* in his Stead; all this is related by *Antipanus*, as he is quoted (*l*) by the ſame *Euſebius*: That the antient Cuſtom of *Circumciſion* is taken notice of (*m*) by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and others: That the Burning of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the ſtrange Waſte it has made in a once moſt beautiful Country, is deſcrib'd (*n*) by *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, and *Solinus*: That (*o*) *Iſaac*'s being born to a Father, when old, and to a Mother, incapable of Conception, gave occaſion of the Story of the miraculous Birth of *Orion*, by the Help of the Gods, even when his Father *Hyreus* had no Wife at all: That *Lot*'s kind Reception of the two Angels in *Sodom*, his protecting them from the Inſults of the People, and eſcaping thereupon the Deſtruction that befel them, are all well delineated in the common Fable of *Baucis* and *Philemon*: And (to mention no more) that the Fate of his Wife for her looking back upon *Sodom*, and her being thereupon chang'd into a Statue of *metallick* Salt, gave Riſe to the Poet's Fiction of the Loſs of *Eurydice*, and her Remiſſion into Hell, for her Huſband's turning to look upon her, and of *Niobe*'s being chang'd into a Stone, for reſenting the Death of her Children. So well has infinite Wiſdom provided, that the ſacred Truths of divine Revelation ſhould not only be ſupported by the Atteſtation of all antient Hiſtory, but preſerv'd likewiſe even in the Vanity and Extravagance of Fables; for even *they*, O Lord, *ſhew the Glory of thy Kingdom, and talk of thy Power; that thy Power, thy Glory, and the Mightineſs of thy Kingdom might be known unto Men.*

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

DISSERTATION I.

Of the Deſtruction of Sodom *and* Gomorrah.

OF all God's Judgments upon the Wicked, next to that of the univerſal Deluge, the Deſtruction of *Sodom*, and the neighbouring Cities in the Plain of *Jordan*, ſeems to be one of the moſt remarkable, and the moſt dreadful Interpoſitions of Providence; and may therefore, in this Place, deſerve a particular Conſideration.

The Reality of it.

THAT this *Cataſtrophe* (as (*p*) the Apoſtle calls it) did really happen, according to the Account, which *Moſes* gives us of it, we have the concurring Teſtimony of all Hiſtorians, both *antient* and *modern*, to convince

(*i*) Antiq. l. 1. c. 8. (*k*) Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 17. (*l*) Ibid. c. 18. (*m*) *Hug. Grot.* de Veritate. (*n*) Ibid. (*o*) *Huet.* Quæſt. Alnetan. l. 2. (*p*) 2 Pet. ii. 6.

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convince us. (*q*) *Diodorus Siculus*, after having given us a Deſcription of the Lake *Aſphaltites* (which now fills the Place, where theſe Cities once ſtood) acquaints us, that the adjacent Country was *then* on Fire, and ſent forth a grievous Smell, to which he imputes the ſickly and ſhort Lives of the neighbouring Inhabitants. (*r*) *Strabo*, having made mention of the ſame Lake, purſues his Account, and tells us, that the craggy and burnt Rocks, the Caverns broken in, and the Soil all about it aduſt, and turn'd to Aſhes, give Credit to a Report among the People, that formerly ſeveral Cities ſtood there, (whereof *Sodom* was the chief) but that by Earthquakes, and Fire breaking out, there were ſome of them entirely ſwallow'd up, and others forſaken by the Inhabitants, that could make their Eſcape. (*s*) *Tacitus* deſcribes the Lake much in the ſame Manner with theſe other Hiſtorians, and then adds, that not far from it are the Fields, now barren, which were reported formerly to have been very fruitful, and adorn'd with large Cities, which were burnt by Lightening, and do ſtill retain the Traces of their Deſtruction. (*t*) *Solinus* is clearly of Opinion, that the Blackneſs of the Soil, and its being turn'd into Duſt and Aſhes, is a ſure Token of its having ſuffer'd by Fire from Heaven; and, if we may believe the Report of (*u*) a late Traveller, according to the Account which he had from the Inhabitants themſelves, ſome of the Ruins of theſe ancient Cities do ſtill appear, whenever the Water is low and ſhallow.

The Number of Cities, that were deſtroyed.

What the Number of theſe Cities were, is a Matter, wherein we can have no abſolute Certainty. *Moſes*, in the Text, makes mention but of two, *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; but, in another Place, he enumerates *four*, and gives this Deſcription of their dreadful Puniſhment. (*x*) *When the Generations to come ſhall ſee the Plague of that Land, and the Sickneſſes, which the Lord hath laid upon it, and that the whole Land thereof is Brimſtone, and Salt, and Burning like the Overthrow of* Sodom, *and* Gomorrah, Abnoth, *and* Zeboim, *(which the Lord overthrew in his Anger, and in his Wrath) even all the Nations ſhall ſay, Wherefore hath the Lord done this unto the Land?* Nay, if we will believe (*y*) the Hiſtorian above-cited, and who perhaps might have an Account of the Thing from ſome *Phœnician* Writer, the Number of the Cities, which, at this Time, were deſtroy'd, were *thirteen*; and to this there is a Paſſage in the *Prophet*, which ſeems to give ſome Countenance, tho' not as to the preciſe Number of them: (*z*) *As I live*, ſaith the Lord God to *Jeruſalem*, Sodom, *thy Siſter, has not done, ſhe nor her Daughters* (i. e. the Cities, which were built round it, and were tributary to it) *have not done, as thou and thy Daughters have done.* But, whatever the Number of the Cities might be, it will be proper for us, before we come to enquire in what Manner they were deſtroy'd, to give ſome Account of their Situation.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

Their Situation.

(*a*) The Plain of *Jordan* includes the greateſt Part of the flat Country, thro' which the River *Jordan* runs, from its coming out of the Sea of *Galilee*, to its falling into the *Aſphaltite Lake*, or *Salt-Sea*. But we are not to imagine, that this Plain was once a continu'd Level, without any Riſings or Deſcents: The greateſt Part of it indeed was Champion-Country, (and for this Reaſon was commonly called Μεγαπέδιον, or *the great Field*) but therein we read (*b*) of the *Valley of* Jericho, and (*c*) *of the Vale of* Siddim; in the latter of which theſe Cities ſtood, in a Situation ſo very advantageous, that we find it compared (*d*) to the Land of *Egypt*, nay even to the Garden of *Paradiſe*, upon account of its being ſo well water'd. And well it might, ſeeing it had (as the *Lacus Aſphaltites* has to this Day) not only the Streams of the River *Jordan* running quite thro' it, but (*e*) the River *Arnon* from the *Eaſt*, (*f*) the

(*q*) Lib. 19. (*r*) Lib. 10. (*s*) Lib. 5. (*t*) Chap. xxxv. (*u*) *Maundrell*'s Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jeruſalem*. (*x*) Deut. xxix. 22, 23, 24. (*y*) *Strabo*, l. 16. (*z*) Ezek. xvi. 48. (*a*) *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I. (*b*) Deut. xxxiv. 3. (*c*) Gen. xiv. 3. (*d*) Chap. xiii. 10. Vide Page 218, in the Notes. (*e*) *Joſephus*'s Antiq. l. 4. c. 4.

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(*f*) the Brook *Zered*, and the (*g*) famous Fountain *Callirrhoë*, from the *South*, falling into it. Now, ſince all this Water had no direct Paſſage into the Sea, it muſt neceſſarily follow, either that it was convey'd away by ſome *ſubterraneous* Paſſage, or was ſwallow'd up in the Sands, that every where encompaſſed it; which might the more eaſily be done, becauſe the Inhabitants of thoſe hot Countries us'd to divide their Rivers into ſeveral ſmall Branches, for the Benefit of watering their Feilds.

The Wickedneſs of their Inhabitants.

AND as this Plenty of Water gave great Riches to the Soil, and Fertility to the Country, ſo Wealth and Abundance of all Things (as Mankind are too apt to abuſe God's Gifts) made *Sodom*, and the neighbouring Cities very infamous for their Wickedneſs and Impiety. The Prophet *Ezekiel* gives us a Deſcription of them: (*h*) *Behold this was the Iniquity of thy Siſter* Sodom; *Pride, Fullneſs of Bread, and Abundance of Idleneſs was in her, and in her Daughters, neither did ſhe ſtrengthen the Hand of the Poor and Needy, but was haughty, and committed Abomination before me*; which (*i*) *Joſephus* might have in his Eye, when he gave us this Account of them. "The *Sodo-*
"*mites, ſays he*, waxed proud, and, by
"Reaſon of their Riches and Wealth,
"grew contumelious towards Men, and
"impious towards God; ſo that they were
"wholly unmindful of the Favours, they
"receiv'd from him. They were inhoſpi-
"table to Strangers, and too proud and
"arrogant to be rebuk'd. They burnt in
"unnatural Luſts towards one another,
"and took Pleaſure in none, but ſuch *as*
"*ran to the ſame Exceſs of Riot with them-*
"*ſelves.*"

From Gen. XX—XXV. 11.

The Manner, *wherein they were deſtroy'd.*

THESE, and other abominable Enormities, provok'd the divine Ruler of the World to deſtroy their Cities, whoſe *Cry* was now grown great for Vengeance; and the Manner, wherein it was effected, *Moſes* has recorded in theſe Words: (*k*) *Then the Lord rained upon* Sodom *and upon* Gomorrah *Brimſtone and Fire from the Lord out of Heaven, and he overthrew the Cities, and all the Plain, and all the Inhabitants of the Cities, and that which grew upon the Ground*; and for the better underſtanding of this, we muſt obſerve, 1ſt, (*l*) That, in the *Vale of Siddim*, (the Tract of Ground, which was now deſtroy'd) there were a great many Pits of *Bitumen*, which, being a very combuſtible Matter, (*m*) is, in ſome Places, *liquid*, in others *ſolid*; and not only found near the Surface of the Earth, but lies ſometimes very deep, and is dug from the very Bowels of it. 2dly, We muſt obſerve, that the *Brimſtone and Fire*, which the Lord is ſaid to *rain upon* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, means *Brimſtone inflam'd*; that, in the *Hebrew* Stile, *Brimſtone inflam'd* ſignifies *Lightning*; and that the Reaſon, why Lightning is thus deſcrib'd, no one can be ignorant of, that has either ſmelt the Places, which have been ſtruck with Thunder, or * read what learned Men have wrote upon the Subject: 3dly, We muſt obſerve further, that God is not only ſaid to have *rained down Brimſtone and Fire*, but Brimſtone and Fire FROM THE LORD; where the Addition of *from the Lord*, which, at firſt Sight, may appear to be ſuperfluous, or to denote a Plurality of Perſons in the

(*f*) Numb. xxi. 12. (*g*) *Pliny*, l. 5. c. 16. (*h*) Chap. xvi. 49, 50. (*i*) Antiq. l. 1. c. 12.
(*k*) Gen. xix. 24, 25. (*l*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*m*) *Pliny*'s Natural Hiſtory, l. 25. c. 15.

* Thus Thunder and Lightning, ſays *Pliny* (Lib. 35. c. 15.) have the Smell of *Brimſtone*, and the very Light and Flame of them is ſulphureous: And *Seneca* (Quæſt. Nat. l. 2. c. 21.) tells us, that all Things, which are ſtruck by Lightning, have a *ſulphureous* Smell; as indeed our natural Philoſophers have plainly demonſtrated, that, what we call the Thunder-bolt, is nothing elſe but a *ſulphureous Exhalation*. *Perſius*, in his ſecond *Satire*, calls it *Sulphur ſacrum*.

Ignoviſſe putas, quia cum tonat, ocyus Ilex
Sulphure diſcutitur *ſacro*, quam tuque, Domuſque.

And for this Reaſon the *Greeks*, in their Language, call Brimſtone θεῖον, i. e. *divine*, becauſe the Thunder-bolt, which it aſſimulates, is ſuppos'd to *come from God*. *Le Clerc*'s Diſſertation.

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Deity (as moſt *Chriſtian* Interpreters would have it) does more particularly deſcribe the *Thunder-bolt*, * which, by the *Hebrews*, as well as other Nations, is frequently call'd the *Fire of God*, the *Fire from God*, &c. and the Reaſon is,——Becauſe, Men having no Power over this Kind of *Meteor*, and it being impoſſible for them, by any Kind of Contrivance, to aſcend up to the Clouds, God is therefore ſuppos'd to dwell there, and to caſt down his Bolts from thence.

Now, from theſe Obſervations put together, we may, in ſome meaſure, form a Notion to ourſelves, how this Deſtruction came to be effected. For, tho' *Moſes* does not inform us, after what Manner the Lightning and Thunder-bolts from above ſubverted theſe Cities, and their adjacent Territories; yet, ſince he plainly makes mention of them, we cannot comprehend how it could happen any otherwiſe, than that the Lightning and Thunder-bolts, falling, in great Abundance, upon ſome Pits of *Bitumen*, * the Veins of that combuſtible Matter took Fire immediately, and as the Fire penetrated into the lowermoſt Bowels of the bituminous Soil, theſe wicked Cities were ſubverted by a dreadful Earthquake, which was follow'd with a ſubſiding of the Ground; and that, * as ſoon as the Earth was ſunk, it would unavoidably fall out, that the Waters, running to this Place in ſo great an Abundance, and mixing with the *Bitumen*, which they found in great Plenty, would make a Lake of what was a Valley before, and a Lake of the ſame Quality, with what † the Scripture calls the *Salt-Sea*.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

A Deſcription of the Lacus Aſphaltites.

This Lake, according to the Account we have of it, is encloſed, to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, with exceeding high Mountains; on the *North* it is bounded by the Plain of *Jericho*, on which Side it receives the Waters of *Jordan*; on the *South* it is open, and extends beyond the Reach of the Eye, being twenty-four Leagues long, and ſix or ſeven broad. Its Water is extremely deep and heavy; ſo heavy, that a Man cannot, without Difficulty, ſink in it; but of ſo nauſeous a Taſte, and noiſome Smell, that neither Fiſh, nor Fowl accuſtom'd to the Water, can live in it. It is full of *Bitumen*, which, at uncertain Seaſons, boils up from the Bottom in Bubbles, at

* Thus, in the ſecond Book of *Kings*, the Fire of God *came down from Heaven, and devoured them*, Ch. i. 12. And *Iſaiah* uſes the ſame Expreſſion, Ch. lxvi. 16. *He ſhall be puniſhed with* the Fire of the Lord; to which the Paſſage in the *Latin* Poet exactly agrees:

Illicet *igne Jovis*, lapſiſque citatior aſtris,
Triſtibus exiluit Ripis. —————— *Stat.* Theb. l. 1.

Some however have remark'd it, as a peculiar Elegancy in the *Hebrew* Tongue, that it very often makes uſe of the *Antecedent* inſtead of the *Relative*, or the *Noun* inſtead of the *Pronoun*, eſpecially when it means to expreſs a Thing with great Vehemence, or to denote any Action to be ſupernatural or miraculous. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 8.

* In *Lycia*, the *Hephæſtian* Mountains, ſays *Pliny*, (l. 2. c. 106.) if you do but touch them with a lighted Torch, immediately take Fire; nay the very Stones in the Rivers, and Sands in the Waters, burn. If you take a Stick out of theſe Waters, and draw Furrows upon the Ground with it (according to the common Report) a Tract of Fire follows it. *Le Clerc*'s Diſſertation.

* *Strabo* in his firſt, and *Pliny* in his ſecond Book, will furniſh us with ſeveral Examples of this Kind. *Strabo*, out of *Poſidonius*, tells us (p. 40.) that in *Phœnicia*, a certain City, ſituate above *Sidon*, was abſorb'd by an Earthquake; and out of *Demetrius Scepſius*, that ſeveral Earthquakes have happen'd in *Aſia Minor*, by which whole Towns have been devoured, the Mountain *Siphylis* overthrown, and the Marſhes turned into ſtanding Lakes: And *Pliny* (l. 2. c. 88.) teſtifies, that by a Fire, which ſuddenly broke out of it, the Mountain *Epopos* was levelled to the Ground, and a Town buried in the Deep; for the Arch, that ſupported the Ground, breaking in, and the Matter underneath being wholly conſum'd, the Soil above muſt, of Neceſſity, ſink, and be ſwallow'd up in theſe Caverns, if they were of any large Extent. *Le Clerc*'s Diſſertations.

† It is called the *Salt-Sea*, not only becauſe its Waters are ſalt to a great Degree, but to diſtinguiſh it likewiſe from two other Lakes, the Lake of *Samachon*, and the Lake of *Genneſareth* (through which the River *Jordan* runs) which are freſh Water. It obtain'd in Time the Name of the *Dead-Sea*, not only becauſe its Waters are immoveable, and more like a Sea of liquid Pitch, than of Water; but becauſe no living Creature can abide in it; nor any Plant, or Tree grow near it, by reaſon of thoſe bituminous Effluviums, which it ſends forth; and, from the Abundance of this Matter, it moſt frequently occurs in heathen Writers under the Title of *Lacus Aſphaltites*. *Heylin*'s Coſmography.

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at which Time the Superficies of the Lake ſwells, and reſembles the Riſing of an Hill. Adjoining to the Lake are Fields, which formerly (as we ſhewed from *Tacitus*) were fruitful, but are now ſo parch'd, and burnt up, that they have loſt their Fertility, inſomuch that every Thing, whether it grows ſpontaneouſly, or be planted by Man, whether it be Herb, Fruit, or Flower, * as ſoon as it is compreſs'd, moulders away immediately into Duſt; and to this (*n*) the Author of the Book of *Wiſdom* ſeems to allude, when he tell us, that, *of the Wickedneſs of thoſe Cities, the waſte Land, that ſmoketh* to this Day, *is a Teſtimony, and the Plants bearing Fruit, that never come to Ripeneſs.*

"THE Cinders, Brimſtone, and Smoke, "(*o*) *ſays* Philo, and a certain obſcure "Flame, as it were, of a Fire burning, "ſtill perceivable in ſome Parts of the "Country, are Memorials of the perpe-"tual Evil, which happen'd to it;" and, "as (*p*) *Joſephus* adds, the Things that "are ſaid of *Sodom*, are confirm'd by ocu-"lar Inſpection, there being ſome Relicts "of the Fire, which came down from "Heaven, and ſome Reſemblance of the "five Cities, ſtill to be ſeen:" And 'tis the Duration of theſe Monuments of divine Wrath perhaps, which gave Occaſion to St *Jude* to ſay, that the wicked Inhabitants of theſe Cities were *ſet forth for an Example, ſuffering the Vengeance of eternal Fire*, i. e. of a Fire, whoſe Marks were to be perpetuated unto the End of the World: † For it is a common Thing in Scripture, to expreſs a great and irreparable Vaſtation, whoſe Effects and Signs ſhall be permanent to the lateſt Ages, by the Word αἰώνιος, which we here render *eternal.* From Gen xx—xxv. 11.

How far it was miraculous.

THUS, in all Probability, were the Cities of the Plain of *Jordan* overthrown: Nor is there any Doubt to be made, but that the miraculous Hand of God was employed in ſending down this heavy Judgment. For, (*q*) tho' in a Soil, impregnated with Bitumen, the Cities, which are built thereon, may be ſhaken with an *Earthquake*, and ſwallow'd up by a ſudden *Hiatus*; tho' Thunderbolts may fall, and ſet the Veins of Sulphur and Bitumen on Fire, which, afterwards breaking out, and mingling with the Water, may, in a low Valley, eaſily cauſe a Lake full of *Aſphaltus*: Tho' theſe Things, I ſay, in Proceſs of Time, might have come to paſs in an ordinary courſe of Nature; yet, if they were done, before their *natural Cauſes* were in a Diſpoſition to produce them; if they would not have been done *that Inſtant*, unleſs it had been for ſome extraordinary Interpoſition of God, or his bleſſed Angels; it ought to be reputed no leſs a *Miracle*, than if every Particular in the Tranſaction had plainly ſurpaſſed the uſual Operations of Nature. And, that the Judgment now before us, happened in this Manner, (*r*) the two Angels, diſpatch'd by Almighty God upon this important Occaſion, (*s*) God's foretelling *Abraham* his Deſign, the Angels acquainting *Lot* with the Errand, about which they came, and their urging and

* Whether there be any Truth in this Part of the Account of *Tacitus*, 'tis hard to tell. As for the Apples of *Sodom* (to which he ſeems to allude) Mr *Maundrell* tells us, that he never ſaw, nor heard of any thereabouts, nor was there any Tree to be ſeen near the Lake, from which one might expect ſuch Kind of Fruit; and therefore he ſuppoſes the *Being*, as well as the *Beauty*, of that Fruit a meer Fiction, and only kept up, becauſe it ſerv'd for a good *Alluſion*, and now and then helped Poets to a pat Similitude. Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jeruſalem*.

(*n*) Chap. x. 7. (*o*) In Vitâ *Moſis*, l. 2. (*p*) De Bello Jud. l. 5. c. 27.

† Thus God threatens to make the People of *Iſrael* ἐρημίαν αἰώνιον, a *perpetual Deſolation*, Ezek. xxxv. 9. σύριγμα αἰώνιον, *a perpetual Hiſſing*, Jer. xviii. 16. and ὀνειδισμὸν αἰώνιον, *an everlaſting Reproach*, Jer. xxiii. 40. and this more eſpecially is threaten'd, where the Deſtruction of a City or Nation is compar'd to the Overthrow of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; ὃ καταοικηθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον, *it ſhall never be inhabited*, Iſa. xiii. 20. Whether *Sodom* really underwent this Fate, or ſome Time after was rebuilt, is a Queſtion, that has exerciſed the Learned. 'Tis certain, that in the *Notitia* expreſs Mention is made of *Sodom*, as an *epiſcopal* City; and, among the Biſhops of *Arabia*, there is found one *Severus*, a Biſhop of *Sodom*, who ſubſcribed to the firſt Council of *Nice*: Mr *Reland* however cannot perſuade himſelf, that this impious Place was ever rebuilt; and therefore he believes that the Word *Sodom*, which is read among the *Subſcriptions* of that *Council*, muſt be a Fault of the Copiers. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, on the Word *Sodom*.

(*q*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary in Locum. (*r*) Gen. xviii. 22. (*s*) Ver. 17.

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and inſtigating to him to be gone, (*t*) to make haſte, and *eſcape to* Zoar, *becauſe they could do nothing, until he was come thither*, are Arguments ſufficiently convincing, that the Thunder and Lightning, or (as (*u*) others will have it) the Showers of liquid Fire, or rather (*x*) Storms of Nitre and Sulphur mingled with Fire, which fell upon theſe wicked Places, were immediately ſent down by the Appointment of God, and by the Miniſtry of his Angels, who, knowing all the *Meteors* of the Air, and their repugnant Qualities, did collect, commix, and employ them, as they thought fit, in the Execution of God's juſt Judgment upon a People devoted to Deſtruction.

A moral Reflection from the whole.

Thus we have conſider'd the Manner of the Deſtruction of the Cities of the Plain, how far natural Cauſes might be concern'd, and wherein the miraculous Hand of God did intervene. Whether a *Deluge* or a *Conflagration* be the more formidable Judgment of the two, we cannot tell; our Imaginations will hardly reach the Dreadfulneſs of either; and to enter into the Compariſon, is a Taſk too ſhocking. As the Hiſtory however of thoſe, who ſuffer'd theſe Puniſhments, is recorded in Scripture *for our Admonition*, (*y*) *that we ſhould not luſt after evil Things even as they luſted*; ſo the Apoſtle has ſet both their Examples before us, and laid it down for a ſure Propoſition, —— That, (*z*) *if God ſpared not the old World, but brought in a Flood upon the Ungodly*, and if *he, turning the Cities of* Sodom *and* Gomorrah *into Aſhes, condemn'd them with an Overthrow*, or (according to (*a*) St *Jude*) condemn'd them to *the Vengeance of eternal Fire*; we need not doubt, but that, as he is in all Ages the ſame, a God of Juſtice, as well as Mercy, no Iniquity can ultimately eſcape. For, though upon every Occaſion, he does not lay bare his vindictive Arm; tho' (*b*) *he is ſtrong and patient*, ſo that he ſeldom *whetteth* his *Sword*, and *prepareth the Inſtruments of Death*; yet a few of theſe remarkable, theſe monumental Inſtances of his Severity againſt Sin, are enough to convince us, that *he hath reſerved the Unjuſt* (however they may eſcape now) *unto the Day of Judgment to be puniſh'd*.

From Gen. xx—xxv. 11.

(*t*) Gen. xix. 22. (*u*) *Howell's* Hiſtory. (*x*) *Patrick's* Commentary. (*y*) 1 Cor. x. 6.
(*z*) 2 Pet. ii. 5. (*a*) Ver. 7. (*b*) Pſal. vii. 12, &c.

CHAP.

A. M. 2148, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1856, &c.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

CHAP. II.

Of the Life of Iſaac, *from his Marriage to his Death.*

The HISTORY.

The Birth of Eſau and Jacob.

ISAAC was forty Years old, * when he married *Rebekah*, the Daughter of *Bethuel*; but his Mother *Sarah*'s Misfortune attended his Wife, *viz.* that ſhe was without Iſſue for almoſt twenty Years together, till God at laſt was pleaſed to hear † his earneſt Prayers, and grant him the Bleſſing, he ſo much long'd for. *Rebekah* however had not many Months conceived before the Struggles of the two Children (for ſhe had *Twins*) in her Womb gave her ſuch Pain and Uneaſineſs, that ſhe began, in a Manner, to wiſh herſelf not with Child again, and, when ſhe went † to conſult the Divine Oracle, what the meaning of this uncommon Conflict might be, ſhe had it return'd for Anſwer, that the two Children, which ſhe then bore, were to be the Heads of two different Nations, ſhould long conteſt it for Superiority, but that, at length, *the Younger* ſhould get the Dominion over the *Elder*.

* How old *Rebekah* was, when ſhe was married to *Iſaac*, the Scripture does no where inform us; but the Conjectures of moſt of the *Jewiſh* Commentators make her to be extremely Young. The oldeſt, that they will allow her to be, is not above 14, which was a Thing hardly cuſtomary in thoſe Days: And yet, conſidering her abſolute Management of all Affairs, even when *Iſaac* was alive, we cannot but ſuppoſe, that, altho' ſhe liv'd not ſo long, ſhe was a conſiderable deal younger than he. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 11.

† The Word in the Original ſignifies to *pray with Conſtancy, Vehemence, and Importunity:* And the *Jews* hereupon have a traditional Explication, which is preſerv'd in *Jonathan*'s *Targum*, viz. that he carried his Wife to the Place of the Altar, upon Mount *Moriah*, where he himſelf was once bound to be ſacrific'd, and there made a moſt ſolemn Invocation, by the Faith of his Father *Abraham*, and by the Oath of God, that ſhe, tho' barren by Nature, might conceive by Virtue of the *Covenant*, and ſupernatural Bleſſing; and accordingly he prevail'd with God to grant him his Requeſt. What we render *for his Wife*, may likewiſe ſignify *in the Preſence of his Wife*; and ſo the Import of the Words will be, that, beſides their more private Devotions, they did oftentimes, in a more ſolemn Manner, and with united Force, pray for the Mercy, wherein they were equally concern'd; nor cou'd there be any Preſumption in their thus petitioning, what, at preſent, was denied them, becauſe they knew very well, that God's Purpoſe and Promiſe did not exclude, but rather require, the Uſe of all convenient Means, for their Accompliſhment. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in Locum.

† The moſt early, and common Method of *Enquiring of the Lord*, was, by going to ſome one of his Prophet's, and conſulting him; but then the Queſtion is, who the Prophet was, whom *Rebekah*, upon this Occaſion, conſulted? Some of the *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion, that ſhe went to the *School*, or Oratory of *Shem*, (whom they ſuppoſe then alive) or to ſome other Perſon, conſtituted by him, and call'd of God to that Miniſtration. Some *Chriſtian* Commentators imagine, it was *Melchiſedeck, the Prieſt of the moſt high God*, whom ſhe conſulted; but if it were any Prieſt, or Prophet, that then ſhe applied to, her Father-in-law *Abraham*, who was certainly then alive, and is expreſsly call'd a Prophet, *Gen.* xx. 7. ſeems to have been the moſt proper Perſon, not only becauſe he was highly intereſted in her Concerns, but had likewiſe the *Shechinah*, or divine Appearance (as moſt imagine) continually reſident with him. But, as there was another Manner, beſides that of anſwering by Prophets, cuſtomary in thoſe Days, *viz.* by *Dreams*, and *Viſions*, their Opinion ſeems to be moſt probable, who ſuppoſe, that *Rebekah* retir'd into ſome ſecret Place, and there, having poured out her Soul before God in ardent Prayers, receiv'd an Anſwer, not long after, either in a Dream, or Viſion, by a Voice from Heaven, or by the Information of an Angel, ſent for that Purpoſe. Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in Locum, and *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. II. Exercit. 11.

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When the appointed Time for their Birth was come, the Child, which *Rebekah* was first deliver'd of, was all cover'd over with red Hair, for which Reason his Parents † call'd him *Esau*; and the other came after him so very close, that he took hold of his Heel with his Hand, and was therefore called *Jacob*, to denote (what he afterwards prov'd) the *Supplanter* of his Brother; and as they advanced in Years, their Tempers and Occupations were quite different. *Esau* was a strong and active Person, who delighted much in Hunting, and thereby supplying his Father with Venison very frequently, won his particular Affection; while *Jacob*, who was of a more gentle and courteous Disposition, by staying at home in the Tent, and employing himself in Family-offices, became his Mother's Darling.

Jacob's Purchase of his Brother's Birth-Right.

One Day, when *Jacob* had made him some Lentil-pottage, *Esau*, returning from his Sport, quite spent with Hunger and Fatigue, was so taken with the Looks of it, that he earnestly desir'd his Brother † to let him eat with him: But his Brother, it seems, being well instructed by his Mother, refus'd to do it, unless he would make him an immediate Dedition of his *Birth-right*. *Esau*, considering to what a Multitude of Dangers his Manner of Life, in encountring wild Beasts, did daily expose him, made no great Esteem of what *Jacob* requir'd; and *Jacob*, perceiving his Disposition to comply, (that he might have the *Right* more firmly convey'd to him) † propos'd his doing it by Way of *Oath*, which the other never scrupled, and, after the Bargain was made, fell to eating very greedily, never once reflecting on what a vile and scandalous Thing it needs must be, to sell his Birth-right, and † all the great Privileges thereunto belonging, for a *Mess of Pottage*.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

In *Abraham's* Time the Famine was so severe in *Canaan*, that he was forced to remove into *Egypt*; and, upon the same Account, his Son *Isaac* had now left his Habitation, near the Well *Lahairoi*, and was come as far as *Gerar*, † where *Abimelech*, at this Time, was King, in order to proceed in his Journey; but, while he was deliberating what to do, God admonish'd him in a Dream, not to go down into *Egypt*, but to tarry in the Country, where he then was; and, at the same Time, assur'd him, that he would not only secure him from the Danger of the Famine, but, in Performance of the Oath, which he had sworn to his Father *Abraham*, his faithful and

† The Meaning of the Word *Esau* is somewhat obscure, unless we derive it from *Hassah*, to *make*, or *be perfect*; because he was of a stronger Constitution, than ordinary Infants, as having Hair all over him, which is an Indication of Manhood, whereas other Children are born with Hair only on their Heads: And, as for *Jacob*, it is deriv'd from an *Hebrew* Word, which signifieth to *supplant*, and, by the Addition of the Letter *Jod*, one of the Formatives of Nouns, it denotes a *Supplanter*, or one, that *taketh hold of*, and *trippeth up* his Brother's Heels. *Pool*'s Annotations, and Universal History, c. 7.

† *Lentils* were a Kind of Pulse, somewhat like our Vetches, or coarser Sort of Pease. St *Austin*, upon *Psalm* lxvi. says, that these were *Egyptian* Lentils, which were in great Esteem, and very probably gave the Pottage a red Tincture.

† Some imagine, that *Esau* did not know what this Lentil-soop was, and therefore he only call'd it by its Colour, *give me of that red, that same red*; as it is in the *Hebrew*, for which Reason he was likewise call'd *Edom*, which signifies *red*: But there is no Occasion to suppose, that he was ignorant of what Lentils were, only his repeating the Word *red*, without adding the Name of a Thing, denoted his great Hunger, and *Eagerness* of Appetite, which was probably still more irritated by the *Colour* of the Soop. *Biblioth. Bib.*

† The Birth-right, or Right of Primogeniture, had many Privileges annex'd to it. The First-born was consecrated to the Lord, *Exod.* xxii. 29. had a double Portion of the Estate allotted him, *Deut.* xxi. 17. had a Dignity and Authority over his Brethren, *Gen.* xlix. 3. succeeded in the Government of the Family, or Kingdom, 2 *Chron.* xxi. 3. and (as some, with good Reason, imagine) succeeded to the Priesthood, or chief Government in Matters Ecclesiastical. He had a Right to challenge the particular Blessing of his dying Parent: He had the Covenant, which God made with *Abraham*, that from his Loins *Christ* should come, consign'd to him: And (what is more) these Prerogatives were not confin'd to his Person only, but descended to his latest Posterity, in Case they comported *themselves* so, as to deserve them. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† It is not unlikely, that this *Abimelech* might be the Son of that *Abimelech*, King of *Gerar*, with whom *Abraham* had formerly made a Covenant, supposing *Abimelech* to be here the proper Name of a Man: But it is much more probable, that, at this Time, it was a common Name for the Kings of the *Philistines*, as *Cæsar* was for the *Roman* Emperors, and *Pharaoh* for the Kings of *Egypt*.

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and obedient Servant, would cauſe his Family (to which he would give the whole Land of *Canaan* in Poſſeſſion, and from which the *Meſſias, the Deſire of all Nations*, ſhou'd deſcend) to multiply exceedingly.

Iſaac's Denial of his Wife.

ISAAC, according to the Divine Direction, went no farther than *Gerar*; and here it was, that he fell into the ſame Weakneſs, that his Father had formerly done in the ſame Place, *viz.* his making his Wife paſs for his Siſter, for fear that ſome wicked Man or other might be tempted to deſtroy him, in order to enjoy her. But ſo it was, that the King, from his Window, obſerving ſome *Familiarities* paſs between them, that did not ſo well comport with the Character of a Brother, ſent for him immediately, and complain'd of his Diſſimulation; charg'd him with being married, and (not unmindful, very probably, of what had befallen the Nation upon the Account of *Sarah*) with a Deſign of entailing *Guilt*, and therewith a Judgment of God upon his Subjects, in caſe any Attempt had been made upon her Virtue. Fear of Death, and the Deſire of Self-preſervation, were the only Apology, that *Iſaac* made for his Conduct; which *Abimelech* was pleas'd to accept, and, accordingly, iſſued out an Edict, that none, upon Pain of Death, ſhou'd dare to offer any Injury, either to *Iſaac*, or his Wife.

His leaving Gerar.

THE great Acceſſion of Wealth however, wherewith God had bleſſed him, during his Stay in *Gerar*, raiſed the Envy and Indignation of the *Philiſtines*, That very Year, wherein he thought of going down into *Egypt* for fear of the Famine, he ſowed a Piece of Ground, and, to the great Surprize of his Neighbours, received † an hundred-fold Produce from it; ſo that *Abimelech*'s Subjects began all to malign him, and (to oblige him to depart the Country) fill'd up the Wells, which his Father's Servants had digged. Nay, the very King himſelf, to ſatisfy the Reſentment of his People, deſired of him to leave the City of *Gerar*, and to find him out another Habitation; for that, in his Opinion, ‡ he had improv'd his Fortune ſufficiently, while he had been among them: So that, to ſecure himſelf, as well as make the King eaſy, he retired into the Valley of *Gerar*, where his Father had formerly fed his Cattle, and there began to open the Wells, (which his Father had cauſed to be dug, but the *Philiſtines* had filled up) and called them by their antient Names. But the People of the Country, thinking him too well ſituated there, quarrell'd with his Shepherds, took away their Wells, and put him to many Inconveniencies; ſo that, being quite tir'd with their repeated Inſults, he removed farther from them, and went, and liv'd in the moſt diſtant Parts of their Country.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

HERE it was that he dug another Well: And, meeting with no Oppoſition, called it *Rehoboth*, i. e. *Room*, or *Enlargement*, becauſe God had now delivered him from the

† This hundred-fold Increaſe in one Year was given by God unto *Iſaac* for a Sign of his Purpoſe to fulfil the Covenant made with his Father, and lately renew'd to him; particularly for the Confirmation of the Truth and Reaſon of the Warning againſt his going down into *Egypt*, as he was inclin'd, according to the natural Proſpect of Things. Such an Increaſe was, at this Time, a ſingular Bleſſing of God, after there had been a conſiderable Dearth, and the Soil perhaps, that afforded ſo large a Crop, not ſo rich; otherwiſe, we may learn from *Varro* [*de Re Ruſtica*, l. 1. c. 44.] that in *Syria*, near *Gadera*, and in *Africa*, about *Bizantium*, they reaped *an hundred Buſhels from one*; nay *Bochart* [in *Canaan*, l. 1. c. 25.] ſhews, from ſeveral good Authors, that ſome Places in *Africa* are ſo very fruitful, that they produce *two or three Hundred fold*, which makes this Account of *Moſes* far from being incredible. *Bibliotheca Bib.* and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‡ The Words of *Abimelech*, according to our Tranſlation, are theſe, *Thou art much mightier than we*; but certainly he cou'd not mean that *Iſaac* was more powerful, than the whole People of *Paleſtine*, or that he had a larger Family, or more numerous Attendance, than himſelf had, and conſequently was in a Condition, if he had been ſo minded, to diſturb the Government. This we can by no Means conceive to be poſſible; and therefore the Words in the Original [*cignatzampta mimennu*] do not mean, *becauſe thou art mightier than we*, but becauſe *thou art increaſed, and multiplied from us, or by us*, i. e. thou haſt got a great deal by us; while thou haſt continu'd amongſt us, thou haſt made a great Acceſſion to thy Subſtance, and we do not care to let thee get any more; ſo that the *Philiſtines* did not *fear* him, but *envy* him, they grudged that he ſhou'd get ſo much among them, and therefore deſired him to abſent their Country. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 8.

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the Straits and Difficulties, he had lately been in, by Reason of a Scarceness of Water, and not long after settled his constant Abode at *Beersheba*; where he had no sooner arriv'd, but, that very Night, God appear'd to him in a Vision, promising him his Favour and Protection, and that he would bless him, and multiply his Seed, for his Servant *Abraham*'s Sake: So that *Isaac*, intending to continue here, built him an Altar, and Place of religious Worship, and cleared out the Well, † which his Father had formerly dug.

His Treaty with Abimelech.

Nor had he been long here, before *Abimelech*, conscious of the peculiar Manner, wherein God had blessed him, sensible of the ill Usage, he had received from his Subjects, and apprehensive perhaps, that, in Time, he might think of revenging the Injuries he had suffer'd, came, (attended with † the chief of his Nobility, and with the Captain-General of his Forces) either to renew the old League, which had formerly been made with his Father *Abraham*, or to enter into a new one.

'Twas but proper that *Isaac*, upon this Occasion, shou'd, in some measure, resent the Indignities, that were offer'd him: And therefore, at first, he expostulates the Matter with them, and seems to wonder, why they came to visit him, whom they had, so lately, expell'd their Country. *Abimelech* made the best Excuse for their Behaviour, that the Nature of the Thing wou'd bear; told him, that he had all along perceiv'd, that the Divine Favour attended him in all his Undertakings, and that therefore he might not be thought to oppose God, he was come to renew the Covenant depending between his People, and *Abraham*'s Posterity, and was ready to engage in the same Conditions, and Obligations.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

This Speech, so full of Submission and Acknowledgments, soon pacified *Isaac*, who was naturally of a quiet and easy Disposition; so that, having entertained the King and his Attendants in a very respectful and generous Manner that Night, the next † Morning they confirmed the League, with the usual Ceremonies; and *Abimelech* took Leave, and returned home: But, before he departed, *Isaac*'s Servants brought him Word, that, in the Well, which they had been clearing out, and which *Abraham*, in former Times, had bought of the King of *Gerar*, they had happily found a Spring of Water; for which Reason, in the Hearing of *Abimelech*, and all the Company, he called it again by the Name of *Beersheba*, *the Well of the Oath*, "i. e. the Well, wherein "Water was discover'd, on the Day, "that *Abimelech* and I enter'd into a "Treaty of Peace, and ratified the same "with the Solemnity of *Oaths*."

By this Time *Isaac*'s two Sons were arrived at the Age of forty; and *Esau*, who had contracted an Acquaintance with the People of the Land, had married two Wives, *Judith*, the Daughter of *Beeri*, and *Bethshemath*, the Daughter of *Elon*, both *Hittites*, which was no small Affliction to his Parents. This, in a Manner, quite

† The Reasons, that induced *Isaac* to open the old Wells, rather than dig new ones, might be, 1. Because he was sure to find a Spring there, which he cou'd not be certain of in other Places; 2. Because it was easier, and less liable to Censure and Envy; 3. Because he had a Right to them, as they were his Father's Purchase and Property; and, 4. Because he was minded to preserve, and do Honour to his Father's Memory, for which Reason he call'd them by the same Names, that his Father had done before him. *Bibliotheca Bib.* in Locum.

† The two that are mention'd here are *Phicol* and *Ahazzah*. *Phicol* is of the same Name, and bore the same Office, which he had, who is mention'd Ch. xxi. 22. but we must not suppose, that he was the same Man, any more, than *Abimelech* was the same King. The Word properly signifies *Face* or *Head*, and as the Captain General is Head of the Forces he commands, so some have imagin'd that it is the *appellative* Name, (like that of *Tribunus*, or *Dictator* among the *Romans*) for every one among them that were advanced to that Dignity: And in like Manner, though the *Septuagint* seem to make *Ahazzah* a proper Name, and call him the Paranymph, or *Bride man*, to *Abimelech*, which was always accounted a Post of the first Honour; yet I should rather chuse, with *Onkelas*, to make the Word signify a *Train*, or great Number of Nobility, which came in Attendance on *Abimelech*, and to do the Patriarch the greater Honour upon this Occasion. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Howel*'s History.

† The Articles were agreed upon over Night, and, by a mutual Oath, ratified in the Morning: And the Reason, why Men took publick Oaths in the Morning fasting, seems to have been *ob Reverentiam Juramenti*, as the *Jews* call it, because they looked upon them as very solemn and sacred Things. *Bibliotheca Bib.*

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quite alienated his Mother's Heart from him; but, as for his Father, his Affections continued the ſame. And therefore, finding himſelf grow old and feeble, and his Eyes quite dim with Age, and apprehending his Death to be nearer, than really it was, he call'd him one Day, and declared to him his Purpoſe of giving him his *paternal Benediction*, before he died; but wiſh'd him withal to take his hunting Inſtruments, and go into the Fields, and kill him a little Veniſon, and dreſs it to his Palate, that, when he had eaten thereof, and refreſhed Nature, he might bleſs him with a more tender Affection, as well as a more becoming *Pathos*.

His bleſſing of Jacob *inſtead of* Eſau.

REBEKAH overheard all this Diſcourſe, and, as ſoon as *Eſau* was well gone, ſhe called *Jacob*, and acquainted him with what was tranſacting; that his Father was going to beſtow a Benediction, which was final and irrevocable, upon his Brother; but that, if he wou'd liſten to her, and do what ſhe ordered him, ſhe had an Expedient, by ſubſtituting him in his Room, to turn aſide the Bleſſing, where ſhe deſir'd it. *Jacob* was willing enough to comply with his Mother's Requeſt; but, if he was to *perſonate* his Brother, the difference of his Skin and Voice made him apprehenſive, that his Father might diſcover the Impoſture, and thereupon be provok'd, inſtead of his Prayers and beſt Wiſhes, to load him with Imprecations: But ſo confident was his Mother of Succeſs in this Matter, that ſhe took all the *Curſes upon herſelf*, and encourag'd him to follow her Directions. Hereupon *Jacob* haſten'd to the Fold, and brought two fat Kids from thence, which his Mother immediately took, and dreſs'd the choice Pieces of them with ſavoury Sauce, like Veniſon; and ſo, having cover'd his Neck and his Hands with the Skins of the Kids, and † array'd him with *Eſau*'s beſt Robes, ſhe ſent him in trembling with the Diſh to his Father.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

HIS Father was lying upon the Bed, when *Jacob* enter'd the Room, and, upon his demanding *who he was*, he roundly anſwer'd, that he was his elder Son *Eſau*, who had brought him ſome Veniſon to eat. Surpris'd at the great Expedition, he had made, and not knowing indeed what to think, the old Man put ſeveral Times the Queſtion to him, whether he was, in reality, his Son *Eſau* or no; to which he as often anſwer'd in the Affirmative, and deſir'd him, in ſhort, to ariſe, and taſte of what he had prepar'd for him, ſince God, who knew his Zeal to obey his Father, had brought it into his Hands much ſooner, than he could otherwiſe have expected.

THE Difference between *Jacob*'s and *Eſau*'s Voice was ſo remarkable, that *Iſaac* cou'd not but ſuſpect ſome Deluſion in the Caſe; and therefore he deſir'd him to draw nearer, that he might be the better ſatisfied; and when he had felt the hairy Skin on his Hands and Neck, he own'd that *the Hands were the Hands of* Eſau, *tho' the Voice was the Voice of* Jacob.

THUS ſatisfied, or rather thus deluded, he aroſe, and eat heartily of his Son's pretended Veniſon; and, as ſoon as he had din'd, and drank * a Cup or two of Wine, he

† The *Jews* have a Fancy, that it was the Robe of *Adam*, which had been tranſmitted down, from Father to Son, in *the Line of Bleſſing* (as they call it) till it came to *Abraham*, who left it to *Iſaac*, and he, deſigning *Eſau*, as his eldeſt, for his Succeſſor, gave it to him. Some of them imagine, that this was a *ſacerdotal* Habit, wherein *Eſau*, in his Father's Illneſs, was ſuppos'd to officiate, and for this Reaſon it might be kept in *Iſaac*'s Tent, near to which, very likely, was the Place of religious Worſhip. In all Probability it was a Veſtment of ſome Diſtinction, which the Heir of the Family, upon ſome ſolemn Occaſions, was uſed to put on, and *Jacob*, at this Time, being to perſonate his Brother, there was a Neceſſity for him to have it: But how his Mother ſhould come by it, or why ſhe ſhould have the keeping of it, when *Eſau* had Wives of his own, is a Queſtion that *Muſculus* raiſes, and then anſwers it by ſaying, —— That, becauſe *Eſau* had married theſe Wives without the Conſent of his Parents, eſpecially his Mother, ſhe, for this Reaſon, refus'd to give it him, and perhaps reſerv'd it for this very Occaſion. But, in my Opinion, there ſeems to be no Neceſſity for this Suppoſition, ſince it was ſufficient for her Purpoſe, that ſhe knew where it was in *Eſau*'s Apartment. *Bibliotheca Bib.* in Locum.

* There is a Tradition among the *Jews*, that *Jacob* having omitted to bring Wine for his Father, an Angel prepar'd it, and brought it into his Apartment; that he gave it into *Jacob*'s Hands, and *Jacob* pour'd it out for his Father;

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he bid him draw near, that he might now beſtow upon him his promis'd Bleſſing. The Smell of *Jacob*'s Garments contributed not a little to *Iſaac*'s Chearfulneſs. He ſmelt and prais'd them: In a Kind of Extaſy of Pleaſure, he embraced and kiſs'd his pretended *Firſt-born*; and, after having * wiſhed him all heavenly and earthly Bleſſings, he at length diſmiſs'd him.

JACOB was ſcarce got out of the Tent, when *Eſau*, having returned from Hunting, and juſt made ready his Veniſon, came, and invited his Father in the ſame dutiful Manner, that his Brother had done. Surpris'd at this Addreſs, his Father aſk'd, *who he was*; and, when he underſtood that it was his elder Son *Eſau*, he was quite in a Maze, and began to enquire, who, and where, that Perſon was, who had been there before, and taken away the Bleſſing, which he neither cou'd nor wou'd revoke. *Eſau*, too well perceiving that it muſt have been *Jacob*, who had thus ſupplanted him, complains of his double Perfidy; firſt, in extorting his Birthright from him, and now in robbing him of his Father's Bleſſing; and then ſeems to wonder very much, that his Father's Store ſhould be ſo far exhauſted, as (ſince he would not revoke the other) not to have reſerved one Bleſſing for him. From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

ISAAC was willing enough to gratify his Son's Requeſt, and it grieved him, no doubt, to hear his bitter Lamentations; but what could he do? all the choiceſt of his Bleſſings he had beſtow'd upon *Jacob*, and as they were gone, he could not recall them. However, that he might, in ſome meaſure, pacify *Eſau*, by the ſame prophetick Spirit he acquaints him, "That, tho' "‡ his Poſterity ſhould not enjoy a very "plentiful Country, yet they ſhould "become a great People, and mighty "Warriors, who ſhould live by the Dint "of their Sword; and tho' they ſhould "ſometimes become ſubject to the Deſcen-"dants of *Jacob*, yet, in Proceſs of Time, "they would † ſhake off their Yoke, "and erect a Dominion of their own."

ESAU

Father; that the Wine was the ſame with the *Wine of Paradiſe*, which had been laid up from the Beginning; and that his Father, having drank of it, kiſſed him, and bleſſed him, as one now filled with the Spirit, even with the Spirit of Prophecy and Bleſſing: But the Cuſtom of the *Jewiſh* Doctors is to magnify every little Matter.

* The Prayer, which *Joſephus* makes *Iſaac* offer up to God upon this Occaſion, is in Words to this Effect. "Eternal God, the Creator of all Things, that are made; thou, that haſt been ſo gracious and bountiful to my Fa-"ther, to myſelf, and to our Offspring, promiſing, and poſſeſſing us of all Things, and giving us Aſſurances of "greater Bleſſings to come: Lord, make thy Words good to us by Effects, and do not deſpiſe thy Servant for his "preſent Infirmities, which make him the more ſenſible of his Need of thy Support. Preſerve this Child from all "Evil, in thy Mercy and infinite Goodneſs: Give him a long and an happy Life: Bleſs him with all worldly En-"joyments, that may be for his Good; and make him a Terror to his Enemies, and an Honour and Comfort to "his Friends. Antiq. l. 1. c. 18.

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation carry a Senſe quite different to what we have here ſuggeſted; *Behold thy Dwelling ſhall be of the Fatneſs of the Earth, and of the Dew of Heaven.* But, beſides that this makes the Bleſſing the ſame with that, which was given to *Jacob*, Ver. 28. which *Iſaac* profeſſes himſelf incapable of doing; 'tis manifeſt, that *Idumæa*, where the Deſcendants of *Eſau* dwelt, was far from being a fat and fruitful Country. Had it been ſo, there had not been that Reaſon for the ſubſequent Words, *by thy Sword thou ſhalt live*; for a rich and plentiful Country would have ſecured them from living by Spoil and Plunder, as it is manifeſt the People of that Country did, if we can credit the Character which *Joſephus*, both in his Hiſtory of the Antiquities, l. 13. and of the Wars of the *Jews*, l. 4. gives us of them. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and Univerſal Hiſtory.

† The *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, who were the Poſterity of *Eſau*, for a conſiderable Time, were a People of much more Power and Authority, than the *Iſraelites*, till, in the Days of *David*, they were entirely conquered, 2 *Sam.* viii. 14. they were thereupon govern'd by Deputies or Viceroys, appointed by the Kings of *Judah*; and, whenever they attempted to rebel, were, for a long Time, cruſhed, and kept under by the *Jews*. In the Days of *Jehoram*, the Son of *Jehoſaphat*, they expell'd their Viceroy, and ſet up a King of their own, 2 *Kings* viii. 20. and though they were reduc'd at that Time, yet, for ſome Generations after this, they ſeem'd to have liv'd independent on the *Jews*, and when the *Babylonians* invaded *Judæa*, they not only took Part with them, but violently oppreſſed them, even when the Enemy was withdrawn, ſo that, remembering what they had ſuffered under *Joab*, in the Days of *David*, they entered into the like cruel Meaſures againſt the *Jews*, and threatened to lay *Jeruſalem* level with the Ground. Their Animoſity againſt the Poſterity of *Jacob* ſeems indeed to be hereditary; nor did they ever ceaſe, for any conſiderable Time, from Broils and Contentions, until they were conquered by *Hircanus*, and reduced to the Neceſſity of embracing the *Jewiſh* Religion, or quitting their Country: Hereupon, conſenting to the former they were incorporated with the *Jews*, and became one Nation, ſo that, in the firſt Century after Chriſt, the Name of *Idumæan* was loſt, and quite diſus'd. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 4.

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His being ſent into Meſopotamia.

ESAU was now become ſo ſenſible of what he had loſt by the Frauds and Deceptions of his Brother, that he was reſolv'd, at a proper Seaſon, to be reveng'd of him. His Regard to his Father would not permit him to expreſs his Reſentment in any violent Act, as yet; but, as he ſuppoſed, that he could not live long, he was determined to kill his Brother, as ſoon as his Father was dead. Some Speeches of this Kind had accidentally dropped from him, which were brought to his Mother's Ears. Whereupon ſhe acquainted her favourite Son with the bloody Deſign, his Brother had conceived againſt him; told him, that the wiſeſt Way would be for him to withdraw ſome where, until his Fury was aſſwaged, and the propereſt Place for that Purpoſe would be his Uncle *Laban*'s, in *Meſopotamia*; that thither he might retire a little while, and, as ſoon as his Brother's Paſſion was over, ſhe would not fail to re-call him; that, to part with him indeed was no ſmall Affliction to her, but nothing comparable to the Miſery, that would enſue, if, in one Day, ſhe ſhould be bereaved of them both; of him, by the Hands of his Brother; and of his Brother, by the Hand of Juſtice.

Jacob's *Departure to* Meſopotamia.

JACOB, who was of a mild, if not a timorous Temper, readily complied with his Mother's Propoſal, but then his Father's Conſent was to be had; and this *Rebekah* undertook to obtain by artful Inſinuations to her Huſband, that *Eſau*'s *Hittite* Wives were a perpetual Grief and Trouble to her; that the whole Comfort of her Life would be loſt, if *Jacob* ſhould chance to marry in the like unhappy Manner; and therefore, to prevent this Diſaſter, ſhe thought it not amiſs (if ſhe might but have his Approbation therein) that he ſhould go to her Brother *Laban*'s in *Meſopotamia*, and there ſee, if he could fancy any one of his Daughters for a Wife.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

ISAAC was unacquainted with the main Drift of her Diſcourſe; but, being himſelf a pious Man, and knowing that the Promiſe, made to *Abraham*, and renewed in him, was to be compleated in the Iſſue of *Jacob*, called him to him, and upon his Bleſſing, gave him a ſtrict Charge not to marry with any *Canaanitiſh* Woman, but to go to *Padan-Aram*, to the Houſe of his Uncle *Laban*, and there provide himſelf with a Wife: Which if he did, "God wou'd bleſs him, *he ſaid*, and "raiſe him up a numerous Poſterity, and "give that Poſterity the Poſſeſſion of that "very Country, where now they were no "more than Sojourners, according to the "Promiſe, which he had made to his "Grandfather *Abraham*."

WITH theſe Words he diſmiſſed *Jacob* to go to his Uncle's in *Meſopotamia*: And of the Patriarch *Iſaac* we read no more, only that he was alive at his Son's Return, and lived three and twenty Years longer ſtill; that he had removed from *Beerſheba*, where his Son left him, and dwelt now at *Mamre*, not far from *Hebron*; where, at the Age of 188 Years, he died, and was buried, in the ſame Sepulchre with his Father *Abraham*, by his two Sons, *Eſau* and *Jacob*.

The OBJECTION.

"OF all the *Promiſes*, that God made "unto the Patriarchs, none is ſo "frequently repeated, as that of a *plenteous* "*Iſſue*; and yet, if we look into the "Hiſtory, we ſhall find, that no Men's "Wives were ſo frequently barren as "theirs. *Sarah* had ſurpaſſed the ordinary "Term of Conception above thirty Years, "*Rebekah* had been married almoſt twen-"ty, and *Rachel* full as long, before any "of them had a Child; and yet God, all "along, promiſes their Huſbands an innu-"merable Offspring, which can hardly be "accounted for, unleſs we can ſuppoſe, "that Barrenneſs and Fruitfulneſs are "compatible, and that to *cloſe up the*

"Wife's

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" Wife's *Womb* is the readieſt Way to " make the Man's *Seed like the Stars in* " *Heaven for Multitude.*

" But, after all theſe large Promiſes, " *Iſaac*, we read, had but two Sons; and " yet (what is more ſurprizing in the " divine Conduct) the Younger of theſe " was not only (*a*) preferred before the " Elder, quite contrary to the eſtabliſhed " Right of *Primogeniture*; but (as (*b*) the " Scripture expreſſes it) *God loved* Jacob, " *and hated* Eſau, (*c*) *even when the Chil-* " *dren, being yet unborn, had neither done* " *good nor evil*, which is a manifeſt In- " ſtance of God's *Partiality*, and no ſmall " Argument for the Doctrine of Predeſti- " nation: And, yet if we enquire into the " Character of this *Child of Promiſe* (as " he is call'd) we ſhall find that his Beha- " viour did hardly deſerve ſo particular a " Favour.

" For, what Apology can we make " for his taking the Advantage of his " Brother's Hunger, and thence over- " reaching him in the Matter of his *Birth-* " *right?* There is ſomething ſo inhu- " man in denying an hungry Perſon a little " Victuals; ſomething ſo ſelfiſh, in expec- " ting an exorbitant Price from one's own " Brother, for a Meſs of Pottage; ſome- " thing ſo crafty and deſigning, in bring- " ing an eager Appetite under the Obliga- " tion of an Oath, that *Jacob* ſeems to " have acted the mere *Sharper* in this whole " *Affair*; nor (*d*) can *Eſau*'s ſupine Negli- " gence, in giving up the Privilege, be " reputed near ſo culpable, as the other's " covetous, unlawful Method of obtaining " it.

" And, if we cannot excuſe him in " this, what ſhall we ſay for his fraudulent " Practice in intercepting his Father's " Bleſſing; in averring himſelf to be the " Perſon he was not; in telling a Multi- " tude of poſitive Lyes; in liſtening to the " Inſtigation of a crafty Woman, his Mo- " ther; in impoſing upon the Blindneſs " and Infirmity of his aged Father; and From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8. " in making even God himſelf a Party to " the Fraud? For ſo he confidently tells " his Father, (*e*) *the Lord thy God hath* " *brought the Veniſon to me.* And, if we " cannot acquit the Son, who acted only " in Subordination, what ſhall we ſay " for the Mother herſelf, who was the " prime Author or Contriver of the whole " Plot?

" Constant Converſation and a " Similitude of Features, Temper, or " Manners, may be allow'd to engage a " Mother's Affections more towards one " Child, than another; but certainly that " Parent is juſtly to be cenſur'd, who " trains up her Child in any, the leaſt, " Wickedneſs, for the Acquiſition even " of the greateſt Good; and that Child " is liable to the divine Malediction, (*f*) " *who deceiveth* his Neighbour, much " more his Father, and (*g*) *maketh the* " *Blind to go out of his Way.*

" The Truth is, *Rebekah*, in her whole " Conduct, appears to be a Woman of " Craft and Intrigue; dextrous in con- " triving, and bold in executing any " Means, to accompliſh her Deſign. She " had a peculiar Art in impoſing upon " her Huſband, by concealing her real " Sentiments (as ſhe did in the Caſe of " ſending away *Jacob*) and fobbing him " off with a cunningly devis'd Tale: And, " as to her Huſband, whatever Boaſt may " be made of his *Greatneſs*, (*h*) even to " outvie the Wealth and Power of Kings; " (*i*) yet *Jacob*'s being ſent away to *Me-* " *ſopotamia*, all alone, and without any " Servant to attend him in ſo long a " Journey; *Eſau*'s finding no kind of " Eatables in his Father's Houſe, when " he returned from hunting, ſo that (*k*) " he was ready, in a Manner, to be " famiſh'd to death; *himſelf* being glad of " a Piece of Veniſon, whenever his Son " *Eſau* cou'd catch it, and for that Rea- " ſon (*l*) *loving him* more than he did " his

(*a*) Gen. xxv. 23. (*b*) Mal. i. 2, 3. (*c*) Rom. ix. 11, &c. (*d*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*e*) Gen. xxvii. 20. (*f*) Mal. i. 14. (*g*) Deut. xxvii. 18. (*h*) Gen. xxvi. 13, 16. (*i*) Chap. xxviii. 5. (*k*) Chap. xxv. 32. (*l*) Chap. xxv. 28.

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" his Brother; and the great Rout and " Buſtle, that we find him ſo frequently " making about a *Well*, that his Father " had dug, and therefore he thought it " his own Property, are manifeſt Tokens, " that his Circumſtances, at this Time, " were but ſtrait, and that (*m*) *his Poſ-* " *ſeſſion of Flocks, and Poſſeſſion of Herds,* " *and great Store of Servants*, &c. might " be deſign'd to give an *Heightening* to " his Character, but do not appear to *be* " *Matters of Fact*."

Anſwer'd by ſhewing why the Patriarchs Wives were, for ſome Time, barren.

NOTHING can be more obvious, than that the Promiſes, which God was pleas'd to make to the Patriarchs, were not to be accompliſh'd in their *Perſons*, but in their *Poſterity*. *Abraham* had but one Son by his *primary* Wife, and *Iſaac* but two; and therefore the Bleſſing of a *numerous Off-ſpring* could not be verified in them; but in *Jacob* it began to operate. He had twelve Sons; and theſe, when in *Egypt* (notwithſtanding all Lets and Impediments to the contrary) mightily increas'd; and, upon their Return from thence, made up an Army ſufficient to expel the old Inhabi-tants, and to take Poſſeſſion of the *Land of Promiſe*, for thus it is that *Moſes* beſpeaks the People: (*n*) *Thy Fathers went down into* Egypt, *with threeſcore and ten Perſons, and now the Lord thy God has made thee as the Stars of Heaven for Multitude*; where-in he alludes to the very Words, in which the Promiſe, the *original* Promiſe, was made.

IF then the numerous Poſterity, where-with God bleſſed the *Jewiſh* Patriarchs, did, in a due Courſe of Years, tho' not *immediately* enſue, there is no Foundation for our calling in Queſtion his Truth and Veracity; but then his Wiſdom, and Al-mighty Power are much more conſpicuous in raiſing ſo large an Increaſe from ſo ſmall a Beginning. For, beſides that the long Sterility of theſe holy Matrons gave a proper Occaſion for the Exerciſe of Faith, and Patience, and Reliance on God, (*o*) it tended not a little to illuſtrate the Nobi-lity of the *Jewiſh* Extraction, when it came to be conſidered, that their Proge-nitors were deſcended from Women, that were *complexionally* unfruitful, and brought into the World at no leſs an Expence, than that of a Miracle. It ſhewed plainly, that the Multiplication of the *promis'd Seed* was not effected by any natural Suc-ceſſion, but by the divine Favour and Benediction. It prepar'd the Way for the Coming of the Son of God in the Fleſh, and, as St *Chryſoſtom* (*p*) expreſſes it, pre-diſpos'd the World to the Belief of the miraculous *Conception* of the *Virgin Mary*. It adminiſter'd Comfort to ſuch married Women, as were childleſs, giving them Encouragement ſtill to hope on, and reſtraining them from murmuring, or being impatient at any Retardation; and there-fore we find the Angel, in his Addreſs to the bleſſed Virgin, (both to enforce the Credibility of the Meſſage, he brought her, and to revive the Hope of ſuch, as were deſtitute of Children) expreſſing himſelf in this Manner; (*q*) *Behold thy Couſin* Eliza-beth, *who was called barren, ſhe alſo hath conceived a Son in her old Age, for with God nothing ſhall be impoſſible*: And 'tis a glorious Demonſtration of the ſovereign Power of God, when (according to the Apoſtle's Manner of Expreſſion) (*r*) *he chuſes the weak Things of the World to confound the Things that are mighty, the baſe Things of the World, and the Things that are deſpiſed, yea, and the Things that are not, to bring to nought the Things that are, that no Fleſh ſhould glory in his Preſence.*

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

The Meaning of God's pre-ferring Jacob, *before* Eſau.

THE ſame Apoſtle, in Relation to the Subject we are now upon, has, by a fami-liar Similitude, evinc'd the Right, which the great Ruler of the World has to make a Diſcrimination (as to the *Temporalities* I mean only) between Man and Man: For *hath not the Potter Power over the Clay*, ſays he, *of the ſame Lump, to make one Veſſel unto Honour, and another unto Diſhonour?* He, who has a

(*m*) Gen. xxvi. 14. Gen. Chap. xlix. (*n*) Deut. x. 22. (*q*) Luke i. 36, 37. (*o*) *Heidegger's* Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 8. (*r*) 1 Cor. i. 27, &c. (*p*) In

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preſent Intuition of all Things future, knows, how every Perſon, when born into the World, will comport himſelf, and therefore, as he has the Right, ſo he is the only Being, that is duly qualified to allot Men their different Stations in Life; but it is their different Stations in *this* Life, that God thus determines, and not any Neceſſity either of their happy or unhappy Condition in the next.

ESAU and *Jacob* were both in the Womb, when God thought fit to declare his Choice of the one, rather than the other, to be the Founder of the *Jewiſh* Nation, and of *whom, according to the Fleſh, Chriſt ſhould come:* And, as this was a Favour of a temporary Conſideration only, and no ways affected their eternal State, I know of no one Attribute of God that cou'd reſtrain him in this Option. *Loving* or *hating* are Terms of a ſtrong Signification ſometimes, but, that here they can mean no more than a bare Preference of one before another, is plain from the whole Tenour of the Apoſtle's Diſcourſe. The Truth is, (*s*) his Words (as well as thoſe of *Moſes*) relate (as we ſaid before) not to the *Perſons*, but to the *Poſterity* of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, or not to them *perſonally*, but *nationally* conſider'd. As to their Perſons, it was never true, that the *Elder did ſerve the Younger*, but only as to their Poſterity, when the (*t*) *Edomites* became *tributary* to *David:* And therefore the Apoſtle cannot be ſuppos'd here to diſcourſe of any perſonal Election to eternal Life, or any abſolute Love or Hatred of theſe two Brothers, with Reſpect to their Intereſt in another World, but only of the Election of one Seed, or Nation, before another, to be accounted and treated as the *Seed of Abraham*, which is all that the Apoſtle's Argument drives at.

In a Word, the Caſe of theſe two Patriarchs has nothing to do with the *Election* or *Reprobation* of particular Perſons. It ſhews us indeed, that God may make Choice of one Nation, rather than another, to be his *peculiar People*; but to apply this to particular Perſons, or to ſuppoſe that the Condition of Men's Souls, even before they come into the World, is determined by a fatal and irrevocable *Decree*, is foreign to the Apoſtle's Meaning, and abhorrent to his Word, who has ſo plainly declared himſelf to be (*u*) *no Reſpecter of Perſons, but that in every Nation, he that feareth God, and worketh Righteouſneſs, ſhall be accepted with him.*

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

(*x*) Some are of Opinion, that the chief Prerogative of the *Primogeniture* was nothing elſe, but a double Portion of the Father's Eſtate, and that this was all that *Eſau* parted with to his Brother: But had this been ſo, we cannot ſee wherein he was ſo mightily to blame, or why the Apoſtle, who certainly underſtood the Meaning of the *Birth-right*, as well as any modern Commentator, ſhould give him the hard Name of a *profane Perſon*, merely for ſelling the Reverſion of a temporal Eſtate, to ſave his Life, in a Time of the greateſt Exigence. Had the Birth-right, I ſay, conſiſted chiefly in this, we cannot ſee how *Jacob* could have been reduced to the Straits, we afterwards find him in, or *Eſau*, as to his outward Fortune, have flouriſh'd more proſperouſly, than his Brother did. When his Father *Iſaac* died, and he came from Mount *Seir*, to aſſiſt in his Funeral, upon his Departure from his Brother, he is ſaid to have (*y*) *carried away with him all the Subſtance, which he had got in the Land of* Canaan. (*z*) Now it is plain, that he had no Subſtance in the Land of *Canaan* of his own getting, for he liv'd at *Seir*, in the Land of *Edom*, beyond the Borders of *Canaan*; and therefore the Subſtance, which was gotten in the *Land of Canaan*, muſt be the Subſtance, which *Iſaac* died poſſeſſed of, and which *Eſau*, as his Heir, took along with him. So that, after the Birth-right was ſold, He was ſtill Heir to his Father's Subſtance; and therefore a Right to this was not the Thing, which *Jacob* purchas'd of

The Birth-right what.

(*t*) *Whitby* on Rom. ix. (*t*) 2 Sam. viii. 14. (*u*) Acts x. 34, 35. (*x*) *Bibliotheca Bib.* (*y*) Gen. xxxvi. 6. (*z*) *Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. I. l. 7.

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of him. Others are of Opinion, that the *Birth-right* was the Bleſſing, promiſed to the Seed of *Abraham*, and this the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* ſeems, in ſome meaſure, to favour; *Leſt there be any Fornicator, or profane Perſon, as* Eſau, *who for a Morſel of Meat ſold his Birth-right. For ye know how that afterwards, when he would have inherited the Bleſſing, he was rejected:* Where the *not inheriting the Bleſſing*, ſeems to be connected with his *having ſold his Birth-right*; as if, having parted with the one, he could not poſſibly obtain the other: But it is much to be queſtion'd, whether this be the true Senſe of the Paſſage. *Eſau* himſelf, when he ſold his Birth-right, did not imagine that he had ſold, at the ſame Time, his Right to the Bleſſing; for when his Father told him, that his Brother had come with Subtilty, and taken away the Bleſſing, his Anſwer is, *Is he not rightly named* Jacob, *for he hath ſupplanted me theſe two Times; he took away my Birth-right, and behold now he hath taken away my Bleſſing?* Had he apprehended that the Bleſſing, and Birth-right were Things inſeparable, having ſold the one, he would never have laid any Claim to the other; whereas the defrauding him of his Bleſſing is another Hardſhip he complains of, diſtinct, and different, and independent on the former: And therefore *Eſau*'s Birth-right was moſt probably his Right of being Prieſt, or Sacrificer for his Brethren; and for parting with this he is juſtly termed *profane*, becauſe he hereby ſhew'd himſelf not to have a due Value and Eſteem for the religious Employment, that belong'd to him.

From Gen xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

BUT tho' this Employment might better comport with *Jacob*, yet we cannot pretend to juſtify him in his Method of obtaining it. (*a*) *Moſes*, who records the Story, does not commend him for it, and therefore we are left at our Liberty to paſs what Cenſure upon it we think reaſonable. God indeed, before he was born, deſign'd and promis'd this Privilege to him; but (*b*) then he ſhould have waited, until the divine Wiſdom had found out the Means of executing his Promiſe, in his own Way, as *David* did, till God gave him Poſſeſſion of *Saul*'s Kingdom, and not have anticipated God, and ſnatch'd it by an irregular Act of his own. In the whole Affair indeed, *Jacob* acted with a Subtilty, not at all becoming an honeſt Man. He knew that Delays were dangerous, and that his Brother's Conſideration, or ſecond Thoughts, might poſſibly ſpoil his Bargain; and therefore he requir'd Haſte, both in the *Sale*, and in his *Oath*, and thereby incurr'd another Sin, in hurrying his Brother into an Oath by Precipitation, which he neither ſhould have taken, nor *Jacob* have adviſ'd him to take, without mature Advice, and Deliberation.

Jacob *cenſur'd.*

AND, in like Manner, as to his Interception of the Bleſſing, which his Father deſign'd for his Brother *Eſau*; it is in vain to have recourſe to † *forc'd* Conſtructions, or to plead the Lawfulneſs of *mental Reſervations*,

(*a*) *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology. (*b*) *Pool*'s Annotations.

† Upon *Jacob*'s anſwering his Father, *that he was* Eſau *his Firſt-Born*, the *Rabbins* are put to great Perplexity, how to abſoil the Patriarch from the Sin of *Lying*; and therefore ſome of them paraphraſe the Words thus, —— *I am*, i. e. *he*, who brings thee ſomething to eat, *but* Eſau *is thy eldeſt Son*; while others underſtand them in this Manner rather; *I am* Eſau, *i. e.* I am in his Stead, becauſe he has ſold me his Birth-right: For, by this Sale, as *they tell us*, a proper Permutation being made of Perſons and Titles, the firſt became really laſt, and the laſt firſt, the Elder became the Younger, and the Younger the Elder, as to the Stile, and all the Privileges of *Elderſhip*; ſo that *Jacob* was, in reality, as much the Heir, and Succeſſor of *Iſaac*, as if *Eſau* had been actually dead. And, tho' *Eſau* was ſtill alive, and had the Name of *Eſau*, yet *Jacob* was properly (what his Brother had been) *his Firſt-born* Eſau, ſince *Eſau* was reduc'd to the Station of a younger Brother only. St *Auſtin* [ad Conſentium de Mendacio, c. 10.] pretends, that *Jacob*'s Words have a Figure in them, much in the ſame Nature with that in the *Goſpel*, where *John* the *Baptiſt* is called the *Elias, that ſhall come*; but the Misfortune is, that there was a great Similitude between *Elias* and the *Baptiſt*, as to their *Spirit* and Office, but between *Jacob* and *Eſau* there was none at all; and therefore ſome other Fathers, ſeeing the Impoſſibility of explaining the Words, by any of theſe Subterfuges, have boldly aſſerted, that there was no Iniquity in the Lyes, which *Jacob* told, becauſe they did not proceed from any malevolent Intent, but from a Deſign of promoting the greateſt Good; for which End it was as lawful for a wiſe Man to employ officious Lyes, as it is to make uſe of Phyſick for the Preſervation of Health: And, from ſuch dangerous Poſitions as theſe,

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Reservations, in order to excuse him in the Lying and Dissimulation, wherein he was certainly culpable: The best Way is, upon this Occasion, to lament the Infirmity of human Nature, which cannot always stand upright, and to admire the Impartiality of the sacred Writings, in which the very Blemishes and Transgressions of such, as are design'd to make the *top Figure* therein, are not forgotten to be recorded.

Wherein he was commendable.

(*c*) It cannot be denied indeed, but that both *Jacob* and his Mother were justly to be prais'd, for having a due Esteem of the *paternal* Benediction, and for their endeavouring to attain it; since this cou'd proceed from no other Motive, than a full Persuasion of the Truth of God's Promises and Covenant with *Abraham*. For, as the *paternal* Blessing was thought to be a Means, instituted by God, for the Conveyance of this Covenant, it cou'd not but deserve their Care and Assiduity. It cannot be denied farther, but that, if this Blessing was (as some imagine) an *Appendage* to the Birth-right, *Jacob*, in purchasing the one, had acquir'd a lawful Title to the other, a Title establish'd not only upon the express Designation of God, but by a *Deed of Sale* likewise, executed and ratified by a most solemn and sacred Oath. It cannot be denied likewise, but that, pursuant to this divine Designation, *Isaac* was obliged to have conferr'd his Blessing upon *Jacob*, and therefore his Wife, perceiving that he was going to promise the *Blessing of Abraham*, where his Affection led him to wish it, and not where she knew that God had design'd to bestow it, laid a Scheme, which induced her Husband to do that *unwittingly*, which God had pre-ordained was to be done, but what, she knew, her Husband would not do *knowingly* without some Uneasiness. Nay, it cannot be denied, once more, but that, (*d*) when her Artifice had succeeded, and *Jacob* was accordingly blessed, *Isaac* was so far from being displeas'd with his Wife, or angry with *Jacob* for imposing upon him, that we find him fully satisfy'd in what he had done; (*e*) *I have blessed him*, says he, *yea, and he shall be blessed*: Which sudden Change of Mind can be imputed to nothing else, but some divine *Inspiration*, which, at that Time, open'd his Understanding, and convinced him, that he had given the Blessing to the right Person.

From Gen. xxv. 29. to Ch. xxviii. 9.

Wherein blameable.

Thus from the Consideration of *Jacob*'s Right, and *Isaac*'s Duty, the Goodness of the End, the Pre-ordination of God, and his Approbation of the Thing, when done, may be drawn some Arguments, to alleviate their Crime; but still we must ingenuously own, (*f*) that *Rebekah* was guilty of a Fault, in suggesting such dangerous Advice to her Son; that *Jacob* committed another, in suffering himself to be seduced by so bad a Guide; and that both of them presum'd to limit the Power of God, by thinking that a Complication of Frauds was necessary for the Accomplishment of a divine Prophecy. (*g*) Had *Rebekah* indeed put her Husband in Remembrance of this Prophecy, and shewn how *Esau* had forfeited the Blessing by selling his Birth-right, and by marrying strange Wives, this had been a much more honourable Proceeding; but therefore she was left to pursue her own indiscreet Method, that God might have the Honour of serving his own Purposes by the Follies of Men.

Wherein Rebekah may be justified.

But how culpable soever *Rebekah* may be thought in this Instance, yet there is not the like Imputation upon her in hiding from

the *Jesuitical* Doctrine of *Equivocation*, and *mental Reservation*, has, in a great Measure, proceeded. "Quid vero "faciemus hujus commatis hominibus, *says our Author*, qui hac ratione mendatiis, & perjuriis decumanam aperire por- "tam non verentur? Conclamatum erit de pactorum omnium & contractuum fide, adeòque universæ societatis hu- "manæ vinculo, si perversa ea sententia reciperetur. Quod si sanctus Patriarcha resurgeret, haud dubie illam audacis- "simorum hominum impietatem valide retunderet, & damnaret ipse: Tantum abest, ut ejusdem vecordiæ se reum "fecerit: Qui, si humanâ infirmitate lapsus est, at certe artificiosum illud & affectatum mentiendi genus minimè sectatus "est." *Heidegger*'s Hist. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 14.

(*c*) *Heidegger*, ibid. (*d*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 7. (*e*) Gen. xxvii. 33. (*f*) *Saurin*'s Dissertation xxv. (*g*) *Millar*'s History of the Church, c. 1. Period 3.

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from her Huſband the true Reaſon of her ſending away *Jacob*. (*h*) It is certainly a Point of great Prudence to conceal the Truth, when the Diſcovery of it will occaſion more Harm than Good; and therefore, that ſhe might not afflict her Huſband's old Age with the unwelcome News of his Son *Eſau*'s wicked Intent againſt his Brother, and thereby provoke his Indignation againſt him; ſhe cover'd the Diſmiſſion of *Jacob* with a Reaſon, that was true indeed, but not that chief and latent one, which gave her the moſt Uneaſineſs, and which, if communicated to her Huſband, might have been a Means of *bringing his grey Hairs with Sorrow to the Grave*. So that, in the whole, and according to the Proverbs of the Wiſe Man, ſhe acted the Part both of a careful Wife, and a prudent Woman, for (*i*) *the Tongue of the Wiſe uſeth Knowledge aright*, and ſhe, (*k*) *that is of a faithful Spirit, concealeth the Matter*.

Jacob's *being ſent away in a* poor *Condition.*

WHEN *Abraham* ſent his Servant into *Meſopotamia* to negotiate a Marriage for his Son *Iſaac*, he had an Equipage appointed him, ſuitable to the Dignity of his Maſter, that God might be more honour'd by ſo fine an Appearance, and his Veracity publickly juſtified, in the Advancement of that *Abraham*, who had quitted all to follow him; but we ſhall ſoon perceive, that there was not the like Reaſon for *Iſaac*'s ſending away his Son *Jacob* with ſuch an honourable Retinue, if we do but conſider, (*l*) that the Family of *Nahor* was already ſufficiently appris'd of the divine Bleſſing, which had attended *Abraham* and his Family; that, as *Rebekah* was Siſter to *Laban*, the Head of the Family, there was no need of any farther Recommendation, than that of a Letter to her Brother; that, in this Affair, it was Prudence to make *Jacob* appear as little, as might be, in order to give the leſs Umbrage to his Brother, and, if poſſible, to appeaſe his Reſentment; that it was highly expedient for *Jacob*, to tread in the Steps of his Grandfather *Abraham*, whoſe Heir he was now become, and ſhould therefore depart from *his Father's Houſe*, and caſt himſelf entirely upon the Providence of God for his Subſiſtence, even as he had done; and that it was neceſſary for him to give a Demonſtration, that it was not merely (as ſome ſuppoſe) an *earthly Inheritance*, which he had purchaſed, or a *ſecular Bleſſing*, which he had acquired, but that there was ſomething far greater (tho' not diſcernable by every common Eye) which he had in View in this Acquiſition: For (*m*) his *confeſſing*, in this Manner, *that he was but a Stranger and Pilgrim on Earth*, (notwithſtanding the Right of Primogeniture in him) *declared plainly*, that, as *Heir of* the *Promiſe* with *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, he was *ſeeking a better Country*, than either that, from whence he departed, or that, whereunto he was ſent, *i. e. an heavenly*.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

Eſau's *Hunger upon his Return from Hunting.*

FROM theſe, and ſuch like Conſiderations, and not from any Family Poverty, it was, that *Jacob* was ſent into *Meſopotamia*, all alone, and without any Attendance: And, in like Manner, when *Eſau*, upon his Return from Hunting, complains of his extreme Hunger, we can ſcarce ſuppoſe, that he found nothing at home to eat, except the *Pottage*, which his Brother had made. Frugality indeed was a Virtue of much more Eſteem among the *Antients*, than it is among us; but it is hard to imagine, how *Iſaac*, who was a Man confeſſedly of a plentiful Eſtate, and had doubtleſs a large Family to maintain, ſhould keep a Houſe utterly deſtitute of all Manner of Eatables. Proviſion there was no doubt enough; but *Eſau*'s Fancy ran upon ſomething elſe. He longed, greedily longed for the Soop, and the Soop he would have, whatever it coſt. Its Flavour and Colour had enticed him, and every Thing he reſolved to part with, rather than not gratify the preſent Cravings of an intemperate Appetite. And, accordingly,

(*h*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. II. Exercit. 14. (*i*) Prov. xv. 2. (*k*) Chap. xi. 13. (*l*) *Bibliotheca Bib.* in Gen. xxviii. 5. (*m*) Heb. xi. 9, 10.

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ingly, we may obſerve, (*n*) that his reaſoning upon this Occaſion was not, that he was ready to die for Famine, and therefore would part with his Birthright; but that, according to his Courſe of Life, and the Perils, which he, every Day, ran in Hunting, in all Probability he would not ſurvive his Father, and his *Birth-right*, of conſequence, would avail him nothing; and therefore, having but a ſlender Opinion of what was to come hereafter, he made his Concluſion, much in the ſame Form, with the *Epicurean* in the Prophet, (*o*) *Let us eat and drink, for To-morrow we die.*

Iſaac's *loving* Eſau *for his Veniſon.*

WHOEVER conſiders the Chronology of that Tranſaction, will find that (*p*) *Iſaac* lived about forty Years after his parting with his *prophetical* Bleſſing; and conſequently, (*q*) that it was not old Age, but ſome Sickneſs and Indiſpoſition of Body, that, at this Time, had ſeized him, and made him apprehenſive of his approaching Death. In this Condition, it is no uncommon Thing, we know, for Mens Thoughts to run upon one Kind of Meat rather than another, and when the Stomach is deprav'd, or any ways out of order, generally to long for ſuch Things, as are of a ſavoury Taſte: And, if Veniſon, in thoſe Countries, was more particularly adapted to that Purpoſe, wherein, I pray, is *Iſaac* to be blam'd, for loving a Son, who took ſuch Pains, and expos'd himſelf to ſuch Dangers, that he might ſhew his Reſpect to his aged Father, and procure him now and then *ſome little Thing*, to pleaſe his Palate, and humour his fickly Appetite? Thoſe, who think proper to blame the Patriarch's kind Reſentment of ſuch Aſſiduity, ſeem to have forgot the Workings of human Nature, and how apt the very wiſeſt of Parents are to have their Affections won, every Day more and more, by the Sedulity and Officiouſneſs of their Children.

THE dreſſing this Veniſon is repreſented indeed as a Province, which *Eſau* himſelf took upon him; and to have the eldeſt Son and Heir of a Family *ſtand Cook* (as we call it) ſeems to portend no great Wealth or Magnificence in it; but when we urge this, we forget the *Simplicity* of the Times, wherein *Moſes* wrote, and wherein it was cuſtomary for Men of the firſt Rank to ſubmit to Offices, much meaner than this. Herein then do the Truth and Authority of the *ſacred Hiſtory* moſt eminently appear, that all its Accounts and Deſcriptions of Things do agree with the *Senſe* of the moſt antient Writers, and are found conformable to the *Manners* and *Cuſtoms*, that then prevailed.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

And his conteſting his Right to ſeveral Wells, *are all no Reflection upon the Patriarch.*

AND, in like manner, we may ſay, that (*r*) it is our Ignorance of the *patriarchal* Manner of living, which makes us think it unaccountable to hear, in thoſe early Days, of ſo many Conteſts about Wells. For, were we to take a nearer Inſpection into the Thing, we ſhould ſoon find, that in thoſe hot Countries, where Water was ſo very ſcarce, a *Well*, or Fountain of living Water, was a Poſſeſſion of ineſtimable Value; and for this Reaſon we find *Moſes*, in magnifying the divine Bounty to the Children of *Iſrael*, among other Parts of the *Inventory*, reckoning up, not only (*s*) *great and goodly Cities, which they built not*, but WELLS *likewiſe digged, which they digged not.*

(*t*) NOR was it only for the Benefit of the Water, that theſe Wells were held in ſo high Eſteem, but for the Memory of the *Events* and *Tranſactions* likewiſe, which were known to have happened near them. For at theſe Wells Angels had appeared, Miracles had been wrought, religious Aſſemblies held, Treaties tranſacted, Marriages celebrated, and Towns and Cities built; and therefore no Wonder, that the *Antients*, looking upon them as *ſacred*, as well as profitable Places, ſhou'd be ſo ready to conteſt their Right to them, or that frequent Notice

(*n*) *Heidegger's* Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 12. (*o*) Iſa. xxii. 13. (*p*) Gen. xxxv. 28, 29.
(*q*) *Le Clerc's* Annotations. (*r*) *Bibliotheca Bib.* Occaſ. Annot. 29. (*s*) Deut. vi. 11. (*t*) *Shuckford's* Connection, Vol. II. 1..7.

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Notice ſhould be taken of them in ſo compendious an Hiſtory, as that of the *Patriarchs*.

THE Truth is, theſe, and perhaps ſome other Occurrences in the Life of this Patriarch (tho' to us they may ſeem ſtrange and incongruous) do not argue any Want or Poverty, but are exactly agreeable to that Temperance, and Simplicity of Living, which, in his Days, were in Vogue. He, who was, in a Manner, ſole Heir of his Father *Abraham*, (who was * a King in the Opinion of ſome, but, in all Accounts, a Perſon of great Affluence of Fortune) and who himſelf had made Additions to it, enough to be envied even by neighbouring Princes, could not poſſibly want any neceſſary Accommodation of Life, nor wou'd he concern himſelf with Things of a trifling Conſideration: But what we call Trifles, might, in thoſe Times, be Matters of the laſt Importance; and, what we account Indications of Poverty, might proceed from no other Cauſe, but that Frugality and Parcimony, * which, in the primitive Ages, were in high Repute, before they came to be diſcountenanc'd by the preſent Schemes of Expence, and ſtudied Luxury. And therefore, when we find, (*u*) in antient Hiſtory, the *Arcadians*, feeding upon Acorns; the *Argives*, upon Apples; the *Athenians*, upon Figs; *&c.* when we find * a Set of the moſt renown'd Heroes in the *Grecian* Army, even in the great *Achilles*'s Tent, dining upon a Loin of Mutton, and an Hock of Bacon; and the *Godlike* Man *Patroclus* lighting the Fire, while the Maſter of the Feaſt was ſpitting the Meat; our Wonder may ceaſe, if, in Ages before this, we meet with ſuch an homely Diſh, as *Lentil-Pottage* in a Patriarch's Houſe, and the two Sons of the Family condeſcending to cook their own Victuals. This we muſt own is not the Practice among us; but it is a much more conſiſtent and credible Account of Things, than if *Moſes* had repreſented *Iſaac*'s Tent like a *royal Palace*, and every Thing ſerv'd up there in the ſame ſplendid Manner, as when the King and his Family *dine in publick*.

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

DISSER-

* The Words of *Nicholaus Damaſcenus* (as they are quoted by *Joſephus*) are theſe. —— "*Abraham* reigu'd in *Da-*
"*maſcus*, being a Stranger, who came out of the Land of *Chaldea*, beyond *Babylon*. His Name is, at this Day,
"famous about the Country of *Damaſcus*, and they ſhew us the Town, which, from him is call'd *Abraham's*
"Dwelling". *Grotius* de Verit. l. 1. §. 16.

* The Manner of living, in the early Ages of the World, ſeems to be very well expreſſed by the *Roman* Satyriſt.

Credo pudicitiam, Saturno Rege, moratam
In terris, viſamque diu; cum frigida parvas
Præberet ſpelunca domus, ignemque, laremque,
Et pecus, & Dominos, communi clauderit umbrâ.
Sylveſtrem montana torum cum ſterneret uxor
Frondibus, & culmo, vicinarumque ferarum
Pellibus. ——————
Et ſæpe horridior glandem ructante marito. *Juven.* Sat. 6.

(*u*) *Ælian* de Variâ Hiſtoriâ. l. 3.

* When the *Grecians* ſent an Embaſſy to *Achilles*, deſiring him to be reconcil'd to *Agamemnon*, and to return to the Camp: the Deputies, appointed for this Purpoſe, were *Phœnix*, *Ajax*, and *Ulyſſes*, and the Entertainment, which *Achilles*, upon this Occaſion, gave them, is thus deſcrib'd, and in this Manner ſaid to have been dreſs'd, by the Poet.

—————— Πάτροκλ@ δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθεθ' ἑταίρῳ.
Αὐτὰρ ὅγε κρέιον μέγα κάλεσσεν ἐν πυρ@ αὐγῇ,
Ἐν δ' ἄρα νῶτον ἔθηκ' ὀΐ@, καὶ τίον@ αἰγός·
Ἐν δὲ συὸς σιάλοιο ῥάχιν τεθαλυῖαν ἀλοιφῇ.
Τῷ δ' ἔχεν Αὐτομέδων· τάμεν δ' ἄρα δίο@ Αχιλλεύς.
Καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ μίσυλλε, καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειρε
Πῦρ δ' Μενοιτιάδης δῖεν μέγα ἰσόθε@ φως. ——————
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ β' ἄπλεσε, καὶ εἰν ἐλεοῖσιν ἔχευε,
Πάτροκλ@ μὲν σῖτον ἐλὼν ἐπέθημε τραπέζῃ,
Καλοῖς ἐν κανέοισιν· ἀτὰρ κρέα νεῖμεν Ἀχιλλεύς. HOM. Iliad. ix.

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From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

DISSERTATION II.

Of Isaac's *Blessing to* Jacob.

The History.

1st Institution of these Kind of Blessings.

FROM the Time, that God made the Covenant with *Abraham*, and promis'd Blessings extraordinary to his Seed, it was customary for the Father of each Family, some Time before he died, to call together his Children, and to inform them, according to the Knowledge, which it pleas'd God then to give him, how, and in what Manner, the *Blessing of Abraham* was to descend among them. Whence this Custom had its Original, whether from the immediate Appointment of God, or from some secret Impulse, wherewith the Patriarchs, upon the Approach of their Departure, found themselves affected, the Silence of Scripture will not suffer us to determine; but this we may safely infer, (*x*) that this *Benediction* was different from those *private* Blessings, which the Patriarchs gave their Children upon sundry Occasions, and different likewise from those *publick* Blessings, which the Priests, and others in Authority, were wont to distribute among the People. It proceeded from an extraordinary *Illumination*, and had the Prospect of Futurity (so far as was necessary for its Purpose) submitted to its Inspection. The Persons, upon whom it came, had, for that Time, the Spirit of *Divination*, and what they utter'd, under its Influence, was deem'd a *prophetick Oracle*, denoting infallible Events, and extending to the utmost Period of Time.

Why Isaac *desired to eat, before he pronounc'd his Blessing.*

THE *Jews* indeed have a *proverbial* Saying, *that the Spirit of Prophecy does not fall upon the Melancholick*; and thence they suppose, that, as good Eating and Drinking are known to exhilarate the Spirits, the Patriarch, by sending his Son to take Venison, was minded to make use of that Expedient, that he might be the better dispos'd to receive the divine Inspiration, and to pronounce the prophetical Benediction with Chearfulness, and with a Warmth and Emotion, sufficient to excite that Attention, which the *Prophecy*, he was about to deliver, did require.

(*y*) BUT as no one in his Senses can imagine, that a Person, when perfectly sober, is not as capable of the Spirit of Prophecy, as he that has plentifully din'd; others, from the Phrase, *that I may bless thee* BEFORE THE LORD, suppose (*z*) that *Isaac*'s eating, in order to receive the Spirit of Benediction, was by him design'd to be *sacramental*, and accompany'd with some religious Rites, and solemn Invocations, tho' they happen not to be here mention'd. But this Supposition being as precarious, as the other, the safest Way is to resolve the whole Matter into the *Providence* of God, (*a*) who put *Isaac* into the Head of sending out *Esau* for Venison, neither to refresh his Spirits by eating, nor to perform any religious Act, but merely by his Absence, to give *Jacob* an advantageous Opportunity of appropriating the Blessing to himself.

Why he intended it for Esau.

ISAAC indeed meant not this, neither was it in his Heart to bless *Jacob*; and therefore, If we suppose that *Rebekah* had acquainted him with the Prophecy, which

(*x*) *Heidegger*'s Hist. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 7.
(*a*) *Pool*'s Annotations.
(*y*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.
(*z*) *Bibliotheca Bib.*

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which directed him to transfer the Bleſſing upon *Jacob*, we muſt ſuppoſe withal, (*b*) that he had now forgot it, or never rightly underſtood it, or apprehended, that it was to be accompliſh'd, not in the Perſons of *Eſau* and *Jacob*, but in their Poſterity (*c*); for it is much better to charge the *Patriarch* with want of Attention or Underſtanding, than with Diſobedience and Prevarication.

The Benediction itſelf explained.

HOWEVER this be, the Bleſſing, which he pronounces over *Jacob* by Miſtake, is conceived in theſe Words: *God give thee of the Dew of Heaven*, (becauſe, in hot Countries, where Showers were leſs frequent, the Morning and Evening Dews were a great Refreſhment to the Earth, and productive of much Plenty:) *And the Fatneſs of the Earth*, (becauſe *Canaan*, the Lot of his Inheritance, was a fruitful, and therefore (*d*) by the Prophet call'd, *a fat Land*;) *and Plenty of Corn and Wine*, (Abundance of every Product of the Earth.) *Let People ſerve thee*, (i. e. the *Idumæans*, who ſhall deſcend from thy Brother *Eſau*, as they did in the Days of *David*:) *And Nations bow down unto thee*, (the Kingdoms of *Arabia* and *Syria*, who are ſprung from *Hagar* and *Keturah*:) *Be Lord over thy Brethren, and let thy Mother's Son bow down unto thee*, (have thou the Dominion and Prerogative in thine own Family) *Curſed be every one that curſeth thee, and bleſſed be every one that bleſſeth thee*; for God ſhall ſo far intereſt himſelf in thy Cauſe, as to eſteem thoſe his Friends or Foes, who ſhall behave themſelves, as ſuch, to thee. So that the Bleſſing conſiſts properly of three Branches: In the 1ſt is contain'd worldly Plenty and Proſperity: In the 2d, Dominion and Empire: And in the 3d, Family Pre-eminence, as well as the divine Protection: But then the Queſtion is, in what Senſe all this is to be underſtood, and to what Branch, the peculiar *Bleſſing of* Abraham, (which is doubtleſs compris'd herein) may be ſuppos'd to belong?

IF we look back (*e*) to the call of *Abraham*, and the Promiſes which attended it, there we ſhall find, (*f*) that, after enumerating the temporal Bleſſings, which were to deſcend from *Abraham* to his Poſterity, one Bleſſing is added, in which all the World has an Intereſt, and which was convey'd to them thro' *Abraham* and his Seed; *In thee*, ſays God, *ſhall all the Families of the Earth be bleſſed.*

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

IF we proceed to the Bleſſing, which he was pleaſed to give to his Son *Iſaac*, we ſhall find a Recital of the ſame Kinds of temporal Proſperity; a numerous Progeny promis'd, the Grant of the Land of *Canaan* renew'd, the Oath, given unto *Abraham*, confirm'd, and then follows the great and diſtinguiſhing Promiſe (*g*), *in thy Seed ſhall all the Nations of the Earth be bleſſed.* And, in like Manner, we cannot but imagine, that, in this great and ſolemn Bleſſing, which *Iſaac* is giving his Son *Jacob*, there muſt be ſomething of a ſpiritual Nature compriſed, tho' couched under Terms, which ſeem to denote worldly Felicity only.

That there is a ſpiritual Senſe and Meaning in it.

THE Author to the *Hebrews* tell us, that (*h*) *by Faith* Iſaac *bleſſed* Jacob *and* Eſau *concerning Things to come*; and what we are to underſtand by *Faith* he inſtructs us in the Concluſion of his Diſcourſe; *and theſe all* (meaning the Patriarchs, he had mentioned before) *having obtained a good Report through Faith, received not the Promiſe, God having provided ſome better Thing for us, that they, without us, ſhould not be made perfect.* So that this Faith did chiefly relate to the *bleſſed Seed*, which was promiſed in the Beginning, and from continued Tradition, and divine Revelation, in every ſucceeding Age, embraced by the *Faithful*; and therefore we can hardly ſuppoſe, but that, in this great *prophetical* Benediction, there muſt be ſomething concerning this *Seed*, implied, at leaſt, if not, expreſſed.

WHOEVER takes but a curſory View of ſome of the chief Paſſages of *Jacob*'s

(*b*) *Pool*'s Annotations. (*c*) *Saurin*'s Diſſertations. (*d*) Nehem. ix. 25. (*e*) Gen. xii. (*f*) Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy. (*g*) Gen. xxvi. 4. (*h*) Heb. xi. 20.

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Life, will soon perceive, that, had his Father's Blessing consisted of worldly Advantages only, it was, in a Manner, quite lost upon him, since few Men enjoyed a less Share of that, than he, who was forc'd from his Home, into a far Country, for fear of his Brother; deceiv'd and oppress'd by his Uncle; and, (*i*) after a Servitude, of above twenty Years, compelled to flee from him; while, at the same Time, he was in imminent Danger, either of being pursu'd and brought back by *Laban*, or fallen upon, and murther'd by *Esau*. These Fears were no sooner over, but the Baseness of his eldest Son, in *defiling his Couch*; the Treachery and Cruelty of the two next, in Relation to the *Sechemites*; the Loss of his beloved Wife, and the supposed untimely Death of his Son *Joseph*; to say nothing of his being compelled by Famine to go down into *Egypt*, and there die: These, and many more Instances, are Proofs sufficient, that his Father's Blessing was of a different Nature. For, supposing it to relate to temporal Prosperity and Dominion only, wherein can we say that *Jacob* had the Pre-eminence above his Brother? (*k*) If *Jacob* was *blessed with the Dew of Heaven, and the Fatness of the Earth*; Esau's Blessing (at least according to our Translation) in this Respect is not inferior; *Thy Dwelling*, says his Father, *shall be the Fatness of the Earth, and of the Dew of Heaven from above.* If *Nations were to bow down to* Jacob; *Esau* likewise *was to live and prevail with his Sword.* If *Jacob's Brethren* were to *bow down to him*; yet, the Time would come, when *Esau should have Dominion, and break* even *this Yoke from off his Neck.* Thus, if we interpret the whole Blessing of *temporal* Prosperity only, the two Brothers seem to stand upon an Equality; and yet it is evident, from the whole Story, that the chief Blessing, which their Father had to bestow, was fallen upon *Jacob*, and therefore he tells *Esau*, when he pressed him for a Blessing upon himself likewise; *Behold I have made him thy Lord, and all his Brethren have I given unto him for Servants, and with Corn and Wine have I sustained him, and what shall I do now unto thee, my Son?* And when *Esau* still urges his Father, and his Father thereupon blesses him, we may observe, that, of Corn, and Wine, and temporal Power, he gives him a full, and an equal Share; but then there is this Limitation in the Blessing, *Thou shalt serve thy Brother*: So that, whatever was peculiarly given to *Jacob*, was contain'd in the Grant of *being Lord over his Brethren*; and yet the History of the two Brothers will not allow us to expound it of any temporal Dominion; for if we should, see how the Case will stand. (*l*) *Jacob is to rule over* Esau; and yet no sooner is the Blessing given, but he flies his Country for fear of *Esau*; he lives abroad for many Years; and, when he returns, the Fear and Dread of his Brother returns with him; so that his only Refuge, in this his Distress, was to God; (*m*) *Deliver me, I pray thee, from the Hand of my Brother, from the Hand of* Esau. When he sends a Message to him, he stiles himself, (*n*) *Thy Servant* Jacob: When he meets him, (*o*) *he bows himself to the Ground seven Times, until he comes near to* Esau: When he speaks to him, he calls him *Lord*; and when he is kindly received by him, he says, (*p*) *I have seen thy Face, as though I had seen the Face of God, and thou wert pleased with me.* What is there in all this, that shews any *Rule* and *Dominion* given to *Jacob* over his Brother *Esau?*

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

And, in like Manner, if we imagine the Prophecy relates to temporal Dominion only, and yet was fulfilled in the *Posterity* of these two Brothers, the Question will be, how the Case, upon this Supposition, stands. (*q*) The Family of *Esau* was settled in Power and Dominion many Years, before *Jacob's* Family had any certain

(*i*) Universal History, l. 1. c. 7. (*k*) Bishop *Sherlock's* Use and Intent of Prophecy, Disc. 5. (*l*) Ibid. (*m*) Gen. xxxii. 11. (*n*) Ver. 20. (*o*) Chap. xxxiii. 3. (*p*) Ver. 10. (*q*) Bishop *Sherlock's* Use and Intent of Prophecy, Disc. 5.

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tain Dwelling-Place. The *Dukes* and *Kings* of *Eſau*'s Houſe are reckon'd up; and the Hiſtorian tells us, that (*r*) *theſe are the Kings, who reigned in the Land of* Edom, *before there reigned any King over the Children of* Iſrael. When the appointed Time was come for eſtabliſhing the Houſe of *Iſrael*, and giving them the Land and Poſſeſſions of their Enemies, the Family of *Eſau* were, by a particular Decree, exempted from the Dominion of *Iſrael*: For ſo the Lord commanded *Moſes*, (*s*) *Ye are to paſs through the Coaſt of your Brethren, the Children of* Eſau. —— *Take ye good Heed unto yourſelves therefore; meddle not with them; for I will not give you of their Land, no not ſo much as a Foot-breadth.* In the Time of *David* indeed, (*t*) *they of* Edom *became his Servants*; but, in the Days of *Jehoram*, they recovered again, (*u*) *and made a King over themſelves*, and, in the Time of *Ahaz*, they revenged the Affront, (*x*) *by ſmiting* Judah, *and leading them away Captives.* So that, this Variety of Fortune, between the Children of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, could never be the Thing intended, or meant to be deſcribed, when the Promiſe was given to *Jacob, that his Mother's Children ſhould bow down unto him.*

What that Meaning is?

WHAT then is the hidden Purpoſe of the Words, and in what Senſe are they to be taken? Why, it ſeems pretty evident, that the Bleſſing, given to *Jacob*, and expreſſed in Words implying *a Rule over his Brethren*, was a Conveyance of the Birth-right to him, in the Family of *Abraham*; that the Birth-right in *Abraham*'s Family, (beſides the Promiſe of the Land of *Canaan*) reſpected the ſpecial Bleſſing given unto *Abraham* by God; and that this ſpecial Bleſſing denoted no other, than that *Perſon*, in whom all Families of the Earth were to be bleſſed, and that is *Chriſt*. For, (*y*) that the Regard of all *Nations* to the *Seed*, in which they were *all to be bleſſed*, ſhould be expreſſed by their *bowing down to him*, is no hard Figure of Speech; and that the Superiority of *Jacob*'s Family ſhou'd, one Day, be broken (as the Promiſe to *Eſau* ſets forth) when *Jews* and *Gentiles* ſhou'd equally become the People of God, and *all Nations* be equally *bleſſed*, is no more, than what the original Covenant contains. Upon the whole then we may obſerve, that this Prediction had its full Accompliſhment, neither in the *Perſon* of *Jacob*, nor in his *Poſterity* in general, but only in *one*, who, as to his human Nature, *in the Fulneſs of Time*, deſcended from him, and (*z*) *who, being in the Form of God* (as the Apoſtle acquaints us with both his Natures) *and thinking it no Robbery to be equal with God, made himſelf of no Reputation, and took upon him the Form of a Servant, and was made in the Likeneſs of Men, and being found in Faſhion as a Man, humbled himſelf, and became obedient unto Death, even the Death of the Croſs. Wherefore God alſo hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name, which is above every Name, that at the Name of* Jeſus *every Knee ſhould bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things in the Earth, and Things under the Earth, and that every Tongue ſhall confeſs, that* Jeſus Chriſt *is Lord, to the Glory of God the Father.*

From Gen. xxv. 20, to Ch. xxviii. 8.

Why it was not revoked.

SINCE this Part of the Bleſſing then, which *Iſaac* beſtowed upon *Jacob*, was of ſuch high Import; as to refer *ultimately* to the Perſon of our bleſſed Saviour, and his Exaltation into Glory; this may ſuggeſt a Reaſon to us, why, tho' it was certainly obtain'd by Guile, it was not afterwards revok'd, but ratified rather and confirm'd, even when his Father came to underſtand the Impoſture. For if (*a*) *Prophecy came not, of old Time, by the Will of Man, but holy Men of God ſpake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt*, (*b*) then is *Iſaac*, in this Action, to be conſider'd only as the *inſtrumental*, and God as the *principal* Cauſe; the Efficacy of the Bleſſing therefore muſt be

(*r*) Gen. xxxvi. 31. (*s*) Deut. ii. 4, 5. (*t*) 2 Sam. viii. 14. (*u*) 2 Kings viii. 20.
(*x*) 2 Chron. xxviii. 17. (*y*) Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, Diſc. 5. (*z*) Phil. ii. 6, &c.
(*a*) 2 Pet. i. 21. (*b*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 14.

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be ſuppoſed to depend, not on his Will and Intention, but on God's Ordination and Appointment; and, conſequently, *Iſaac* could have no Right or Authority to diſannul the Bleſſing, had he been minded ſo to do. (*c*) But it is much more likely, that the Remembrance of the Prophecy concerning the two Children, which *Rebekah* had vouchſafed her, before they were born, might, at this Time, come to ſtrike him; and, ſeeing he had in his Bleſſing (tho' not deſignedly) confirmed the ſame, he might very well impute it to an over-ruling Providence, and ſo be concluded by the divine Determination; in which Senſe that Paſſage, relating to *Eſau*, in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, is moſt proper to be applied: (*d*) *We know, how that afterward, when he would have inherited a Bleſſing, he was rejected: For he found no Place of Repentance, tho' he ſought is carefully with Tears.* But how was *Eſau rejected from inheriting a Bleſſing*, when we find, that, upon his Importunity with his Father, he obtained one? He obtained a Bleſſing indeed, but not *that*, which, by hereditary Right, belonged to the Firſt-born, and abounded with Bleſſings, both ſpiritual and temporal. This his Brother *Jacob* had ſupplanted him of; and yet he could not prevail with his Father to revoke it. He could not bring him to *change his Mind*, (as it is in the Margin) and *repent* of the Bleſſing, he had given to *Jacob*, (for (*e*) it is *Iſaac*'s *Repentance*, not *Eſau*'s, that is here under Conſideration) although he ſought it *with Tears*; and the Reaſon is, —— becauſe his Father knew, both by the Conduct of Providence in this whole Affair, and by a particular Inſpiration at that Time, that the peculiar Bleſſings, promis'd to *Abraham*, and *his Seed*, did not belong to him, but, by the divine Appointment, were now conſign'd to his Brother, and his Poſterity; and therefore, to ſilence all farther Clamour, he tells him, with a more than ordinary *Emphaſis*, and Inflexibility, (*f*) *I have bleſſed him, yea, and he ſhall be bleſſed.*

From Gen. xxv. 20. to Ch. xxviii. 8.

(*c*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*d*) Heb. xii. 17. (*e*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 14.
(*f*) Gen. xxvii. 33.

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From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

CHAP. III.

Of the Life of JACOB, *from his going into* Meſopotamia, *to his Return.*

The HISTORY.

Jacob's *Viſion.*

AS ſoon as *Jacob* had receiv'd his Father's Charge and Bleſſing, he departed privately from *Beerſheba*, and * made the beſt of his Way to *Haran*; but after his firſt Day's Journey *, happening to be benighted, he was forced to take up his Lodging in the open Air, with the ſpangled Sky to be his *Canopy*, and an hard Stone his *Pillow*. However, while he ſlept, he thought he ſaw a *Ladder* fix'd upon the Earth, and reaching up to Heaven, with Angels aſcending and deſcending on it; and, from the Top of this Ladder, he heard God ſpeaking unto him, and promiſing him (even as he had done his Fore-Fathers) the Land of *Canaan* for his Inheritance; a large and numerous Poſterity; the *Meſſias* to deſcend from his Family; a ſafe Return to his native Country; and the divine Protection and Preſervation every where to attend him.

THIS, in all Probability, was the firſt Vouchſafement of this Kind, which *Jacob* ever had; and his Dream had made ſuch Impreſſion upon him, that, as ſoon as he awak'd, he paid an awful Reverence to the Place, and, after a ſhort Contemplation of what had paſſed, broke out into this Rapture of Wonder and Admiration; " *How venerable is this Place,* over which " are vertically the Palace of God, and " the *Gate of Heaven*, thro' which the " holy Angels are continually iſſuing out, " to execute the divine Commands!" And when he aroſe, he erected the Stone, whereon he ſlept, and (as the Cuſtom of thoſe

* The *Jews* tell of ſeveral Miracles, which they ſuppoſe to have been wrought on the very Day that *Jacob* ſet out from *Beerſheba*; but one more eſpecially, *viz.* that God ſhortened the Hours, by cauſing the Sun to go down before its Time; and yet we are told, that from *Beerſheba* to *Luz*, where he lodged the firſt Night, were about 48 *Engliſh* Miles, which was no inconſiderable Days Journey. If there be any Meaning therefore in this Fiction of theirs, it muſt conſiſt in this, ——— That *Jacob* was ſent away with his Father's Bleſſing, and, in Virtue of that, was filled with a certain divine Power, which ſupported, and carried him on with Pleaſure, ſo that the Day might thence ſeem ſhorter to him; and, tho' his Father ſent no Friend or Domeſtick along with him, yet there is no doubt to be made, but that there was a Companion and Guardian of a far nobler Order aſſigned him, who led him by the Hand, as it were, and *kept him in all his Ways*. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in Locum.

* The Place where *Jacob* took up his Lodging, was near *Luz*, which ſignifies an *Almond*, and might very likely have its Name from the many Groves of Almond-Trees, which were thereabouts: and under ſome of which, 'tis not unlikely that *Jacob* might take up his Lodging, becauſe the Largeneſs of their Leaves, in that Country, wou'd afford no incommodious Shelter from the Weather. *Jacob*, upon the Account of the Viſion, which he had in this Place, called it *Bethel*; and the *Iſraelites*, when they conquer'd *Canaan*, in Remembrance of the ſame, continu'd the Name. It lay to the Weſt of *Hai*, about eight Miles to the North of *Jeruſalem*, in the Confines of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Benjamin*. So that, upon the Revolt of the ten Tribes, it belonged to the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, and was therefore one of the Cities, where *Jeroboam* ſet up his golden Calves, whence the Prophet *Hoſea* [Chap. iv. 15.] alluding to the Name given it by *Jacob*, calls it *Beth-aven*, inſtead of *Bethel*, i. e. *the Houſe of Vanity* or *Idols*, inſtead of *the Houſe of God*. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Welli*'s Geography, of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I.

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Times was) † pour'd Oil upon it, and then, in pious Commemoration of the heavenly Vision, called the Place, (which before was called *Luz*) by the Name of *Bethel*, i. e. the House of God. But, before he went from thence, he made a † solemn Vow to God, "That, if he would "protect and prosper him in his Journey, "provide him with † common Necessa- "ries in his Absence, and grant him an "happy Return to his Father's House; "to him alone would he direct his reli- "gious Worship; in that very Place "where the Pillar stood, upon his Re- "turn, would he make his devout Ac- "knowledgments, and offer unto him the "† Tenth of whatever he should gain in "the Land of *Mesopotamia*."

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

HAVING thus performed his Devotions, he ‖ proceeded in his Journey, and, after some Weeks, arrived at *Haran*. As he came near the Town, he saw some Shepherds, with their Flocks, not far from a Well, which was covered with a large Stone; and, while he was enquiring of them concerning *Laban* and his Family, he was given to understand, that they were all well, and that it would not be long before

His Arrival at Haran, *and Interview with* Rachel.

† Hence it seems evident, that *Jacob* did not leave his Father's House, without being first provided for his Journey; for it cannot be thought, that, if he wanted other Necessaries, he would have carried Oil along with him, and that in such Plenty, as to pour it out, in such a seemingly profuse Manner, upon an inanimate Subject. *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

† Several Annotators have observ'd, that this is the first *Vow*, that we read of in Scripture; but this is no Reason for our supposing, that *Jacob* was the first, who worshipped in this Manner, but rather that in *this* he did no more, than what his Fathers, *Abraham* and *Isaac*, had done before him, and as they had instructed him, both by Example and Precept. As for *Abraham*, tho' there be no mention made expressly of a *Vow*, yet very certain it is, that in effect he did the same Thing. For, when the Lord is said to have *made a Covenant with him*, Abraham, on his Part, must be *supposed* to express his Consent and Acceptation of it; and not only so, but to vow and promise to perform the Conditions, in order to attain the Benefit of it. And, in like Manner, when *Isaac* is said to have *intreated the Lord for his Wife*, 'tis highly probable, that he vowed a Vow to God, that, upon his Performance of the Promise of multiplying his Seed, *&c.* he would, on his Part, as an Acknowledgment of it, make some or other suitable Return; for the Word, which we render *intreat*, in its Original, has a much stronger Signification, and denotes a soliciting of Favours, whether from God or Man, by Gifts, Vows, or Promises. So that we may justly conclude, that his Son did not do this of his own Head, or upon an immediate Revelation commanding him so to do, but that he was before taught, and instructed by his Father in this Solemnity, as a Part of both *natural* and *positive* Religion. *Biblioth. Biblica.*

† *Jacob*'s Words, upon this Occasion, are, *If God will give me Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on*, which two Articles comprize all the Necessaries of Life, and therefore we find them, in the Writings of the Philosophers, always put together. For *these are the Bounds*, says *Seneca*, [Ep. 4.] *which Nature has set us, that we should not hunger, nor thirst, nor be cold:* For *our Diet and Dress*, says *Tully*, *should contribute to our Health and Strength, not to Luxury or Pleasure*, [de Offic. l. 1. c. 13.] We may observe however farther, that, by the Patriarch's covenanting here with God only for *Food* and *Raiment*, does appear the gross Mistake of those, who pretend that he supplanted his Brother for covetous Ends, as if his Father's Estate, and the Possession of a rich Country for himself, and his Heirs, were the Things, which he had only in View. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bib.* in Locum.

† This is the second Mention of *Tythes* or *Tenths*, and the first Dedication of them to God; and, from this Place we may fairly conclude, that *Jacob*, the *Grand-Child* of *Abraham*, vowing the *Tenth of all* (as *Abraham* had given *the Tenth of the Spoil*) was induced to do it by the Custom, which then prevailed among religious People. How they came to pitch upon this *Portion*, rather than a *fifth*, a *sixth*, or any other Quantity, is not so easy to be resolved; but they seem to speak with much Reason, who observe, that, in this Number *ten*, all Nations in a Manner do end their Account, and then begin again with *compound* Numbers, or (as others phrase it) that this is the End of *less* Numbers, and the Beginning of the *greater*, for which Reason it was looked on as the most perfect of all other, and accordingly had in great Regard: But, after all, it seems most likely, that they had some divine Precept and Direction for it. At this Time, 'tis certain, that the Order of Priesthood was not instituted; and therefore the only Purposes, to which *Jacob* could appropriate the *Tythes*, he gave, were, either for the Maintenance of Burnt-Sacrifices, and other pious Uses, or perhaps for the Relief of the Poor. But how, and when, he actually performed his Vow, does no where appear in Scripture, unless it was from his Return from *Padan-Aram* [Gen. xxxv. 7, 14.] when he *built an Altar at* El Bethel, *and set up a Pillar in the Place, where God had talked with him, and poured a Drink-Offering, and Oil thereon.* *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‖ The Words in the Text are, *And came to the Land of the People in the East*, Gen. xxix. 1. which makes some imagine, that he travelled *Eastward*: But this is a Mistake, because *Mesopotamia*, and particularly *Haran*, lay *Northward* from *Bethel*. *Babylon* however lay *Eastward* from both Places; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being Part of the *Babylonish* Dominions, the *Babylonians* might well be called the *People of the East*, and *Jacob* is only said to have gone into a Country, of which they were Lords and Masters. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 3. c. 4.

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fore his Daughter † *Rachel* would be there with her Flock. Nor had this Diſcourſe long paſſed, before ſhe came; where upon *Jacob* having very obligingly rolled away the Stone, and watered her Sheep for her, took Occaſion to let her know who he was; and, as he proceeded to ſalute his Couſin, was, in a Manner, ready to weep for Joy; while ſhe made what haſte ſhe cou'd home, in order to inform her Father, of what had paſſed. He immediately came to meet his Nephew, and receiv'd him with all the Kindneſs, and all the Tenderneſs imaginable, whilſt he related to him † the Occaſion of his leaving his Father's Family, and what Adventures, he had met with, in the Way.

Marries both her, and her Siſter Leah.

JACOB had not been long in his Uncle's Houſe, before he applied himſelf to Buſineſs; and having now ſerv'd him, for the Space of a Month, in the Capacity of a Shepherd, his Uncle, one Day, took an Occaſion to diſcourſe him, and to let him know, that he neither expected, nor thought it reaſonable, to have his Labour for nothing, and therefore deſir'd him to name what Wages he wou'd have. The lovely Shepherdeſs had already captivated *Jacob*'s Heart; and therefore he names her for the Reward † of his Seven-years Service, which her Father readily conſented to, and he as readily enter'd upon, becauſe the Love, which he had to his *Rachel*, made him account the longeſt Time ſhort. From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

LABAN, we muſt know, had another Daughter, named *Leah*, older than *Rachel*, but not ſo beautiful, having ſome Bleminſh, or Soreneſs in her Eyes; and when the Time of *Jacob*'s Servitude was expired, and he demanded his Wife, his Father-in-law ſeem'd to ſolemnize the Nuptials with great Magnificence, but, in the Evening, he put an unfair Trick upon him. For, inſtead of the beauteous *Rachel*, he † brought the blear-ey'd *Leah* to his Bed; which when *Jacob* perceiv'd next Morning, and thereupon made juſt Remonſtrances, the Father had his Anſwer ready, and, in a magiſterial Tone, told him, "That it was an unprecedented Thing in "that Country (and wou'd have been "deem'd an Injury to her Siſter) to marry "the Younger before the Elder; but,

"(continu'd

† *Rachel*, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, ſignifies a *Sheep*: Nor need we wonder at her being called ſo, ſince it was a common Thing, among the Antients, to give Names, not only to particular Perſons, but even to conſiderable Families [as the Words *Porcius*, *Ovilius*, *Caprilius*, *Equilius*, &c. mentioned by *Varro* de Re Ruſticâ, l. 2. c. 1. ſufficiently ſhews] from Cattle, both great and ſmall. Much leſs Reaſon have we to wonder, that we find her keeping her Father's Sheep, ſince that Employment, in thoſe early Days, was accounted very honourable, as from *Homer*, and other antient Writings, is ſufficiently evident. We need not ſuppoſe however, that the whole Drudgery of the Work lay upon her; ſhe had thoſe under her, who took this off her Hands, and her Buſineſs was only, as the chief *Shepherdeſs*, to inſpect over them. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The Things, which *Jacob* inform'd his Uncle *Laban* of at this Time, may be ſuppoſed to be ſuch, as related to the Occaſion of his Journey; as, particularly, all that had paſſed between his Brother and him, as to the Right of *Primogeniture*; the *Purchaſe* which he had made of it, and what enſu'd; their two different Manners of living; the *Deſign* of his Father, with reſpect to them; the *Management* of the Mother, to procure him the Bleſſing; the *Reſentment* of his Brother at this Diſappointment; the prudent *Diſmiſſion* of himſelf thereupon, both by Father and Mother; the *Diſpleaſure*, they had conceived at his Brother's matching himſelf into *ſtrange* Families; and the *ſtrict Orders*, they had therefore given him, to take a Wife out of his own Kindred, and of the Houſe of his Mother's Father, which was the Reaſon of his coming thither; and, laſtly, the wonderful Occurrences, he had met with on his Journey, more eſpecially, as to the whole Affair of *Bethel*, and the happy meeting of his Daughter at the Well, to his great and ſurprizing Satisfaction. *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

† It was a Cuſtom, which had prevailed almoſt in all Ages, that, in contracting Marriages, as the Wife brought a *Portion* to the Huſband, ſo the Huſband ſhould be likewiſe obliged to give her, or her Parents, Money, or Preſents, (which ſometimes in Scripture are called the *Dowry*) in Lieu of this Portion: But *Jacob*, being deſtitute of Money, offers his Uncle ſeven Years Service, which muſt needs have been equivalent to a large Sum; and being ſo, it is more to be wondered at, that he did not ſend over to his Parents, for a Supply upon this Occaſion, rather than bind himſelf a Servant for ſo long a Term. But, from the Cuſtom in uſe among us, there is no Judgment to be made what the Cuſtom and Practice was then. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† The Modeſty of thoſe Times made them bring the Bride to her Huſband's Bed *veiled*; and without Lights, which *gave Laban* an Opportunity to impoſe upon *Jacob*, and made it a Thing almoſt impoſſible for him to diſcern the Deception, until next Morning. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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" (continu'd he, in a milder Tone) if you " will † fulfil the nuptial Week with " your Wife, and consent to serve another " seven Years for her Sister, I am content " to take your Word for it, and to give " *Rachel* to you, as soon as the seven " Days are ended." *Jacob* could not but be troubled at such unfair Procedure, but he loved *Rachel* too well, not to obtain her at any Price; and therefore he consented to these hard Conditions, and at the Week's End, was married to *Rachel* likewise.

The Children he had by them.

But, tho' he preferred *Rachel* much before *Leah*, yet God put quite another Difference between them, by making the latter the Mother of four Sons, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, *Levi*, and *Judah*, before her Sister had one. This was so great a Trouble to *Rachel*, that she came one Day, in a Fit of Melancholy, and told her Husband, that unless *he gave* her Children also, she should certainly die with Grief. Which Speech, seeming to lay the Blame of her Sterility upon him, so provoked him, that he sharply rebuked, and told her; " That it was not in his Power " to work Miracles; that God, who " had shut up her Womb, was alone able " to open it; but that such uneasy and " discontented Behaviour was the Way " to prevent, rather than obtain, such a " Favour." This mortifying Answer made her bethink herself of supplying the Defect of Nature, by her Grandmother *Sarah*'s Expedient, and therefore she desir'd her Husband to take her Handmaid *Bilhah* for a *concubinary* Wife, and by that Means to try to make her a Mother; which he consenting to, had by her a Son, whom *Rachel* named *Dan*, and, in a proper Space of Time, another, whom she called *Naphtali*. After which *Leah*, supposing herself to have left off Child-bearing, and willing to imitate her Sister's Policy, gave her Maid *Zilpah* to her Husband, by whom she had likewise two Sons, *Gad* and *Asher*.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

ABOUT this Time it so fell out, that *Reuben*, *Jacob*'s eldest Son, going into the Fields, about the Time of Wheat-harvest, chanced to meet with some *Mandrakes*, which he gathered, and carried to his Mother, *Leah*. *Rachel* no sooner saw them, but desiring to have some of them, receiv'd from *Leah* a forbidding Answer; " That having robbed her of her " Husband's Affections, she could not " expect to have any Part in her Son's " Present." It was † *Rachel*'s Turn that Night to have her Husband's Company; and therefore, to compromise the Matter, she tells her Sister, that in case she will oblige her with some of her Son's *Mandrakes*, she would wave her Pretensions, and consign the Right of his Bed to her. Upon *Jacob*'s coming home, *Leah* calls upon him to confirm the Bargain, which accordingly he did, and the Consequence was, that she conceived again, and had a fifth

† Some are of Opinion, that *by her Week* (as it is in the Text) we are to understand, a *Week of Years*, or seven Years, and consequently, that to *fulfil her Week* was as much as to say, that *Jacob* was to serve other seven Years for *Rachel*, before he was to marry her. Some old *English* Versions render it thus: But the Order of the Story seems to gainsay it. For, tho' *Jacob* liv'd with *Laban* twenty Years, it is plain, that, at the End of the fourteenth Year, he proposed to part, and return home, and yet we may observe, that *Rachel* (tho' she had been a good while barren) had borne *Joseph* before that Time, which could not have been, had not she been married before the End of his *second seven Years* Service. Since *Laban* then (as we read *Gen.* xxix. 22.) had invited a great deal of Company, and the Custom, in those Days, was, to devote a whole Week to the *nuptial* Solemnities, the plain Sense of his Words to *Jacob* (according to *Selden*'s short Comment on them, *de Jure Nat.* l. 5. c. 5.) is this, " ——— Since Mar- " riages are to be celebrated, according to Custom, by a seven Days Feast; compleat this Marriage, thou hast begun " with *Leah*, and then, upon Condition of another seven Years Service, thou shalt marry *Rachel* also, and keep " her Wedding-Feast seven Days." And the Reason why *Laban* was so desirous of this, was, that a Week's Cohabitation with *Leah* might be a Means, either to knit *Jacob*'s Affection to her, or, at least, to confirm the Marriage so, that it should not be in his Power to disannul it. *Le Clerc* and *Patrick*'s Commentaries, *Howell*'s History, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

† The Custom of those Countries, where *Polygamy* was allowed, was for the Husband to take his Wives by Turns. The Kings of *Persia* (if we believe *Herodotus*) were not exempt from that Rule; which makes it more probable, that *Rachel* sold her Turn to her Sister for that Night, than that she directed her Husband, which of the four he should lie with. Universal History, l. 1. c. 7.

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fifth Son, whom ſhe called *Iſſachar*; after him another, named *Zebulun*; and laſt of all, a Daughter, whoſe Name was *Dinah*, the Feminine of *Dan*.

RACHEL had hitherto no Iſſue of her own Body; but now it pleaſed God to remember her, and to bleſs her with a Son, whom ſhe called † *Joſeph*: And, it was not long after his Birth, that his Father *Jacob*, having now ſerved out his laſt ſeven Years, began to entertain Thoughts of returning into his own Country, and accordingly deſired of his Uncle to diſmiſs him and his Family. But *Laban*, who had found, by Experience no ſmall Advantage by having ſuch a Servant, begged him to ſtay with him a little longer; and promiſed him, upon that Condition, to give him whatever Wages, he ſhould think fit to name. Hereupon *Jacob* took an Occaſion of reminding him, how much his Subſtance had increaſed, ſince it was put under his Care, but that it was now high Time for him to make ſome Proviſion for his own Family; and that therefore he was reſolv'd to return to *Canaan*, unleſs he could ſhew him ſome Way of improving his Fortune in *Meſopotamia*. *Laban* could not bear the Thoughts of parting; and therefore he preſs'd him to ſtay, and offer'd him his own Terms, which at laſt were reſolved into this Agreement, —— That, in the whole Flock, both of Sheep and Goats, a Separation ſhould be made between the ſpeckled and the white; that the ſpotted Cattle ſhould be given to *Laban*'s Sons to keep, and that *Jacob* ſhould have the Care of the *White*; and that whatever † ſpotted or brown Sheep or Goats ſhould, from that Time forward, be produced out of the white Flock (which he was to keep) ſhould be accounted his Hire. *Laban* was very well ſatisfy'd with theſe Conditions. Accordingly, the Flocks were parted; The ſpotted Cattle were deliver'd to *Laban*'s Sons; the Remainder, that were white, were given to *Jacob*; and, that there might be no Poſſibility of intermixing, they were ſent three Days Journey apart.

From Gen. xxviii. 19. to Ch. xxxvii.

WHETHER it was from his own Obſervation of the Power of Fancy, in the Time of Conception, or (what ſeems more likely) from ſome private Suggeſtion of the divine Wiſdom, that the Project proceeded; but ſo it was, that, by *Jacob*'s taking Twigs of green Wood, peeling off the Rinds in Slips, and ſo laying them in the watering Places, when the Flocks came to drink † about coupling-time, theſe ſpeckled Twigs ſtruck the Eyes of the Females, and ſo made them conceive and bring forth party-colour'd young ones. But it was not to all the Flock that *Jacob* did this, only to ſuch, as were the ableſt and ſtrongeſt; for thoſe, that were weak and languid, he left to their natural Courſe, that his Artifice might be the leſs ſuſpected, when it appear'd that the Number of his Father-in-law's Cattle was not too much diminiſhed.

He returns to Canaan.

HIS Father-in-law however, envying his Proſperity, repented of his Bargain, and ſeveral Times alter'd the Agreement,

† *Joſiph* ſignifies *Increaſe*; and the Reaſon, why *Rachel* named him ſo, is ſaid to be, becauſe *God had taken away her Reproach*; for to be barren was formerly reckoned a Diſgrace, for theſe three Reaſons: 1. Becauſe Fruitfulneſs proceeded from the Bleſſing of God, who ſaid, *increaſe and multiply*; 2. Becauſe barren People ſeem to be excluded from the Promiſes of God, made to *Abraham*, concerning the vaſt Multiplication of his Seed; and, 3. Becauſe the *Meſſias* could not proceed from them. *Poel*'s Annotations.

† The *ſacred Hiſtorian* makes uſe of four different Words, to denote the Cattle, which ſhou'd properly belong to *Jacob*: The firſt is *nakod*, which we tranſlate *ſpeckled*; for the Word ſignifies little *Points*, or *Pricks*, which the *Greeks* call στιγματίαι. The ſecond is *tala*, which ſignifies ſuch *broader* and *larger Spots*, as we frequently ſee in Cattle. The next is *akod*, which ſignifies ſpotted with *divers Colours*, or rather with *Rings*, or *Circles* about the *Feet* or *Legs*; and the laſt is *barud*, which ſignifies *cubitiſh Spots*, like *Hail*; which ſeems to take in all the Kinds of Variegation. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Several *antient* Commentators are of Opinion, that *Jacob* laid theſe ſtreaked Rods before the Cattle, only in Spring-Time, when the Sun was aſcending, and the Cattle luſty and vigorous, but let them alone, when the Cattle came to couple in *September*, or the Decline of the Year: But as there is no Certainty in this, our *Moderns* have thought it more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he laid the Rods only before the young and luſty Sheep and Goats, but left the old and weak to take their Chance, by which Means the beſt Lambs and Kids came to his Share, and the worſt to *Laban*'s. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 2. c. 7. and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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which God, as many Times, turned to *Jacob*'s Advantage; till at length, observing in his Carriage a Coldness and Indifference, and over-hearing, at a certain Time, his Sons grudging and complaining, that he had raised himself an Estate out of their Fortunes, he began to form a Resolution of retiring into his own Country, with his Family and Effects, which God in a Vision confirm'd him in; but, before he put it in Execution, he thought it proper to advise with his two *principal* Wives, and to endeavour to gain their Consent. To this Purpose he sent for them into the Field, that he might have an Opportunity of discourfing the Matter with more Freedom and Privacy; and then told them, that, for some Time, he had observ'd, that their Father's Carriage had been alter'd, but for what Reason he could not devise: He appealed to them concerning his Fidelity and Diligence, and their Father's unworthy Requital of him; reminded them of God's Goodness in defeating his ‖ Contrivances against him, and converting them to his great Advantage and Increase; acquainted them, that the same God, who had thus blessed him, had appeared to him (as he did at *Bethel*, in his Passage from *Canaan* thither) and commanded him to return to his native Country, which Command he was resolv'd to obey. They heard him with a willing Mind, declar'd their Opinion concerning their Father, in the same Manner, as he had done, and profess'd themselves ready to attend him, when he pleas'd to set out. *Jacob* therefore preparing all Things for the Journey, mounting his Wives and Children upon Camels, and taking the Advantage of his Father-in-law's Absence (which gave *Rachel* an Opportunity likewise of stealing away his *Gods*) himself went along with the Cattle, and all the other Substance, which he had acquir'd at *Haran*: He had now passed † the *Euphrates*, and gain'd † the Mountains of *Gilead*, (as they were afterwards called) before *Laban* had Intelligence of his Flight, and was able to overtake him. *Laban*, no doubt, at his first setting out after *Jacob*, pursu'd him with a Mind whetted with Revenge; but God, who appeared to him that Night in a Dream, was pleased to avert it, by threatening him severely, if he committed any Hostility or Violence against him: So that, the next Morning, when he, and the Relations he had with him, came to speak with *Jacob*, he only expostulated with him, that he had stolen away, without giving him an Opportunity to take his Leave of his Children, and Grandchildren, or to send them home with an Equipage suitable to their Rank, or with the usual Ceremonies of Musick and Dancing. *Jacob*, on the other Hand, was not without his Complaints. The Cheat, which *Laban* had put upon him, in making him serve so long for a Woman he did not love; the changing his Salary so many Times, and his late strange Behaviour towards him and his Family; all these, and many more

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

Is overtaken by his Father-in-law, *and expostulates with him.*

he

‖ In the Complaint, which *Jacob* makes to his Wives, there is one particular Article against their Father, *viz.* that he *had changed his Wages ten Times*, Gen. xxxi. 7. And yet he lived in Contract with him only six Years. But to solve this Difficulty, we are to observe, that the Cattle in *Mesopotamia* bred twice every Year; and therefore supposing that, for the first Year, *Laban* stood to his Bargain, but seeing his Son-in-law thrive exceedingly, alter'd the Form of it the *next*, and so continued to do every half Year, till the sixth Year came about, when *Jacob* thought proper to leave him: the several Times, wherein he *changed his Wages*, will be exactly ten; though there is no Necessity for this exact Calculation, when it is so common a Figure of Speech, to put a *certain* for an *uncertain* Number. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Tho' the Text does not say what River he passed, yet it is plain, it could be no other, than the *Euphrates*, which the Scripture sometimes call the River *Perah*, sometimes the *great River*, and sometimes emphatically *the River*; either because *that*, and the *Nile*, were the only two considerable ones, the *Israelites* knew; or because it was one of the four Rivers of *Paradise*; or, lastly, because it was the Boundary of the *Promised Land*. Universal History l. 1. c. 7.

† The Heap of Stones, which *Laban* and *Jacob* raised in Memory of their Agreement and Covenant, was called *Gilead*, i. e. *an Heap of Witnesses*; and in After-Ages, gave the Name to the whole Country thereabout, which lies on the *East* of the Sea of *Galilee*, being Part of that Ridge of Mountains, which ran from Mount *Libanon Southward* on the East of the *Holy Land*, and included the mountainous Region, called in the *New Testament*, *Trachonitis*. *Wells's* Geography, Vol. I. Ch. 13.

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be anſwer'd him, were but ill Requitals for his Care and Diligence, as well as the Bleſſings, which God had heaped upon him for his Sake. *Laban* had yet another Thing to lay to his Charge, namely, the ſtealing of his *Gods*: But *Jacob*, (who knew nothing of *Rachel*'s Theft) deſir'd him to make the moſt diligent Search for them throughout his Family; aſſuring him withal, that the Perſon, on whom they were found, ſhould immediately be put to Death. Hereupon *Laban* went, and ſearched every Place; but, as he enter'd into *Rachel*'s Tent, (who had hid them under the Camel's Furniture, and ſet herſelf down upon them) ſhe kept her ſitting, and alledged in Excuſe, That the Condition, ſhe was in, allow'd her Sex to be excus'd from the uſual Ceremonies. *Laban* not ſuſpecting the Fallacy, which his Daughter had put upon him, in Point of Modeſty, deſiſted from any farther Search, and ſo went and acquainted his Son-in-law with his bad Succeſs; whereupon *Jacob*, appealing to his very Friends, ſharply upbraided him with his unjuſt Suſpicion; and then, recounting the long Servitude he had held him in, and the many Hardſhips he had made him undergo both Day and Night, together with the cruel and unequal Terms he had all along put upon him, he concluded with theſe Words, *Except the God of my Father had been with me, ſurely thou hadſt ſent me away empty.* From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

THIS Charge of *Jacob*'s was ſo juſt, that *Laban* could make no Defence for himſelf; and therefore he thought it beſt to let fall the Debate, and to enter upon a more agreeable Subject, which was to make an Alliance between them, and to erect a † Monument, as a ſtanding Witneſs of it to all future Ages. At the ſame Time they took mutual Oaths, that neither of them ſhould, at any Time, invade the other; and *Jacob* in particular, that he would uſe his Wives and Children with all becoming Tenderneſs and Affection.

WHEN this *Ceremony* was over, and a Sacrifice, in Confirmation of it, offer'd, *Jacob* feaſted the whole Company for the reſt of the Day; and, in the Morning, *Laban*, having embraced, and bleſſed the whole Family, return'd home to *Padan-Aram*.

JACOB had no ſooner parted with his Father-in-law, but the Remembrance of his Brother's antient Grudge againſt him began to give him freſh Uneaſineſs; but the Viſion of a great † Number of Angels, (ſent from Heaven to protect him) which he had in his Way to *Canaan* (at a Place, which he therefore call'd † *Mahanaim*, i. e. *two Camps*, viz. one of Angels,

† This Monument *Jacob* ſeems to have erected after the ſame Manner, as he did that at *Bethel*. It muſt not be ſuppoſed to have been a Heap of looſe Stones; for then it could not have continued long in the ſame Poſition, nor given a Name to the Country around it. It was doubtleſs a regular and permanent Building; but then, what the Form and Figure of it was, it is not ſo eaſy to determine. Had it been only for a Memorial to Poſterity, and not for ſome preſent Tranſaction alſo, the Figure either of a Column, or a Pyramid, would have been very proper: But we find, that the preſent Uſe of it was, to eat and ſacrifice upon, and therefore we may imagine, that it was made in the Figure of a Table, and have ſome Authority to think of a round Table, becauſe the Name, which *Jacob* calls it by, is taken from a Verb, which ſignifies *to turn round*, as the Word *Gilal* is properly the Circumference of a Circle. *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

† *Interpreters* are generally of Opinion, that theſe were two *Hoſts*, or *Armies* of Angels, whereof one was that of the *guardian* Angel of *Meſopotamia*, who, with his Company, conducted *Jacob* ſafely to the Confines of *Canaan*, where the *guardian* Angel of *Canaan*, with his Company, received him into their Care; and this is infer'd from the Neceſſity of ſuch Protection, by *Jacob*'s being expoſed to the Treachery of *Laban*, and the Cruelty of *Eſau*, which made Providence more particularly careful of *him*, to whom the Promiſes were made. But it is ſufficient to the Purpoſe of giving the Patriarch Comfort and Encouragement under his uneaſy Apprehenſions, that, beſides his own Family (which was pitched here in Order, like a Camp) a certain Number of Angels were repreſented to him, as drawn up like another Army, ready and prepared for his Defence. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† This Place was ſituated between Mount *Gilead*, and the River *Jabbok*, not far from the Banks of the latter, and very near the Confines of *Gad*, and half Tribe of *Manaſſeh*, which was on the Eaſt of *Jordan*. It became in Time a City of great Strength, and for this Reaſon, was made Choice of by *Abner* for the Seat-Royal of *Iſhboſheth*, the Son of *Saul*, when he made War againſt *David*, and for a retiring Place by *David* himſelf, during the Rebellion of his Son *Abſalom*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I. c. 13.

Angels,

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Angels, and the other of his own Retinue) did dissipate his Anxiety for a while. As he approach'd to his Brother's Country however, his Fears and Uneasiness return'd upon him: And therefore he thought it adviseable, before he advanc'd any farther, to send him a *submissive* Message, in order to discover, at least, how he stood affected to him. *Esau*, when *Jacob* was gone to *Haran*, understanding how strictly his Father had charged his Brother not to marry a *Canaanitish* Woman, began to be dissatisfied with his own Marriages; and therefore went to *Ishmael*, and, having married one of his Daughters, settled in Mount † *Seir*, in the Land of *Edom*. Hither it was that *Jacob* sent some of his † chief Servants, with Instructions to acquaint his Brother, that, after a Stay of twenty Years in *Mesopotamia*, and the Acquisition of all Manner of Wealth there, he was now upon his Return to his *native* Country; but that he could not pass over *Jordan*, without notifying his Arrival to him, and imploring his Favour and Friendship.

THE Messengers went, and soon return'd again, but with this melancholy News, that his Brother was coming to meet him, at the Head of four hundred Men; which made him conclude, that this must be with an hostile Intent, and in order to destroy both him, and all that belong'd to him. In this Situation what could he do? To fight, he was not able, and to fly, his Retinue was too cumbersome. At length he came to this Resolution, to divide his Company into two Bands, that, if *Esau* should fall upon one, he might have a Possibility of escaping with the other: And, having done this, he addressed himself to God in a very humble and submissive Prayer; acknowledging "his great Mercies to him, and his own "Unworthiness of them; imploring his "future Protection against his Brother's "Sword; and that he wou'd be so gra-"cious, as to fulfil all his former Promises "to him."

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

JACOB had acquainted his Brother, how God had enriched him: That therefore his first Message might not look like an empty Piece of Formality, he order'd a Present of the choice of his Flocks and Herds to be sent before, in several Droves, and charged the Drivers, that, whenever they met his Brother, they should tell him, that they were Presents sent by *Jacob* to his *Lord Esau*, in hopes of obtaining his Favour and Good-will; and, after this, he sent his Wives, and Children, and all his Substance, over the Brook † *Jabbok*, early next Morning, before it was Day, whilst himself,

† The Mountains of *Seir* lay on the *East* and *South* of the *Dead Sea*, and the Country extended itself from thence to the *Arabian Gulf*. 'Tis certain from Gen. xxxvi. 21, 22. that, in *Abraham*'s Days, the *Horites*, who were the Descendants of *Seir*, had the Possession of this Region; and therefore we may suppose, that, after the Departure of *Jacob*, *Esau*, who (according to the Prediction concerning him) was to *live by his Sword*, expell'd the old Inhabitants, and made himself Prince thereof, before his Brother returned from *Mesopotamia*. From Gen. xxxii. 13. xxxiii. 4. xxxvi. 8, 9. and Deut. ii. 12. we may learn, that *Esau* made War with these People with great Success, tho' we have of it no Particulars in the Writings of *Moses*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Seir*.

† Several Commentators have taken Notice of *Jacob*'s great Wisdom and Prudence, in the Order and Disposition of this his Embassy to his Brother. He sent his *Servants*, and not his *Sons*, tho' that would have been doing him a great deal more Honour; but then it would have been running too great a Risque. In the Present, which he sent, he *put a Space between Drove and Drove*, that the more Time was taken up in their passing by *Esau*, his Passion might still grow cooler and cooler; that the Present itself might make so much the greater Appearance; and that, if the Droves, which went first, were not well accepted by him, those, who came later, might be at Distance enough, to hasten back to their Master, and give him Intelligence of what he was to expect. In the Form of Address, he ordered them all to make use of the same Words, 1st, That the Repetition of them might strike the deeper, and make the stronger Impression upon *Esau*; 2dly, That they might not spoil the Compliment, or not speak so properly, if left to their own Expression; and, 3dly, That *Esau* might know, by the very Turn and Elegancy of them, that the Words of the Message came from *Jacob*. *Musculus*, *Ainsworth*, *Patrick*, &c. The Appellation, he gives his Brother of being his *Lord*, and himself his *Servant*, we shall take notice of hereafter.

† This is a small River, which is by all agreed to flow from the adjacent Mountains of *Gilead*; but some make it to run into the *Sea of Galilee*, others into the River *Jordan*, *below*, or *South* of that Sea. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Testament, Vol. I. c. 13.

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Wreſtles with an Angel.

himſelf, all alone, † tarried behind for ſome Time. And here it was, that an Angel, in the Shape of a Man, appear'd to him, and began to *wreſtle* with him. The Conteſt was certainly unequal; but ſo it was, that the Angel did not overcome him; but, to ſhew how eaſily he might have done it, at one Touch he put his Thigh out of Joint. He then told him the *ſymbolical* Intent of his *wreſtling* with him; and, after he had bleſſed him, gave him ‡ the additional Name of *Iſrael*, which ſignifies, *a Man, that has prevailed with God:* And this occaſioned *Jacob* to call the Place, where this Tranſaction happen'd, *Peniel*, or the *Face of God*, becauſe he concluded that it was God, or ſome of his Angels, who had had this Conflict with him.

As ſoon as the Angel was gone, *Jacob*, tho' lame, made what haſte he cou'd to join his Company; and it was not long, before he ſaw his Brother afar off, coming towards him with a large Retinue, which made him betray ſome freſh Tokens of Diſtruſt: And therefore, to prepare for the worſt, he divided his Family into three Companies, and placed them at equal Diſtances; the two *Maids*, and their Sons, went firſt; *Leah* and her Children next; and *Rachel* and *Joſeph*, (who was then about ſix Years old) as fartheſt from Danger, were the laſt; whilſt himſelf marched in the Front of all, and, as he approach'd his Brother, bowed himſelf to the Ground *ſeven Times*.

And is kindly receiv'd by his Brother Eſau.

WHATEVER Apprehenſions *Jacob* might conceive of *Eſau*'s Reſentments, he had the Happineſs to meet him in a much better Temper, than he expected. At firſt Sight, he ran to meet him; he embraced him with the greateſt Tenderneſs; he wept over him with Tears of Joy; and, ſeeing his Wives and Children proſtrate themſelves before him one after another, and in the ſame Order, wherein *Jacob* had diſpoſed them, he returned their Civilities with the ſame Tenderneſs, that he had his Brother's. The Preſents indeed, which *Jacob* had ſent him, he kindly acknowledg'd, but deſir'd to be excus'd from accepting of them, becauſe they were *ſuperfluous* to him, who had enough of every Thing; but *Jacob* preſſed him ſo earneſtly, that at length he prevailed: And therefore, to make him a Recompence, *Eſau* invited him to *Seir*, and proffer'd his Service to accompany, and conduct him thither. *Jacob* however had no Deſign to accept of the Invitation, and yet was afraid directly to refuſe it. And therefore he repreſented the Tenderneſs of his Children and Flocks, and that they cou'd not travel with Expedition. He begged that they might not not confine him to their ſlow Movements, but that he wou'd return home his own Pace; and promis'd withal, that they wou'd follow as faſt as they cou'd conveniently. *Eſau* then offer'd to leave him a ſufficient Number of his Men, that might guard and conduct them into his Territories; but this Compliment likewiſe *Jacob*, in an handſome Manner, evaded, and ſo they

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

† Tho' the Reaſon, which made the Patriarch, after he had forded the River to try if it was paſſable for his Family, return back again, and not go along with them, be not expreſs'd by *Moſes*; yet it is very natural to ſuppoſe, that he ſtay'd ſometime behind his Family in this Place of Viſion, which he afterwards call'd *Peniel*, to recommend himſelf, and them in Prayer, (as the Danger approach'd nearer and nearer) to the Protection of Almighty God. *Muſc. Patrick*, and *Bibliotheca Bib.*

‡ The Words, in the Text, according to our Tranſlation, are, —— *Thy Name ſhall be no more called* Jacob, *but* Iſrael; and yet it is certain, that this Patriarch was very frequently, nay, in the very next Verſe but one, is called *Jacob*, and therefore this ſeeming Contradiction may be amended, by rendering the Words, inſtead of *no more, not only*; or, *not ſo much* Jacob, as *Iſrael*; becauſe it is certain, that, in his Poſterity at leaſt (who were called *Iſraelites*, but never *Jacobites*) the latter Name aboliſh'd the former. *Iſrael* is certainly derived from the Word *Sar*, which (as St *Jerom* obſerves) ſignifies a *Prince*, with the *Jod*, which is the common Note of a proper Name: but then there is ſome Obſcurity in our *Tranſlation*, as to the latter Part of the Verſe, *as a Prince haſt thou Power with God, and with Men, and haſt prevailed*; which ſhould rather be tranſlated, *Thou haſt been a Prevailer with God, and with Men thou ſhalt alſo powerfully prevail.* This is the literal Verſion of the Words; is conſonant to the *vulgar Latin*, Onkelos, and the *Septuagint*; and very juſtly expreſſes the true Senſe of the Place. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. lib. vii. cap. 7.

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† parted; *Eſau* went to *Seir*, and expected his Brother to follow him; but his Brother turned another Way, and, by eaſy Journeys, came to *Succoth* (which in *Hebrew* ſignifies *Booths*) and there intending to ſettle for ſome Time, he built an Houſe for his Family, and proper Conveniences for the Reception of his Cattle. But in a ſhort Time he removed from hence, and ‖ ſafely arriv'd at *Shechem*, where having purchaſed a Piece of Ground of *Hamor*, the Father of *Shechem*, for an hundred † Pieces of Money, he pitched his Tents in the Place, and there built an Altar to the Lord, whom he called *El Elohe-Iſrael*, or *the Mighty God of Iſrael*.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

Here *Jacob* might have liv'd peaceably and happily, being beloved by all the People, had not * *Dinah*'s Curioſity of viſiting the Women of the City prov'd the Cauſe of much Miſchief, and oblig'd her Father to

Dinah's *Rape and her Brothers Cruelty.*

† After this, *Moſes* gives us no farther Account of *Eſau*, and his Family, only that he was aſſiſting at his Father's Funeral, and had *three* Wives, whereof it is proper to take Notice, that, when he barely mentions theſe Wives [as in *Gen.* xxvi. 34. and *Gen.* xxviii. 9.] he gives them quite other Names, than what he does, when he comes to ſpeak of the Poſterity, which *Eſau* had by them, Chap. xxxvi; which may lead an unwary Reader to think, that he had more than three, eſpecially when the Fathers of the two firſt are likewiſe called by different Names. Thus his firſt Wife *Judith*, the Daughter of *Beeri*, is afterwards called *Adah*, the Daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*; the Second, *viz. Bathſhema*, the Daughter of *Elon*, is again called *Aholi Bamah*, the Daughter of *Anah*, the Daughter of *Zibeon*, the *Hivite*; and the laſt, called in one Place *Mahalah*, is now called *Bathſhemah*; but what ſhews, that theſe two latter Names mean the ſame Perſon, and that the ſame Thing may be ſuppoſed of the other two, is, that, in both Places, ſhe is called the Daughter of *Iſmael*, the Siſter of *Nabajoth*. All the Account, that can therefore be given for this Difference, is, that they had *two* Names, and that it was uſual to call them, ſometimes by one, and ſometimes by another; in the like Manner, as we find the Mother of *Abijam*, King of *Judah*, in one Place called *Maacah*, the Daughter of *Abiſhalon*, [1 Kings xv. 2.] and in another, *Michaiah*, the Daughter of *Uriel* of *Gibeah*, [2 Chron. xiii. 2.] with many more Inſtances of the like Nature. After having taken this Notice of *Eſau*'s Wives, *Moſes* enumerates his Children, and ſome of their Deſcendants, the Princes of the Tribes of the *Edomites*; the Kings that ſucceeded them; and the *Chiefs*, who governed after the Kings; but as to the Order of Succeſſion, wherein they are to be placed, there is ſome Diſpute among the Learned. One Remark more, that we ſhall make, before we part with *Eſau*, is, that, all Things conſidered, he was not that very bad Man, which ſome would make him. His generous and open Temper appears in his affectionate Deportment towards his Brother, and his ſpeedy and utter Oblivion of the Slights, and Perfidies, he had receiv'd from him; and, tho' St *Paul* calls him a *prophane Perſon*, and ſays, that he was *hated by God*; yet, all that he means by the Word *Hatred*, is no more than a bare *poſtponing*. For, the *Apoſtle*'s Purpoſe is to ſhew, that God had, all along, beſtow'd the Favours, which lead to the *Meſſiah*, on whom he pleas'd; on *Abraham*, not on *Lot*; on *Jacob*, not on *Eſau*; on the *Gentiles*, not on the *Jews*: And he therefore calls him *prophane*, not becauſe he was more wicked than other Men of his Age, but becauſe he ſeems not to have been ſo mindful of the Promiſes, made to his Family, as *Jacob* was, and conſequently was not ſo fit to be the Heir of the Mercies peculiar to it. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 4. and *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. c. 7.

‖ The Words in our Tranſlation are, that *Jacob came to* Shalem, *a City of* Shechem: But, beſides that there was no ſuch Place as *Shalem*, in the Confines of *Shechem*, (which ſeems itſelf, at this Time, to have been but a ſmall Town, without any dependant Villages) ſince the Word *Shalem* is ſo frequently taken *adjectively*, to denote any Thing *ſafe and ſound*, as we call it, and as *Onkelos*, and ſome of the beſt *Jewiſh* Interpreters, have it; it may very properly be render'd ſo here. And this *Soundneſs*, as ſome imagine, may have Reference to *Jacob*'s *Halting*, which was perfectly cur'd before he reach'd *Shechem*; as his *Safety* has Reſpect, either to his having eſcap'd all Danger, at his Interview with his Brother, or, rather, to his having met with no evil Accident of any Sort, ſince he left *Laban*: And this Obſervation *Moſes* might the rather be induced to make, becauſe he was juſt going to relate a ſad Diſaſter, that, not long after his Arrival at *Shechem*, befel his Family. *Shechem* (by the bye) otherwiſe called *Sichar*, was a City of *Samaria*, ſituate among the Mountains belonging to the Tribe of *Benjamin*, ten Miles from *Shiloh*, forty from *Jeruſalem*, and fifty-two from *Jericho*, near which was *Jacob*'s *Well*, or Fountain, where our bleſſed Saviour enter'd into Converſation with the *Samaritan* Woman, *John* iv. 7. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentary. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament.

† The Word *Keſhitah*, which is here rendered *a Piece of Money*, ſignifies likewiſe a *Lamb*, from whence the *Septugint*, *Vulgate*, *Oleaſter*, and others, have tranſlated it *an hundred Lambs*: But ſince, long before this, Money was in Uſe, and made the Inſtrument of Traffick, [*Gen.* xxiii. 16.] which muſt, of Courſe, deſtroy the Method of exchanging one Commodity for another, it is much more probable, that it was ſome Sort of Coin (tho' of what Value it is uncertain) which had a Lamb ſtamped upon it, and was called by that Name, as we do call an *Angel*, from the Stamp it bears of one. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7. and *Patrick*'s Commentary in Locum.

* At what Time this Misfortune happen'd to *Dinah*, the Scripture gives us no Account: It is preſum'd however, from the bold Exploit of her two Brothers to avenge her Diſhonour, (which implies that they were Men grown) that ſhe could not be leſs than fifteen or ſixteen Years of Age; and the Occaſion of her running herſelf into this Premunire, *Joſephus* tells us, was a great *Feſtival*, then held at *Shechem*, which ſhe, deſirous to ſee the fine Sights and Faſhions of the Place, adventur'd to go to. Antiq. l. 1. c. 21.

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to withdraw. *Shechem*, the Son of *Hamor* the *Hivite*, who was Prince of that Country, ſaw her, fell in love with her, and, having gain'd a ſecure Opportunity, raviſh'd her. But, notwithſtanding this diſhonourable Act, his Soul was ſo enamour'd with her Charms, that he deſir'd nothing more earneſtly, than to marry her; and, to this Purpoſe, prevail'd with his Father to enter upon a Treaty with her Friends. *Jacob* ſoon heard of the Rape committed upon his Daughter, but concealed the Matter until his Sons were come home; and when he had made them acquainted with it, their Reſentment grew to ſuch an Height, that they vowed ſeverely to revenge the Diſhonour done unto their Family. In the mean Time, *Shechem* having prevail'd with his Father to obtain him the Damſel, they both went together to make the Propoſal to her Father; promiſing to give her as large a * *Dowry*, and her *Relations* as coſtly Preſents, as he ſhould deſire; and alledging withal, that, if his Family were to intermarry with the *Shechemites*, it wou'd prove the moſt effectual Means to make them both live together in perfect Harmony and Friendſhip. This was a fair Offer; but the treacherous Sons of *Jacob*, who meditated nothing but the moſt bloody Revenge, made them this Reply: "That it was not lawful for them to contract an Affinity "with any *uncircumciſed* Nation, but "that, if he, and his People wou'd conſent to be circumciſed, as they were, "they would then come into his Propoſal."

HAMOR and *Shechem* agreed very readily to this Condition; and, when they returned to the City, and had convened the Inhabitants, "They commended the "*Iſraelites* highly for a peaceable and good-"natur'd People, from whom they might "reap many great Advantages, and, in "Proceſs of Time, make all their Subſtance (which was very conſiderable) "their own, if they were to intermarry "with them; but that this would not be "done without a general Conſent to be "circumciſed." How averſe ſoever the People might be to ſuch an Operation at firſt, yet the *Thirſt of Gain*, joined with the powerful Intereſt, which *Shechem* had among them, ſoon won their Conſent, inſomuch, that, on that very Day, every Male of them was circumciſed. But, * three Days after this, when their Wounds had made them incapable of making any Reſiſtance, *Simeon* and *Levi* entered the City, and, having put all the Men to the Sword, made Search in *Shechem*'s Houſe, where they found their Siſter *Dinah*, and brought her away. After which, they reentered the Town, plunder'd the Houſes, took both Women and Children Captives, and carried away all the Cattle that they found in the neighbouring Places.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

JACOB was much concern'd at the furious Proceedings of his Sons, for which he juſtly reproved them. He was apprehenſive indeed, that the Inhabitants of the Land would unite againſt him, and deſtroy his Family, for this violent Outrage: But *Simeon* and *Levi*, who were the chief Actors in the Tragedy, were ſo warm'd with the Thoughts of the Diſhonour done to their Siſter and Family, that they did not

Jacob's *Removal to* Bethel.

* This ſhews more fully, that the Cuſtom of thoſe Times was (as we noted before) for Men to give Money for their Wives, and to give it generally to their Parents. The Money, or Preſents ſo given, were by the *Greeks* called ἕεδνα; for ſo we find *Vulcan*, when he had caught his Wife *Venus* in an Act of Incontinency, telling her, and her *Paramour*, that he would not let them go.

Εἴσοκε μοι μάλα πάντα ματὴρ ἀποδῶσι ἕεδνα,
Ὅσσά τ' ἐγγυάλιξα κυνώπιδι εἵνεκα κούρης. Hom. Odyſſ. 8.

But there was a greater Reaſon for a *Dowry* now, and a large one too, that he might make Compenſation for the Wrong he had done. There is to be obſerv'd however, a *natural Equity* in the ſubſequent Laws of *Moſes* (Exod. xxii. 16. and Deut. xxii. 28.) by which a Man was bound to make Satisfaction to the Father, if, either by Intiſement, or Violence, he had abuſed his Daughter. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The third Day, as *Phyſicians* take Notice, was the Time, when Fevers generally attended *Circumciſion*, occaſion'd by the Inflammation of the Wound, which was generally more painful then (as the *Hebrews* obſerve) than at any Time elſe; and for this Reaſon, the Sons of *Jacob* took the Opportunity of falling upon the *Shechemites*, when they were leaſt of all in a Condition to defend themſelves. *Howel*'s Hiſtory.

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not think they had carried their Reſentment, in the leaſt, too far for ſo baſe an Injury. *Jacob* however thought it adviſeable, for his own Security, to tarry no longer there, but to ſhift into ſome other Part of the Country. And accordingly, having received particular Directions from God to remove to *Bethel*, and there to build an Altar, (whereon to perform the Vow, which he made, when he fled from his Brother *Eſau*) he ſet his Reſolution to go thither: But, before he did that, being willing to carry nothing, that might be offenſive to God, to ſo ſacred a Place, he found it neceſſary to make a Reformation in his Family. To this Purpoſe he commanded all that propoſed to go along with him, to bring out their *Idols*; which they not only did, but gave up their * *Ear-rings* likewiſe, which they were uſed to wear, as Spells or Amulets againſt Sickneſs, and other Misfortunes. Theſe he took, and buried privately in a deep Hole, which he cauſed to be dug under an Oak near *Shechem*, and ſo having purified * themſelves, even to the waſhing and changing of their Garments, they ſet forward to *Bethel*, and arrived there ſafe, and without any Diſturbance, becauſe God had ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Cities round about them, that, notwithſtanding the late Provocation in the Matter of *Shechem*, No-body offered to moleſt or purſue them.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

As ſoon as *Jacob* came to *Bethel* (where ‖ *Deborah*, his Mother's Nurſe, happened to die) he erected an Altar, as God had commanded

* It was a Cuſtom, in ſeveral Countries, for the Men as well as the Women, and for the meaner as well as the better Sort, to wear Ear-rings; and therefore we find *Plautus* in his Play, called *Pœnulum*, Act 5. taking this Notice of ſome *Carthaginian* Slaves ——— *That their Hands ſhould be without Fingers, one would think, becauſe they wore theſe Rings in their Ears.* But, beſides the Rings deſign'd for Ornament, it was a common Thing for idolatrous Nations to wear others for ſuperſtitious Uſes. Theſe (as ſome ſay) were made in Form of a *Semicircle*, and reached over the Forehead from Ear to Ear. They had aſtronomical Characters and Signatures engraven upon them, and to them they imputed a thouſand ſupernatural Virtues. They were always dedicated to ſome falſe Deity; and therefore St *Auſtin*, in ſeveral Places, exerts himſelf, with a becoming Zeal, againſt ſuch impious Fooleries, and tells his Countrymen, the *Africans*, (among whom this Cuſtom had got ſome Footing) that, in this *execrable Superſtition*, as he calls it, they did not *deſign to dreſs themſelves out to pleaſe Men, ſo much as to ſerve and pleaſe Devils.* And therefore *Jacob* was highly to be commended for deſtroying theſe Relicks of *Idolatry*, which his Haſte to be gone, both according to God's Command, and his own Apprehenſions of Danger, made him bury under Ground, rather than ſtay to melt them down. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentary. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 13. and *Calmet*'s Dictionary under the Word *Rings*.

* The Manner, wherein *Jacob* requir'd of his Domeſticks to *purify* themſelves, was, by waſhing their whole Bodies, and putting on clean and freſh Apparel: And, that this was a Cuſtom among other Nations, as well as the *Jews*, when they ſet about any ſolemn and religious Office, is plain from that Paſſage in *Euripides*, where *Alceſtis*, being to perform ſome holy Rites in Behalf of her Children,

——— Ὕδασι πολαμίοις λευκὸν χρόα
Ἔλυσας', ἐκ δ' ἑλίσσα κεδρίναν δόμων
Ἔβης, ἀίσσουσ', εὐπρεπὴς ἡσκημένη.
Καὶ τῷδε προσθεν ἑστίας καλύψαλο. ALCESTIS, Act I.

But of all other Nations, the *Egyptians* (as *Herodotus* tells us, l. 1. c. 37.) and more eſpecially their Prieſts, were moſt remarkable for this Sort of Cleanneſs. "They ſhav'd their Bodies all over every third Day: They bathed themſelves in cold Water twice a Day, and twice a Night; and wore conſtantly nothing but Linnen Veſtments, and "Shoes made of *Papyrus*, for this Reaſon, I ſuppoſe, becauſe they were the moſt proper to be waſh'd." Not that we are to ſuppoſe, that God reſpects a Worſhipper for his *ſpruce* Appearance, ſo long as his Conſcience is polluted within. In Sordidneſs indeed there is ſomething diſtaſteful, and 'tis an unſeemly Thing to appear before a great Man in dirty Apparel: But the principal Deſign of God's appointing this outward *Cleanlineſs*, was, to be a Sign, and *Memorandum* to the Perſon approaching his Preſence, what the inward Temper and Complexion of his Mind ſhould be; and therefore we find the *Royal Pſalmiſt*, in Alluſion to this very Cuſtom, declaring his pious Purpoſe, *I will waſh my Hands in Innocency, and ſo will I go to thy Altar.* Pſal. xxvi. 6. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‖ In Gen. xxiv. 59. we read, that *Deborah* went along with her Miſtreſs *Rebekah*, when *Iſaac*'s Steward was ſent to conduct her out of *Meſopotamia*; how is it then, that we find her here in *Jacob*'s Retinue ſo long afterwards, and when he was returning from the ſame Place? The *Jewiſh* Doctors tell us, that *Rebekah*, having promiſed her Son, at his Departure, that ſhe would ſend for him again, as ſoon as ſhe found him out of Danger, did now ſend *Deborah* to fetch him back. But, beſides that a younger Meſſenger would have been much more proper, we do not find that *Jacob* was ſent for, but that he left the Country, by God's Appointment, and upon the bad Uſage of his Father-in-law. Some *Chriſtian* Commentators are therefore of Opinion, that, after ſhe had brought her Miſtreſs *Rebekah* to her Marriage, and ſeen her well ſettled in her Family, ſhe went back to *Haran* again, and there dwelt in *Laban*'s

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commanded him, whereupon he performed his Vow; and, not long after, God appeared to him again, confirming the Change of his Name, and giving him freſh Aſſurances of his Deſign to multiply his Poſterity, and to give him the Inheritance of the Land of *Canaan*; which induced him to erect a Pillar of Stone (whereon he poured a *Drink-offering, and Oil*) as a laſting Monument of his Gratitude and Devotion.

From Gen. xxviii. 10, to Ch. xxxvii.

Rachel's *Death and Burial.*

THE Deſire, which *Jacob* had to viſit his aged Father, made his Stay in *Bethel* not long: And therefore removing from thence, he intended to have reached † *Ephrah*, (which was not far diſtant) that Night, but was prevented by *Rachel*'s falling in Labour of her ſecond and laſt Child, for of him ſhe died, as ſoon as ſhe was delivered, and had juſt Time to name him *Benoni*, i. e. the *Son of Sorrow*; but his Father, unwilling to perpetuate the Remembrance of ſo melancholy a Subject, called him † *Benjamin*, which ſignifies *the Son of my Right-hand*, or *my Strength*. She was buried in the Way to *Ephrah*, where her Huſband built * a Monument of Stone over her Grave, which the ſacred Hiſtorian tells us was extant in his Days. But this was not the only Misfortune which attended *Jacob* in this Place; his eldeſt Son *Reuben*, having taken a Liking to *Bilhah*, the *concubinary* Wife, which *Rachel* had given him, made no Scruple to commit Inceſt with her, which Thing grieved his Father ſo, that, though he forbore taking any preſent Notice of it, yet he could not but (*a*) reſent it at his dying Hour. Soon after this *Jacob* left this melancholy Place, and came at length to *Mamre*, the Place of his Father's Abode, who was doubtleſs not a little overjoyed at the Return of his Son, after ſo long an Abſence.

The

Houſe, 'till, upon *Jacob*'s returning home, ſhe, having a Deſire to ſee her old Miſtreſs once more, put herſelf under his Convoy. Others again ſuppoſe, that *Jacob* had been at his Father's Houſe before this Time; or that, after *Rebekah*'s Death, *Deborah*, hearing of his Return into *Canaan*, might be deſirous to ſpend the Remainder of her Life with his Wives, who were her Countrywomen. Any of theſe Conjectures may be ſufficient to ſolve Difficulty of her being found in *Jacob*'s Family; and the Reaſon, why *Moſes* takes Notice of her Death, is, not ſo much becauſe it was a Circumſtance of Moment enough to be preſerv'd in Hiſtory, as that it was of Uſe to aſſign the Reaſon, why the *Oak*, near which ſhe was buried, and which perhaps was ſtill ſtanding in his Days, came by its Name. But what will, in ſome Meaſure, ſerve, both to vindicate the *ſacred Hiſtorian*, and to ſhew, at the ſame Time, how much theſe *Nurſes*, and Women, who had the Care and Education of Perſons of Birth and Quality, were honour'd and eſteem'd in thoſe early Days, is a Paſſage, upon the like Occaſion, in the Poet *Virgil*.

Tu quoque littoribus noſtris, *Æneia* Nutrix,
Æternam moriens famam, *Caieta*, dediſti.
Et nunc ſervat honos ſedem tuus, oſſaque nomen
Heſperia in magna (ſi qua eſt ea gloria) ſignat. Æneid. l. 7.

† This Place was afterwards called *Bethlehem*, a City about two Leagues diſtant from *Jeruſalem*, famous for the Birth of *David*, King of *Iſrael*, but infinitely more ſo, for the Birth of *Chriſt*, the Son of God, and Saviour of the World. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

† From the different Names, which the Father and Mother gave this Son of theirs, ſome have obſerv'd, that Names are oft-times ſtrangely adapted to Things, and the Preſages of Parents have anciently been obſerv'd to be fulfilled.

——— Heu nunquam vana parentum
Auguria ———

which was certainly no where more, than in the Fate of *Benjamin*'s Poſterity, ſince no Tribe in *Iſrael* was more valorous, and yet none more ſubject to Diſaſters, than *his*; ſince it was almoſt quite extirpated in the Time of the Judges, Ch. xx. and yet, before the Concluſion of that Age, became ſo powerful, as to have the firſt King of *Iſrael* choſen out of it. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The learned *Bochart* is of Opinion, that this *Monument* of *Rachel*'s (which is the firſt, that we read of in Scripture) was a *Pyramid*, curiouſly wrought, and raiſed upon a *Baſis* of twelve large Stones, whereby *Jacob* intended to intimate the Number of his Sons. It was certainly ſtanding in the Time when *Moſes* wrote, Ver. 20. and, juſt before *Saul* was anointed King, there is ſome mention made of it, 1 Sam. x. 2. But that the preſent Monument cannot be the ſame, which *Jacob* erected, is very manifeſt from its being a modern and *Turkiſh* Structure. Mr *Le Brun*, who was at the Place, and took a Draught of it, ſays, that the Tomb is cut into the Cavity of a Rock, and cover'd with a Dome, ſupported by four Pillars, on Fragments of a Wall, which open to the Sepulchre. The Work is rude enough, and without any Ornament; but the whole is as entire, as if it had been but juſt made, which makes it hard to imagine that it has ſubſiſted ever ſince *Jacob*'s Time. *Maundrell*'s Travels, and *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

(*a*) Gen. xlix. 4.

A. M. 2149, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1855, &c.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

The Objection.

" IT cannot be denied indeed, but that " *Laban* dealt very treacherouſly with " his Son-in-law, (after he had undergone " ſo long a Servitude for his *Miſtreſs*) in " palming one Daughter upon him inſtead " of another; but ſtill it muſt be con- " feſſed, that *Jacob* was more than even " with him, in the Manner of enriching " himſelf, by ſupplanting his Father-in- " law of the beſt of his Cattle. *Laban*, " to be ſure, underſtood the Bargain in " the moſt obvious and natural Senſe of " the Words. By *theſe Jacob* was to give " up to him all the Lambs and Kids, that " were *white*, and to reſerve to himſelf " thoſe, that were *party-coloured*. There " was no Suſpicion of uſing any Art in " this Caſe: He meant no more, than a " bare *caſual* Production, and *Jacob*, to " make him believe he intended the ſame, " lays his Hand on his Heart, as it were, " and hopes that *his Righteouſneſs would* " *anſwer for him in the Time to come*: " But, notwithſtanding all this Air of Ho- " neſty, we find him betaking himſelf " to an Artifice, which, he knew, would " do the Work; tho' it badly became an " honeſt Man to ſtudy how to *outwit* " another, who dealt upon the *Square*, " and had no Suſpicion of any fraudulent " Reſerves in the Bargain.

" BUT well might he be deem'd per- " fidious to Man, when we find him " making a Vow to God, conceived in " Terms that ſeem *mercenary* enough, and " as if he were inſiſting upon Conditions " with the Almighty; and yet neglecting, " for many Years, to perform it, though " God had abundantly made good the " Covenant on his Part, and brought him " in Triumph, as it were, into the Coun- " try, and within the very Confines of " the Place, where the Vow was made; " when, notwithſtanding all theſe Bleſ- " ſings from the divine Bounty, we find " him tamely permitting Idolatry, and " *ſtrange Gods*, to continue in his Family, " and never once thinking of a Reforma- " tion, until he was ſummon'd *to appear* " *before God*; when we find him be- " traying the Rights of *Primogeniture* " (which coſt him ſome Perfidy to attain) " in the abject Meſſages and Speeches, he " made to his Brother; violating the Laws " of *Chaſtity* in the *inceſtuous* Marriage of " two Siſters at once; and (what looks " very odd, as well as preſumptuous) in " daring to *wreſtle*, and contend with his " Maker.

" THERE is ſomething ſo groſs in the " Notion of a Man's *wreſtling* with God, " ſomething ſo incongruous, ſo incompa- " tible, that we ſhould rather think it " poſſible for his two Sons, *Simeon* and " *Levi*, to attack a *whole* City, maſſacre " the Men, plunder the Country, and take " the Women and Children Captives, and " all this with two pair of Hands, than " for their Father *Jacob* to encounter, " were it but a created Angel, and yet " prevail.

" *JACOB* however, in the main, " might be a very good Man, but we " cannot but think that his Example was, " in a great Meaſure, loſt in his Family; " when we find his eldeſt Son violating his " Father's Bed (a Fact, which *Moſes* might " as well have omitted, if but for the Ho- " nour of the *Jewiſh* Nation) and the two " next imbruing their Hands in innocent " Blood, and even proſtituting the Credit " of a *Sacrament*, to accompliſh their *vin-* " *dictive* Ends.

" *SHECHEM* we allow might have " ſuffer'd, and others, that were *acceſſary* " in injuring the young Lady, and putting " a Slur upon the Family; but what Ac- " count can we give for their murthering " thoſe, who had no Hand in the *Rape*, " and for making free Booty of the Wo- " men, who (had they known it) would " have probably prevented it, and of the " little

A. M. 2149, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1855, &c.

" little *Children*, who had no Notion " wherein they had offended, and could " give no Reaſon, why they were en- " ſlav'd ?

" WHAT Account indeed can be given " for ſeveral other Actions in this Period " of Hiſtory ; particularly for *Rachel*'s " coveting of *Reuben*'s *Mandrakes*, and " purchaſing them of his Mother at ſo " odd a Rate ? Women, that are preg- " nant, we know, have oftentimes the " Cravings of their Appetites very unac- " countable ; but this was not *Rachel*'s " Caſe, and therefore, one would think " ſhe ſhould not ſo paſſionately have de- " ſired a *Fruit* (if it was a Fruit) which " is known to be diſagreeable to the " Smell, and confeſſedly of ſo vile a " Taſte, that the meaneſt Peaſant would " refuſe it.

" WHAT Account can be given for her " ſtealing away her Father's *Gods*, (ſuch " Gods, as no Man can inform us what " they were) and, at the Expence of a " Lye, hiding them from his Search ? " Great Care did poor *Rebekah* take, to " ſecure her darling Son from marrying " into an *idolatrous* Family, and yet ſhe " ſeems not to have mended the Matter " much, when ſhe ſent him into her *own*, " wherein the very *Damſels* were found to " be ſuch *Bigots*.

" To name but one more : What Ac- " count can be given for that eager De- " ſire, which theſe patriarchal Matrons ex- " preſs'd, to give their Handmaids to their " Huſbands, that by them they might " have Children, rather than none at all ? " 'Tis a Thing ſomewhat extraordinary, " for a Woman to encourage her Huſ- " band's Adultery ; nor can we conceive " how a Child, born of the Maid's Body " can become the Right and Property of " the Miſtreſs, any other Way, than by " Adoption, be it never ſo much (*b*) *born* " *upon her Knees*."

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing that Jacob *was not culpable in getting the beſt of* Laban's *Cattle to himſelf.*

THE worſt Accuſation againſt our Patriarch, is, that of his *purloining* (as ſome may call it) or appropriating to himſelf a conſiderable Part of *Laban*'s Subſtance ; and Shame light on him, who pretends to apologize for this, in order to give Countenance to any *Trick* or *Colluſion* in Matters of Commerce. The Scripture only relates the Fact, without either Cenſure or Approbation : And we read it to wrong Purpoſe, if, becauſe we find a Thing recorded of a Patriarch, and yet not cenſur'd by the holy Penman, we therefore immediately conclude it to be right (*c*). Men will be Men, full of Imperfections, and govern'd by their Paſſions, ſo long as they live in this World ; nor are the *Examples*, propounded in Scripture to beget in us Humility and Watchfulneſs upon every Remembrance of human Frailty, but the *Laws* contain'd therein, which *are true and righteous altogether*, to be the Rule and Meaſure of our Conduct. We readily grant therefore, that this Action of *Jacob*'s, conſidered in itſelf, and according to the Rules of ſtrict Juſtice, can hardly be vindicated ; but then we are to remember, that there was a much ſuperior Agent, even the great Proprietor of the World, and who has an undoubted Right to transfer Poſſeſſions where he pleaſes, by whoſe Direction it was done.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to C. xxxvii.

FOR ſuppoſe we allow (what ſome great Men, both *Phyſicians* and *Philoſophers*, are wont to maintain) that the Fancy of the Dam, in the Time of Conception, is of Power ſufficient to influence the Form, and Shape, and Colour of the *Young*, and to produce the Effect, which it had upon *Laban*'s Cattle ; yet we cannot imagine that *Jacob* knew any Thing of this Secret. Men had not as yet enquir'd into the Powers of Nature, and Obſervations of this Kind were not much regarded. (*d*) Religion, and the Worſhip of God, was, in theſe Days, the *Wiſdom of the World* ; and a Simplicity of Life, and Integrity of Manners more ſtudied, than any curious and philoſophical Speculations. If Study and Philoſophy had help'd Men to this Knowledge, how came

Laban

(*b*) Gen. xxx. 3. (*c*) Scripture vindicated. (*d*) *Stuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 7.

A. M. 2149, &c. Ant. Christ. 1855, &c.

Laban and his Sons to be utter Strangers to it? And yet, had they not been Strangers, they could not but apprehend, that *Jacob* might by Art *variegate* the Cattle, as he pleased, and would not therefore have made so weak a Bargain with him. They certainly therefore had no Notion that any such Thing could be done; neither had *Jacob* any Intelligence of it, when he made the Contract with *Laban*; but, being resolv'd to be contented with what the Divine Providence should allot him, he made choice of the *speckled* Cattle, merely to put an End to all Cavils about Wages, as not doubting but that God would so order Matters, that, in the Event, he shou'd have enough: And therefore his Words, *So shall my Righteousness answer for me in the Time to come*, are just as if he had said; (e) "I may be "thought to have acted imprudently in "naming this Hire, as if it were impossi- "ble for Cattle, that are all *white*, to "bring forth any, but such as are like "themselves; but, in the Result, it will "appear, that God had respect to my "just Dealing, and this you will plainly "see, when you come to pay me my "Wages."

But tho' *Jacob*, at first, might be ignorant of the Secret, yet we cannot deny, but that, after the Bargain was made, God might give him some Intimation of it, and perhaps might enjoin him to put it in Execution; and yet, after all, he might not apprehend any natural Efficacy in the Thing. Instances there are more than enough in Scripture of God's requiring Persons to perform such Actions, as might testify their Faith, and Reliance on his Promises, in order to receive such Blessings, as he intended for them. Thus *Naaman* the *Syrian*, when he came to beg of God a Cure of his Leprosy, was directed *(f) to wash seven Times in* Jordan. Washing in *Jordan* was to be an Evidence of his believing that God would heal him, and, upon his giving this Evidence, he was cur'd; which was the Case of *Jacob* here before us. God had told him that (g) *he had seen all, that* Laban *had done unto him*, but that he would take Care that he *should not hurt him*; that all *Laban*'s Contrivances to defraud him of his Wages he would turn so much to his Advantage, as that they should tend to the Encrease of his Prosperity; and then very probably (as a Token of his Belief and Dependance on him) he commanded him to take peeled Rods, and use them as he directed. *Jacob* believed, and did as he was commanded: But, all this while, he might no more think, that the peeling of Rods in green Boughs, and laying them in the watering Places, where the Flocks were to drink, was a natural Way to cause them to bring forth *spotted* and *speckled* young ones, than *Naaman* did, that washing in a River was a Cure for a *Leprosy*. But, even suppose the Case, that *Jacob* had the Notion, that *party-coloured Rods* might be a *natural* Means to produce *party-coloured Cattle*; yet, if he used them in Obedience to the divine Command, and not merely as a Means to enrich himself at the Expence of another, we cannot perceive wherein he was culpable. God Almighty determined to punish *Laban* for his Injustice, and to reward *Jacob* for his Fidelity. He revealed to *Jacob* the Manner, in which he design'd to bless him, and ordered him to do an Action, as a Token of his Reliance on him, for the Performance of his Promise. *Jacob* faithfully observed the Orders, that were given him, and the Event prov'd accordingly.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

Here was no Trick, no Circumvention in the Matter; tho' it must be allow'd, that, had it been lawful for any private Person to make *Reprisals*, the injurious Treatment he had received from *Laban*, both in imposing a Wife upon him, and prolonging his Servitude without Wages, was enough to give *Jacob* both the *Provocation*, and *Privilege* so to do. God Almighty however was pleased to take the Determination of the whole Matter

(e) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. (f) 2 Kings v. 10. (g) Gen. xxxi. 12.

A. M. 2149, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1855, &c.

Matter into his own Hands; and therefore the true Concluſion is, what *Jacob* himſelf expreſſes, in his Speech to his two Wives, *Ye know, that, with all my Power, I have ſerved your Father, and your Father hath deceived me; but God ſuffered him not to hurt me. If he ſaid thus, the ſpeckled ſhall be thy Wages, then all the Cattle bare ſpeckled; and if he ſaid thus, the ring-ſtreaked ſhall be thine Hire, then bare all the Cattle ring-ſtreaked. Thus God hath taken away the Cattle of your Father and hath given them to me.*

His Vow *vindicated, and the Reaſon of his delaying to pay it.*

A MAN ſo highly favoured by God, and ſo ſenſible of his peculiar Goodneſs, can ſcarce be ſuppoſed capable of making any *Vow* with a *mercenary* View, or of neglecting to perform it, when made. The Vow, which the Patriarch made upon his Journey into *Meſopotamia*, is conceiv'd in theſe Terms. (*h*) *If God will be with me, and keep me in this Way, that I go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on, ſo that I come again to my Father's Houſe in Peace, then ſhall the Lord be my God*; i. e. I will religiouſly worſhip and ſerve him: But it is an unfair Conſtruction to ſay, that, unleſs God did bring him home in Peace, he wou'd not worſhip him. The Right, which God has to the Service and Homage of his Creatures, is abſolute and unalienable: His Dominion, his Power, his Goodneſs, Covenant, and Promiſes, do all require this of us; and therefore the Words muſt mean, either that, beſides God's natural Property in him, he ſhould have alſo a farther Demand of Duty upon him, in conſequence of this Vow; or (*i*) that he would perform ſome ſignal Service to him, and worſhip him with a more than ordinary Devotion, conſecrating (as it follows) the Place, where he then ſtood, to his Honour; offering him Sacrifices; and giving him the Tenth of all he had, to maintain this Worſhip.

SUCH is the Senſe of the Vow; and the Conditions relating to it ſeem to denote the ſecret Wiſh and Deſire of his Soul, and not any expreſs Stipulation with God. Man certainly cannot inſiſt on Terms with his Maker, but he may deſire, and humbly hope for a Supply of his Wants. More than this the Patriarch does not expect; and leſs than this God never intended to give. *Our heavenly Father knows that we have need of Food to eat, and Raiment to put on*, and 'tis a Renunciation of our Dependance upon his *providential* Goodneſs not to aſk them. To ſerve God for no Conſideration, but that of his own Glory, is a Notion, that may well enough comport with our future exalted State, when we ſhall *hunger no more, neither thirſt any more*, and where our Service will always be attended with Viſion; but, while we are inveſted with theſe weak and frail Bodies, they, and their Concerns will tenderly affect us, and God, who *conſiders whereof we are made*, expects no other, than that they ſhould.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

CONSIDERING then the Circumſtances, that *Jacob* was in, leaving now his *own*, and going into a *ſtrange Country*, we need not much wonder that we find him ſollicitous *for his daily Bread. With his Staff he paſſed over* Jordan; and when he returned with a great Retinue, the grateful Acknowledgment, which he makes upon that Occaſion, he expreſſes in theſe Words; (*k*) *I am not worthy of the leaſt of all the Mercies, and of all the Truth, which thou haſt ſhewed unto thy Servant*; and a Temper like this would never have neglected to *pay its Vows unto the moſt High*, had not the Patriarch either met with Obſtructions, that made it not ſafe for him to go, or waited, till God (who had all along conducted him hitherto) ſhould direct him to go, to the Place appointed for ſuch Oblation.

The Reformation *in his Family what.*

BEFORE he came to that Place indeed, we are told that he (*l*) *commanded his Houſhold, and all that were with him, to put away the ſtrange Gods, that were among them.* And from hence it may be preſum'd, that there were ſeveral of his Family (and poſſibly *Rachel* herſelf) addicted to Idola-

(*h*) Gen. xxviii. 20, &c. (*i*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*k*) Gen. xxxii. 10. (*l*) Ch. xxxv. 2.

A. M. 2149, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1855, &c.

try, which he might connive at; but this is a Miſtake, which ariſes purely from the Faultineſs of our *Tranſlation*. There the Word *ſtrange* is ſuppoſed to refer to *Gods*, and to be another Name for *Idols*: Whereas the Words, (*Elohei han-necar*) do properly ſignify *the Gods of the Stranger, that was among them*, i. e. the Gods of the *Shechemites*, whom they had taken Captive, and brought into *Jacob*'s Family. This alters the Senſe of the Words quite, and throws the Charge of Idolatry, not upon *Jacob*'s *Houſhold*, but upon the *Strangers*, that were in it. The Captives of *Shechem*, which his Sons had taken, were now to be incorporated into his Family, and put under new Reſtrictions. Whatever Singularities were in their Dreſs or Ornaments, or in the Rites and Uſages of Religion, they had been accuſtomed to, theſe he intended to abrogate, and to reduce them all to the ſame Purity of Worſhip, and Simplicity of Life and Manners, which he deſign'd to keep up among them. And this is ſo far from being a Stain upon his Conduct, (as if he were a tame Conniver at Impiety) that we find him undertaking the Reformation even of *Strangers*, as ſoon as they were come under his Roof, with a Spirit and Reſolution, not unlike that of holy *David*, (*m*) *Mine Eyes look unto ſuch, as are faithful in the Land, that they may dwell with me, and whoſo leadeth a godly Life, he ſhall be my Servant*.

His ſending to Eſau, a Thing highly neceſſary.

Some Writers have made it a Queſtion, how *Jacob*, upon his Return home, ſhould know where his Brother *Eſau* dwelt, and why he ſhould ſend him ſo humble and ſubmiſſive a Meſſage: But (*n*) we can hardly imagine that *Jacob* ſhould be ſo imprudent, as to carry his Wives, Children, and Subſtance into *Canaan*, without knowing whether he might ſafely venture thither. 'Tis preſumable therefore, that while he reſted at *Gilead*, he ſent Meſſengers to enquire, whether his Father was alive; what Condition he was in; how the People of the Land were affected to him; and whether he might come, and live with Security near him. From theſe Meſſengers he might learn the Place of his Brother's Habitation; and, when he found that he ſhould meet with no Obſtruction, if he could but reconcile *Eſau* to him, he very prudently ſent to him likewiſe, with an Intent (if he found him inexorable) to bend his Courſe another Way. And indeed, if we conſider what had paſſed between *Eſau* and *Jacob*, before the latter went from home, we ſhall ſoon find Reaſon enough why *Jacob* ſhould ſend to him, before he adventur'd to come, and ſit down with his Subſtance near his Father. *Eſau* ſtill expected to be his Father's Heir, eſpecially as to his *Temporalities*; and therefore, if *Jacob* had returned home without *Eſau*'s Knowledge, this, at their Father's Death, would have laid the Foundation of a greater Miſunderſtanding, than ever: For *Eſau* would then have thought, that his Brother had been inveigling his Father, and drawing a great Part of his Subſtance from him. He could never have imagin'd, that any Perſon, in a State of *Servitude*, cou'd have acquir'd ſo large a Fortune; and therefore, when he came to ſee all that Wealth, (which he knew nothing of before) he muſt have concluded that he had defrauded him.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

'Twas not from Pride or Vanity therefore, or to gratify an oſtentatious Humour, that *Jacob* ſent his Brother an Account of his proſperous Circumſtances; but, partly to recognize the Goodneſs of Providence, which had ſo proſper'd him, and partly to let him know, that he was not come to raiſe any Contributions, either upon him, or the Family; that he had brought his Subſtance with him from *Haran*, and was not going into *Canaan* to do him any Wrong.

No Abjectneſs in his Addreſs.

The whole Deſign of this Interview with *Eſau* was to procure a firm Reconciliation with him; and therefore it is no Wonder, that *Jacob* ſhould make uſe of ſuch Terms, as were moſt likely to ingratiate. He knew his Brother's rugged

(*m*) Pſal. ci. 8, 9. (*n*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 8.

Ac. M. 2149, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1855, &c.

ged and haughty Temper, and conſider'd him as a Perſon, who, by his Valour and Conduct, had rais'd himſelf to a Principality and Dominion, whilſt himſelf, for twenty Years together, had liv'd in no better Capacity, than that of a Servant; and therefore he might juſtly think, that this Difference of Appellations did not misbecome their different Conditions of Life.

BY the divine Direction indeed, he was conſtituted *Eſau*'s *Lord*, nor did he forego that Prerogative by calling himſelf *Eſau*'s Servant. *Lord* and *Servant* were no more then, than (what they are now) certain Modes of *Civility*, which paſſed between Perſons of good Breeding, without ever adhering to their ſtrict Acceptation; and therefore *Jacob* might make his Addreſſes to *Eſau* in this Manner, without any Derogation to his ſpiritual Pre-eminence, and, confining himſelf to the Bounds of Nature, might reverence him as his elder Brother.

BUT, how jealous ſoever we may be of *Jacob*'s Honour, 'tis certain that the Almighty approv'd of his Conduct, by himſelf interpoſing to bring about the deſir'd Reconciliation. Before this Interview with his Brother, and while he lay under terrible Apprehenſions of his Diſpleaſure, (*o*) *the Angels*, we are told, *met him. They met him*, i. e. they ſhewed themſelves to him, to aſſure him of their Cuſtody; and by and by we ſee what follow'd: (*p*) His Brother *Eſau*, contrary to his natural Roughneſs, and avow'd Revenge, comes, and treats him in a moſt friendly Manner; which ſudden Change in *Eſau*, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, was occaſion'd by one of thoſe Angels, who appear'd; and, who working upon his Humours and Fancy, ſweeten'd him into a particular Benignity of Temper, ſo that *Jacob*, by his humble and ſubmiſſive Behaviour, gain'd his End.

Jacob's Caſe in Relation to Polygamy, *and* Inceſt.

THERE is this peculiar Hardſhip upon *Jacob*, that, in the Matter of *Leah*, he was perfectly impoſed upon; that he had no Deſign of having any Communion with her; was contracted to her Siſter; and, in all Probability, had he enjoy'd her firſt, would never have had Concern with any other. But the Misfortune was, that, in the other's *nuptial* Night, he had carnal Knowledge of her, and thereupon was induced to think, that he could not honeſtly leave her. Her Siſter *Rachel* was all this while (bating Conſummation) his lawful Wife, to whom he was contracted, to whom he was ſolemnly married; and therefore he cou'd not in Juſtice relinquiſh her neither. In this *Dilemma* he was, in a Manner, under a Neceſſity of adhering to both; and, as *Polygamy* was not at that Time interdicted, he thought he might do it without any Violation of the Laws of God. The only Queſtion is, whether he did not incur the Sin of *Inceſt* in ſo doing? And to this ſome *Jewiſh* Doctors anſwer, that the Prohibition of Marriages, within ſuch Degrees of *Conſanguinity*, was reſtrain'd to the Land of *Canaan* only; and that therefore it was not unlawful for *Jacob*, in *Haran*, to take two Siſters, nor for *Amram*, in *Egypt*, to take his Father's Siſter: And to this Purpoſe they obſerve farther, that in the *Moſaick* Law itſelf, and particularly in the 20th Chapter of *Leviticus*, where the Sentence of Exciſion is pronounc'd againſt *inceſtuous* Marriages, there is no Puniſhment aſſign'd to him, who ſhall marry *two Siſters*, which, as they will have it, was, for the Honour of *Jacob*, omitted. However this be, 'tis certain that there is no ſuch Toleration under the *Chriſtian* Diſpenſation; and therefore he, who pretends to pronounce any Thing upon a Caſe ſo ſingular, as this of our Patriarch's is, ſhould conſider the different State of Things, before the Promulgation of the Law; during the Obligation of it; and ſince the Commencement of the Goſpel; which undoubtedly prohibits both a *Plurality* in Wives, and *Conſanguinity* in Marriages, and requires of its *Votaries* the ſtricteſt Chaſtity, from a Conſideration and Motive, which neither the *Law*

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

(*o*) Gen. xxxii. 1. (*p*) *Young*'s Sermons, Vol. II. Sermon 6.

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Law of Nature, nor the *Law of* Moſes, knew any thing of; (*q*) *Ye are not your own, for ye are bought with a Price, therefore glorify God in your Body, and in your Spirit, which are God's.*

His Wreſtling accounted for.

Of all the Adventures, which happen'd to *Jacob*, that of his *Wreſtling* is deſervedly reckon'd one of the ſtrangeſt, and has therefore been made a Matter of doubt, whether it was a *real Event*, or a *Viſion* only. (*r*) *Maimonides*, and ſome other *Hebrew*, as well as *Chriſtian*, Interpreters, are of Opinion, that all this was tranſacted only in *Jacob*'s Imagination. They ſuppoſe, that the *Patriarch*, being ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the Senſe of the Danger he was going to encounter, ſaw in a *Viſion*, a Man coming to him, and who, after ſome Altercations, began to *wreſtle* with him; that the Conflict between them continu'd till Break-of-Day, when his *Antagoniſt*, not able to get the better, deſired to be gone, *&c.* and that, as a Proof, that this Viſion was more than an ordinary Dream, it ſeem'd to him, that the Angel touch'd his Thigh, and, in effect, as ſoon as he awoke, he found himſelf lame, probably by the Force of his Imagination.

If this Explication be admitted, the whole Difficulty is at an End. 'Tis natural perhaps for a Man, under the Apprehenſions of a dreadful Foe, to dream of *fighting*; and to dream, at the ſame Time, that he comes off victorious, might be accounted an happy *Omen*. But it muſt be confeſs'd, that the *Analogy* of the Story, and more eſpecially *Jacob*'s Lameneſs, which was conſequent upon his Conflict, will not ſuffer us to think that all this was only in a Dream. The more general therefore, and indeed the more rational Opinion is, that this Wreſtling was *real*, and that *Jacob* was actually awake, when engag'd in it: But then the Queſtion is, who the Perſon was, that did encounter him?

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ORIGEN, I think, is a little ſingular and no ways to be juſtified in his Conceit, when he tells us, that the Perſon, with whom *Jacob* wreſtled, was an *evil* Angel, in Alluſion to which he thinks that the Apoſtle grounds his Exhortation: (*s*) *Finally, my Brethren, be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the Power of his Might, for we wreſtle not againſt Fleſh and Blood, but againſt Principalities, againſt Powers, againſt the Rulers of Darkneſs of this World, againſt ſpiritual Wickedneſs in high Places.* But that *Jacob*, who, at this Time, was ſo immediately under the Divine Protection, ſhould be ſubmitted to the Aſſault of *a wicked Angel*; that he ſhould merit the Name of *Iſrael*, i. e. *Conqueror of God*, for overcoming ſuch an one, or call the Place of Combat *Peniel*, i. e. the *Face of God*, in Commemoration of his Conflict with ſuch an one, is very abſurd, if not an impious Suggeſtion. Thoſe, who eſpouſe this Opinion, may poſſibly be led into it from a Thought, that the Perſon, here contending with *Jacob*, was an *Enemy*, and come with a malevolent Intent againſt him; whereas nothing can be more evident, (eſpecially by his bleſſing him before they parted) that he came with a quite contrary Deſign. (*t*) Among the People of the *Eaſt*, from whence the *Grecians* came, and brought along with them ſeveral of their Cuſtoms, *Wreſtling* was an Exerciſe in great Vogue, as highly conducive to the Health and Strength; and a common Thing it was, for two Friends, when they met together, to amuſe and recreate themſelves in this Way. The *Jewiſh* Doctors therefore ſeem to be much in the right, when they maintain, that the Perſon, who contended with *Jacob*, was a *good* Angel; and, as their ſettled Notion is, that thoſe heavenly Spirits ſing, every Morning, the Praiſes of God, at the Approach of Day; ſo the Requeſt, which his *Antagoniſt* makes, (*u*) *Let me go, for the Day breaketh*, ſhews him to be one

(*q*) 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20. and *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

(*r*) Vid. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 17. and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, xxxii. 26.

(*s*) Eph. vi. 10, 11, 12.

(*t*) *Le Clerc*'s Comment in Locum.

(*u*) Gen.

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one of the angelick Hoſt, who had ſtayed his prefixt Time, and was now in haſte to be gone, in order to join the heavenly *Choir*: For the Prophet *Hoſea*, I think, has determin'd the Matter very plainly, when, ſpeaking of *Jacob*, he tells us that (*x*) *he took his Brother by the Heel in the Womb, and by his Strength he had Power with God, yea he had Power over the Angel, and prevail'd.*

How *Jacob*, who was an hundred Years old, could be enabled to do all this, muſt be imputed to ſome *inviſible* Power, that aſſiſted him. (*y*) An Angel is here, in an extraordinary Manner, ſent to encounter him, and he, in an extraordinary Manner, is enabled to withſtand him. The whole Scene is contriv'd to cure him of his uneaſy Fears, and a proper Medium to do this, was, to let him ſee, that an *old Man* might conteſt it even with an Angel, and yet not be foil'd; and the Power, he might reaſonably conclude, which aſſiſted him in this (if the Matter were to come to Blows with his Brother *Eſau*) would ſo invigorate his little Army of *Domeſticks*, as to make them prevail, and become victorious.

IT was a common Cuſtom among *Eaſtern* Nations (as appears from ſeveral Paſſages in Scripture) to convey the Knowledge of Things by Actions, as well as Words. To this Purpoſe we find *Zedekiah* (*z*) *making him Horns of Iron*, thereby to portend Victory to *Ahab*; and *Elias*, ordering *Joaſh* (*a*) *to ſtrike the Ground with Arrows*, thence to prefignify his Triumph over the *Syrians*. Nay, even *Hannibal* himſelf, (as the Hiſtorian (*b*) tells us) perceiving that his Soldiers were not to be encourag'd with Words, made a publick Show for them, not ſo much to entertain their Sight, as to give them an Image and Repreſentation of their own Condition. In like Manner, we may ſuppoſe, that God made uſe of this Expedient to cure *Jacob* of his Dejection; and tho' *Moſes* (who cannot be ſuppoſed to inſert every Thing) ſays nothing of the Angel's giving him this Intimation, yet we find it (*c*) in *Joſephus*, that, no ſooner was the *Wreſtling* ended, but a Voice called out to him, and ſaid, "Comfort thyſelf in what thou haſt done, for it is not "a common Adverſary, that thou haſt "foil'd, but an Angel of the Lord: Take "it for a Preſage therefore, that thy "Poſterity ſhall never fail, and that thou "thyſelf ſhalt never be overcome."

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The Slaughter of the Shechemites, *by* Jacob's *two Sons, cenſur'd, and in what Senſe it was* probable.

O LORD God of my Father Simeon, *to whom thou gaveſt a Sword to take Vengeance of the Strangers, who looſen'd the Girdle of a Maid to defile her, and polluted her Virginity to her Reproach: Therefore thou gaveſt her Rulers to be ſlain, ſo that they died in their Bed in Blood, being deceiv'd. Thou gaveſt their Wives for a Prey, and their Daughters to be Captives, and all their Spoils to be divided among thy dear Children, who were moved with thy Zeal, and abhorred the Pollution of their Blood, and called upon thee for Aid.* (*d*) This is the *Preface* to the Prayer, which *Judith* makes to God, in the *apocryphal* Book, that goes under her Name. And indeed, were there no other Arguments to prove this Book *ſpurious*, this one Paſſage is enough, where we find the moſt abominable *Maſſacre* called a *divine* Work, and Perfidy, Murder, and Rapine, gilded over with the ſpecious Names of *Zeal for God*, and Indignation againſt Vice. The Abhorrence, which *Jacob* expreſs'd of the Cruelty of his Sons, the Sharpneſs of the Reproaches utter'd againſt them, the Remembrance of it, even to the End of his Life, and the Care he took to recapitulate it upon his Death-bed, give us a much juſter Idea of it, than the Writings of ſome (*c*) *Rabbins*, who have undertaken not only to *excuſe*, but even to *commend* it. As to the Probability of the Fact however, we are not to ſuppoſe, that, becauſe *Simeon* and *Levi* are only mention'd,

(*x*) Hoſ. xii. 3, 4.
(*b*) *Livy*, Lib. xxi. l. 7. c. 5.
(*y*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.
(*c*) Antiq. lib. i. c. 20.
(*z*) 1 Kings xxii. 11.
(*d*) Judith ix. 2, &c.
(*a*) 2 Kings xiii. 18.
(*e*) *Selden* de Jur. Nat.

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they therefore were the only Persons, who had any Hand in this wicked Exploit. They indeed are only mention'd, because, being own Brothers to *Dinah* both by Father and Mother, and, consequently, more concerned to resent the Injury done to her Honour, they are made the chief Contrivers and Conductors of it; but it is reasonable to think, that the rest of *Jacob*'s Sons, who were old enough to bear Arms, as well as the greatest Part of his *Domesticks*, were engag'd in the Execution of it: Because it is scarcely conceivable, how two men alone should be able to master a whole City, to slay all the Men in it, and take all the Women Captives, who, upon this Occasion, may be supposed more than sufficient to have over-power'd them.

NOTHING is more known, and common in History, than to ascribe an Action (especially in *military* Affairs) to the chief Commanders in it, how many Under-agents soever they may think proper to employ: And we should deny *Moses* the common Privilege of an *Historian*, if we should account that a Fault and Omission in him, which, in other Writers of the like Nature (especially where they study *Brevity*) is reputed a great Beauty and Perfection. *Moses* however is far from pleading his Privilege in this Respect; for having made mention of *Simeon* and *Levi*, as the principal Leaders in the Action, he then proceeds and tells us, that (*f*) *the Sons of* Jacob, meaning the rest of his Sons, who were of competent Age (and with them very reasonably their Attendants) *came upon the Slain, and spoiled the City, because they had defiled their Sister.*

Why Moses takes Notice of Reuben's Incest.

IT is very remarkable of the *Jewish* Historian *Josephus*, that he gives us no Manner of Account of *Reuben*'s Incest, for fear that his recording so vile an Action might leave some Blot of Infamy upon that Patriarch, and his Posterity. But *Moses* has given us a better Proof of his Truth and Integrity, in that he not only mentions this Abomination once, but even, in the Benediction, which his Father gives *Reuben*, makes a Remembrance and Recital of it. And this he did, that he might give us a true Account, why the Right of Inheritance, which was originally in him, came to be conferr'd on *Joseph*; and the *Kingdom*, or Right of Dominion, which was forfeited by his Transgression, came to be translated to the Tribe of *Judah*. This he did, that he might furnish his Countrymen with Matter sufficient for their *Humiliation*, who, by this, and many more Instances of the like Nature, are given to understand, that it was not their *Merit*, but purely God's *Mercy*, which advanced them to the Honour of being his *peculiar People*; and this he did, that he might acquaint us all, how God was pleased to make these great, these elect Heads and Fathers, Instances of human Frailty and Sin, in order to shew, that there is nothing, even nothing in Man, unless God by Grace be with him; that (*g*) *of ourselves* (as the Apostle words it) *we are not sufficient to do any Thing, as of ourselves, but all our Sufficiency is from God.*

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FOR the same Reason, we may imagine, it was, that *Moses* makes mention of *Rachel*'s stealing away her Father's *Gods*, as a probable Intimation, that she was not entirely cur'd of the idolatrous Superstition of the Country, from whence she came.

Why Rachel stole away her Father's Idols, and what they were.

THE *Jewish* Doctors are generally agreed, that the Word *Teraphim*, which we render *Gods*, is not of *Hebrew* Extraction. The *Septuagint* translates it sometimes an *Oracle*, and sometimes *vain Idols*; and several *Commentators* will have it to be a Word borrow'd from the *Egyptians*, and to import the very same with their *Serapis*. (*h*) The *Jews* indeed pretend that this Idol was the Head of a first-born Son, pluck'd off from the Neck, and embalm'd; under the Tongue of which was fasten'd a *golden Plate*, with the

(*f*) Gen. xxxiv. 27. (*g*) 2 Cor. iii. 5. (*h*) *Calmet*'s Dictionary, and Commentary; & Jurieu, Histoire des Cultes & des Dogmes.

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the Name of ſome falſe Deity engraven upon it, which, being plac'd in a *Nitch*, with lighted Candles before it, gave *vocal* Anſwers to ſuch as came to conſult it: But others rather think that it was the ſame with what the *Perſians* call *Telephim*, more generally known by the Name of *Taliſmans*, i. e. Images, in human Form, of different Sizes, and different Metals, caſt under certain *Conſtellations*, with the Figures of ſome *Planets*, and *magical* Characters, engraven upon them; Whereas others again are of Opinion, that the *Teraphim*, which *Rachel* ſtole, were the *Dii Penates*, or *Houſhold-Gods* of her Father *Laban*, viz. the Images of *Noah*, the Reſtorer of Mankind, and of *Shem*, the Head of his Family; and therefore they obſerve, that *Laban*, by way of Diſtinction, calls them *his Gods*, i. e. the Gods of his *Family*. That theſe *Teraphims* were Statues, or Images of an human Shape and Figure, is manifeſt from (*i*) *Michal*'s putting one of them into her Huſband's Bed, when ſhe favour'd his Eſcape: That, at their firſt Inſtitution, their Intent was innocent, to be Emblems or Repreſentations only of ſome renowned Anceſtor, whoſe Memory the Family was deſirous to perpetuate; but that, in Proceſs of Time, they came to be look'd upon, as the *Lares*, or *Dii Tutelares* of the Houſe, were made Objects of religious Adoration, and at length perverted to all the vile Purpoſes of *Necromancy*, a learned Author, (*k*) who has examin'd this matter to the full, has prov'd beyond Exception.

BUT whatever Men or fictitious Deities theſe Figures were made to repreſent, 'tis certain, that the Uſe, they were chiefly applied to, was, to foretel future Events, and diſcover what was hid or loſt, and, for this Purpoſe, were conſulted and prayed to as *Oracles*, at certain Times, and under ſome particular *Aſpects* of the Planets. Among other Reaſons therefore, for *Rachel*'s ſtealing away her Father's *Teraphim*, this is generally ſuppoſed to be one, —— That he might not, by enquiring of them, gain Inteligence which Way it was, that *Jacob* had taken his Flight.

From Gen. xxviii. to Ch. xxxvii.

THE Truth is, there ſeems to have been in *Laban* an odd Mixture of Religion. In his Converſation with *Abraham*'s Steward, when he came to negotiate a Match for *Iſaac*, he ſeems to expreſs a very devout Senſe of the *Being* and *Providence* of God; and yet, at his firſt coming up with *Jacob*, he ſeems to be chiefly ſollicitous for the Loſs of *his Gods* (as he calls them) which were but dumb and ſenſeleſs *Idols*. In the Treaty, which he makes with *Jacob*, he invocates the God of *Abraham*, which is allow'd to be the great God of Heaven and Earth; and yet we can hardly forbear thinking, that he muſt have believ'd a *Plurality* of Gods in Subordination to the *Supreme*, by Reaſon of his anxious Concern for theſe Images. *Jacob* no doubt, during his Abode with him, uſed all the Intereſt, he had in the Family, to rectify his Notions, and convince him of his Error, but he was not able to prevail; and therefore ſome imagine that *Rachel* ſtole away his Idols, that ſhe might remove the Occaſion of his ſuperſtitious Worſhip, and hinder him from going on in his Impiety.

THESE *Idols*, we may preſume, were made of *Gold*, or ſome very valuable Subſtance; and therefore it may be ſuppoſed that ſhe took them along with her, not only to deſtroy them, but to make herſelf a Reparation likewiſe for the Wrongs ſhe had receiv'd from him, and whereof we find both the Siſters making this Complaint, (*l*) *Is there yet any Portion or Inheritance for us in our Father's Houſe? Are we not counted of him Strangers? For he hath ſold us, and hath quite devoured alſo our Money.*

BUT, even ſuppoſing the worſt of the Caſe, that *Rachel* did take with her theſe Idols, becauſe ſhe ſtill retain'd an Hankering after the Religion of her Anceſtors; yet *Jacob* is not to be diſcommended for marrying one of his own Family, who adher'd to the true Worſhip of God, tho' mix'd

(*i*) 1 Sam. xix. 13. (*k*) Jurieu, Hiſtoire des Cultes & des Dogmes. (*l*) Gen. xxxi. 14, 15.

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mix'd with some superstitious Customs, which he might easily reclaim in Time; rather than any of the *Canaanitish* Line, which was every Day sinking more and more into Idolatry, and for that Idolatry, and other flagitious Practices, were, in Process of Time, to undergo an utter Excision: Especially considering, that, when he came into the Land of *Canaan*, where he had a full Liberty of acting as he pleas'd, he made a thorough Reformation in his Family, and had all these little *Emblems* of her former Superstition taken from her, and destroy'd.

What Reuben's Mandrakes *were, and why* Rachel *coveted them.*

THE Word *Dudaim*, which we render * *Mandrakes*, is one of those Terms, whose true Signification the *Jews*, at this Time, pretend not to understand. There is but one Place more in Scripture, wherein it occurs, and that is in the 7th Chapter of *Canticles*, wherein the *Bridegroom* invites his *Spouse* to go with him into the Fields: *Come, my Beloved, let us get up early to the Vineyards, let us see if the Vine flourish, whether the tender Grapes appear, and the Pomegranates bud forth. The Mandrakes give a Smell; at our Gates are all Manner of Fruits, which I have laid up for thee, O my Beloved.* Here we find it plac'd among the most delicious and pleasant Fruits, the Grape, the Pomegranate, *&c.* and represented as very fragrant and odoriferous in its Smell; but the Mandrake, *say some*, is a *stinking* and *ill-scented* Fruit, of a bad Taste, and a cold narcotick Quality; and therefore they have render'd the Word *fine and lovely Flowers*; and some of them will have it to be the *Violet* or *Jessamin*, (which suit very well with the Season of the Year here mentioned) whilst others contend very strongly for the *Lilly*, which, in *Syria*, grew in the Fields, and was of a most agreeable Beauty and Smell.

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THAT Passage in *Solomon*'s Song however will not suffer us to doubt, but that it was a Fruit (of some Kind or other) and *Ludolff*, (*k*) in his History of *Ethiopia*, will needs have it to be what the *Syrians* call *Mauz*, a Fruit, much about as big as a small *Cucumber*, that hangs in Clusters, sometimes to the Number of Forty upon the same Stalk, and is in Figure and Taste not unlike the *Indian* Fig.

'IT is not to be doubted indeed, but that the *Mandrake* in *Palestine* is of a different Kind to what we have in these Climates. St *Austin*, who thought it a great Curiosity to see one, tells us, that it was very beautiful to the Eye, and of a fragrant Smell, but utterly insipid; so that he wonders what should make *Rachel* set so high a Value upon it, unless it were its Scarceness, and rich Scent. In the Province of *Peking* in *China*, we are inform'd, that there is a Kind of *Mandrake* so valuable, and, when mixed in any Liquor, makes so rich a Cordial, that a Pound of

* *Calmet*, in his Dictionary, gives us a Description of this Plant, as it is found in the *French* King's Gardens. —— Its Root is white, and somewhat rough; is two or three Times as big again as its Stem, and always grows taper. Generally, at some Distance from its upper Part, it divides into two Branches, which is the Reason that this Root has something of the Figure of a Man, whose two Thighs are represented by the two Branches. From the Sides of the Root proceed a great Number of small Fibres, in several Places, which serve to imbibe the Juice of the Earth, for the Nourishment of the Plant. From the Root there arises a round and smooth Stem, of a pretty deep Red; and, at the Top of the Stem, grow four Branches, which spread, at equal Distances, from each other. Every Branch has five Leaves, which are indented, of a dark Green, and terminate in a Point. From the Center of these Branches proceeds another very strait and smooth Stem, at the Extremity of which grows a Knob of about twenty-four Fruits, round, and of a beautiful red; and within this Fruit is a kind of Nut, much of the Figure with a Lentil. This Nut includes in it the Seed of the Plant, which dies and grows again every Year, and has nothing valuable in it but the Root, whose Virtues are wonderful. Of this Plant (as *Dioscorides* informs us) there are two Sorts: One is black, and called the *female Mandrake*, having Leaves not unlike Lettice, tho' less, and narrower, which spread upon the Ground, and are of a very disagreeable Scent. It bears something like *Services*, which are pale, and of a strong Smell, with Kernels within, like those of a Pea. It has two or three very large Roots, twisted together, black without, but white within, and cover'd with a thick Rind. The other Sort, or the *male Mandrake*, produces Berries, as big again as those of the *Female*, of a good Scent, and a Colour not much unlike Saffron. Its Leaves are large, white, broad, and smooth, like the Leaves of a Beach Tree, and its Root resembles that of the *Female*, but is much thicker and bigger, and the Quality of them both is to *stupify* and make *sleepy* those that take it. Lib. 6. c. 61.

(*m*) Lib. i. cap. 17.

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of its Root (for in the Root lies all the Virtue)' is worth thrice its Weight in Silver.

IT was a general Opinion among the Antients, that there was a certain Quality in the Juice of *Mandrakes* to excite amorous Inclinations, and therefore they call them *the Apples of Love*, as the *Hebrew* Word *Dod* (from whence comes *Dodaim*) is frequently ſet to ſignify *Love*. Thus whether we conſider this Fruit as pleaſant to the Eye, Smell, or Taſte, or as a Reſtorative to Nature, and helpful to Conception, any of theſe Reaſons are ſufficient, why *Rachel* ſhould take ſuch a Fancy to them: And, why ſhe purchaſed them at ſo ſtrange a Rate, was chiefly occaſioned by *Leah*'s ſullen Reply, that ſhe had *taken away her Huſband*'s Affections *from her*, which provok'd the other, who (according to the eſtabliſh'd Order of ſucceeding to his Bed) had certainly the *Property* in him that Night, to reſign him to her.

MOSES however only mentions this Circumſtance, to let his Reader know, upon what Occaſion it was that *Leah*, after ſhe had done Child-bearing, (as ſhe thought) came to conceive again. (*n*) It had been below the Dignity of ſuch a ſacred Hiſtory, as his is, to take notice of ſuch trivial Matters, had there not been ſomething of great Conſideration in them; and what could that be, but chiefly the Birth of the *bleſſed Seed*, which was the Object of the Hopes of all pious People in thoſe Days? It is evident from the Conduct both of *Rachel* and her Siſter, that it was Children they deſired, and not merely the Company of their Huſband; nor would their Huſband have ever been determined by their blind Bargains, had it not been Matter of pure Indifference to him, whether of their Embraces he went to, ſo long as his Family was but increaſed and multiplied.

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THAT it was a very antient Cuſtom, not only among the *Hebrews*, but with many other Nations, and particularly the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in the Marriages both of their Sons and Daughters, and eſpecially of the *latter*, for the Parents to give with the *Bride* or *Bridegroom*, as Part of the Portion or *Dowry*, a Servant, to abide in their Power and Property, is a Matter ſo plain, * from ſundry Examples, that it needs no conteſting. The great Difficulty is, —— For what Reaſon it was, that theſe Matrons of old were ſo very deſirous, that their Huſbands ſhould have Commerce with theſe their *dotal* Maids, in caſe they had no Children of their own: And for the Solution of this we muſt obſerve, that, according to the Principles of the oldeſt Philoſophy, SPIRIT is the univerſal efficient Cauſe in Nature, but eſpecially in Generation, and in human Generation moſt of all; ſo that a *ſpiritual* Conception muſt of Neceſſity precede, and direct every *bodily* one, inſomuch that there can be no *corporeal* Conception without a *ſpiritual* one, but a *ſpiritual* there may be, without a *corporeal* one, *i. e.* when the Matter, or Medium, is

Why the Patriarchal *Wives deſired Children by their* Maids.

(*n*) *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* In the Tragedy of *Euripides*, which is called *Iphigenia in Aulis*, *Clytemneſtra* is brought in, as preparing and haſtening all Things for the *Nuptials* of her Daughter, who, unknown to her, was devoted for a Sacrifice, and addreſſing herſelf in this Manner;

Πάρεστι νυμφαγωγὸς· ἀλλ' ὀχημάτων
Ἔξω πορεύθ' ἃς φέρω φερνὰς κόρῃ,
Καὶ πέμπε᾽ εἰς μέλαθρον εὐλαβέμεναι. Act III.

Old *Demænetus*, in the *Aſinaria* of *Plautus*, is told by his Slave,

Dotalem ſervum Sauream uxor tua
Adduxit, cui plus in manu ſit quam tibi. Act I.

Theſe Servants among the *Greeks* were called φέρναι, (from whence is deriv'd the *Latin Verna*) and, by the *Romans*, *Dotales*, *Receptitii*, or *Receptitiæ*. They had likewiſe the Name of λάτρις given them, and their Service was expreſſed by the Word λατρεία, which ſignifies the Service due from Man to Almighty God; which is wont to be diſtinguiſhed from any other Sort of Service, and denotes, that ſuch Perſons were entirely at their Miſtreſſes Devotion. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Annot. 32.

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is not adapted to that Purpoſe. Now this *Poſition* being laid down, it may be obſerved farther, that theſe *Matrons* very probably were not ignorant, that the Mother contributes nothing, of herſelf, towards the Formation of the *Fœtus*, and, much leſs to its Inſpiration with Life, but merely the Bearing it in the Womb; and hence they might infer, that the Bearing it in the Womb was not ſufficient of itſelf to confer a *Right* to the *Fruit of it*, which came thither they knew not how, which they had no Hand in the Faſhioning of, and which they were no more able to quicken, than they were to enliven a dead Body. It being therefore no ſtrange Thing, in theſe Days, for one Man to *raiſe up Seed* for another, or to propagate by another; by Parity of Reaſon, they might conclude, that one Woman might as well do the ſame for another, or *bear* in her ſtead, under ſuch and ſuch Circumſtances, by the Union and Co-operation of their Wills, and ſtrong Attraction of the Imagination in *two* conſociating into one. And this was the Conſideration, which moved them to preſs this Matter ſo very earneſtly, as they did: when finding, that, after they had *ſpiritually* conceived of their Huſbands, by taking into them an *ideal* Image for Elaboration, there was wanting Strength in them to bear, and to work out what they had received; they could afterwards have no greater Pleaſure, than to appoint one, who ſhould faithfully ſupply that Part, (wherein they themſelves were defective) and thereby be able not only to remedy the *Reproach* of their *Barrenneſs*, but to eſtabliſh a ſtronger Intereſt in the Family for themſelves, and for all, that they could call their *own*.

(*o*) THE *bearing upon the Knees* therefore (as the Expreſſion is in *Moſes*) muſt certainly denote ſomething more, than that *Rachel* deſign'd to make herſelf a Nurſe to her Maid, or ſet a Child upon her Knees, as her own, in which ſhe had no Part or Portion; but that her Servant ſhould conceive, and become with Child through her, as in her Preſence, and as it were *upon her Knees*, to the End that her Miſtreſs might be made a Mother by her *Inſtrumentality*, and might have Children, whom ſhe cou'd call her own, tho' not born of her Body. And, accordingly, we may obſerve, that *Rachel* herſelf had this Notion of the Matter; for, upon the Birth of her firſt Son, born to her by her *Subſtitute*, ſhe expreſly declares that God had *given her a Son*, and (as the Cuſtom for Mothers then was) herſelf impoſed on him a Name, as a Mark of her thinking him really to be *her*'s.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

THUS have we endeavour'd to ſilence ſome of thoſe *Cavils*, which may be made againſt particular Paſſages in the *Moſaick* Hiſtory, during this Period of Time; and, for the farther Confirmation of its Truth and Authority, we might produce the Teſtimony of ſeveral Heathen Writers, (*p*) ſuch as *Sanchoniatho*, *Beroſus*, *Hecatæus*, *Eupolemus*, and others, as they are quoted by *Euſebius* in his *Præparatio Evangelica*. The Fiction of *Jupiter*'s *Chain* in *Homer*, reaching from Heaven to Earth, as it relates to the divine *Providence*, had its Original from *Jacob*'s Ladder. The Memory of his Wreſtling with an Angel has been preſerv'd, ever ſince, by a whole Nation's abſtaining from a particular Part of the *Thigh*, which, without that Suppoſition, cannot be accounted for. *Jacob*'s living with his Uncle *Laban* in the Capacity of a Servant, gave Riſe to the Story of *Apollo*'s being reduced (when expelled from his Father's Houſe) to the Neceſſity of turning *Admetus*'s Shepherd. The Fable of the *Bethleans*, which (*q*) *Euſebius* takes out of *Philo Biblius*, came undoubtedly from the Altar of *Bethel*; and, to name no more, the whole Buſineſs of *Jacob*'s Arrival at *Shechem* upon his Return from *Meſopotamia*, of his Daughter *Dinah*'s Rape

Several of theſe Facts confirm'd by Heathen Writers.

(*o*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 33.

(*p*) Vid. *Grot.* de Verit. l. 1.

(*q*) Præp. Evan. l. 9. c. 21.

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Rape by the Prince of the Country, and of the terrible Revenge, which her Brothers took for that Indignity, are related by *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, as he is quoted by the ſame Father, much in the ſame Order, and with the very ſame Circumſtances, that we find it recorded in the Works of *Moſes*.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

DISSERTATION III.

Of Jacob's *Ladder and Pillar.*

The Occaſion of Jacob's Viſion.

TO judge of the Occaſion of *Jacob*'s Viſion, wherein this *emblematical* Ladder was repreſented to him, we muſt imagine, that we ſaw the Heir of a powerful Family taking his Leave of his aged Parents, and, for fear of an angry Brother, departing from his Father's Houſe; beginning a Journey of 450 Miles, into a ſtrange Country, all alone, on Foot, and without any Servant to attend him; travelling all the Day with a penſive Heart, and forc'd at Night to take up his Lodging in the open Air, and with nothing better, than an hard Stone to be his Pillow: If we ſuppoſe *Jacob* in this Condition, I ſay, we ſhall ſoon perceive the Reaſon, why God thought it convenient, at this Time, to give him Comfort and Conſolation in the Way of a Dream.

THAT *Dreams*, or nocturnal Viſions, were a common Way of God's revealing himſelf to Mankind of old, is evident from Inſtances almoſt innumerable; and the Reaſon of his making Choice of this Method might be, either (*r*) to convince them of his *Omni-preſence*, that *he was about their Bed, and about their Paths, and ſpied out all their Ways*; or to convince them of his conſtant *Care*, and that he was not unmindful of them, even when they little thought of him, and were moſt abſent from themſelves; or to convince them of his unlimited *Power* over their Souls, when even Sleep itſelf could not hinder his Acceſs to them; or becauſe that the Mind, in the Dead and Silence of the Night, was fitter to receive divine Impreſſions, when Nature was huſh, and the Paſſions aſleep, and no Variety of Thoughts to diſtract its Attention.

BUT, whatever God's Reaſons might be for conveying Things by Dreams, 'tis certain, that the Viſion of the *Ladder*, and the comfortable Words, which he ſpake from the Top of it, made ſuch a lively Impreſſion upon *Jacob*, that he proceeded in his Journey with Chearfulneſs and Alacrity. (*s*) *Behold I am with thee, and I will keep thee in all Places, whither thou goeſt, and will bring thee again into this Land; for I will not leave thee, until I have done that, which I have ſpoken to thee of:* Theſe are the *verbal* Aſſurances, which God gives *Jacob*; and therefore we may preſume that the Repreſentation of the Ladder had ſomething *analogous* in it.

The Meaning *of it.*

THIS *Ladder* (according to the Senſe of the (*t*) beſt Interpreters) is an *Emblem* of the divine *Providence*, which governs all Things. Its being *ſet upon the Earth* denotes the *Steadineſs* of Providence, which nothing is able to unſettle; its *reaching up to Heaven* ſignifies its *Univerſality*, or that it extends to all Things; the *ſeveral Steps of the Ladder* are the Motions and Actions of Providence; the Angels *going up and down* ſhew, that they are the great Miniſters of Providence, never idle, but always employ'd in the Preſervation of the Juſt; *their Aſcending* means their going up to receive the divine Orders and Commands; and *their Deſcending*

(*r*) *Waiſii* Miſcell. ſacra de Somniis, Vol. I. (*s*) Gen. xxviii. 15. (*t*) *Maimonides* More Nevoc.

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Deſcending their coming down upon Earth to put them in Execution. So that, in this *Hieroglyphick*, God ſignified to *Jacob*, now full of Care and uneaſy Apprehenſions, that the Men, who was under the Cuſtody and Protection of divine Providence, wanted not Company, in a Wilderneſs; wanted not Security, in the midſt of Dangers; wanted not Direction, in the moſt difficult Undertakings; ſince there were ſo many *miniſtring Spirits*, holding Correſpondence between Earth and Heaven, and daily and hourly (*u*) *ſent forth* from God's Preſence *to miniſter unto them, who ſhall be Heirs of Salvation.*

Other Interpretations there are in great Numbers, but too * full of Fancies and Conceits, to be here taken Notice of: One however ſeems a little more ſolid, and may not undeſerve our Obſervation. (*x*) The Promiſe, (we may remember) which God is introduc'd as making to *Jacob* from the Top of the Ladder, does chiefly relate to his Covenant with *Abraham*, which was principally founded in *Chriſt*, that choſen Seed, *in whom all the Families of the Earth were to be bleſſed*: And, the Analogy of the Thing may induce us to believe, that this Ladder was deſign'd for a *Type* and *Emblem* of the *Covenant of Grace*, which was in Force from the Time of Man's firſt *Apoſtacy*, but began to be put in Execution at the Incarnation of our Saviour *Chriſt*, that only *Mediator*, who open'd an *Intercourſe* between Earth and Heaven; by whoſe Interceſſion Plenty of all ſpiritual Bleſſings deſcend to us, and by whoſe Merits and Doctrines our Natures are *ſanctified*, and ſo become meet to be *Partakers with the Saints in Light*, or to aſcend into Heaven. And to this myſtical Meaning of the Ladder, our Saviour himſelf may be thought to allude, when he tells us, that (*y*) *Hereafter ye ſhall ſee Heaven open, and the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending upon the Son of Man*; which (*z*) a learned Commentators has, in this Manner, *paraphraſed*. "Ye have heard, no doubt, *of* "*thoſe of Old*, that ſeveral Things, rela- "ting to the *Meſſias*, have beenre preſent- "ed by *Jacob*'s Ladder; and ye are to "know, that they are all now to be "accompliſh'd in me, and ſhall every Day "be more and more accompliſhed, until "the Time of my Aſſumption into Hea- "ven. Ye ſhall know, that Heaven, "which by the Sin and Corruption of "Mankind was ſhut in *Adam*, ſhall, by "my Diſpenſation and Doctrine, be "opened again; and that God, being "reconciled to the World by me, ſhall "continue in Covenant with them for "ever. Ye ſhall know, that I am that "*Ladder*, and *Way* to Heaven, by which "ye may gain Admittance to the Father; "for I am he, that unites Heaven and "Earth together, ſo that from hence- "forward the Angels ſhall continually be "paſſing from the one to the other. In "ſhort, ye ſhall know, that I am the "Lord not only of the *viſible* Creation, "but the Prince likewiſe of Angels, and "all *inviſible* Spirits, even the true God. "This, I ſay, ye ſhall henceforth more "fully

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

(*u*) Heb. i. 14.

* The *Rabbins*, having given us long *chimerical* Deſcriptions of this Ladder, will have it repreſent almoſt every Thing, that comes into their Fancies: Some pretend, that the *aſcending* Angels were thoſe, who had the Care of *Jacob* in his *going*; the *deſcending*, thoſe, whoſe Buſineſs it was to ſecure him in his *returning* from *Meſopotamia*. Another [*Jarchi* on Gen. xxxviii. 12.] is of Opinion, that God deſign'd hereby to point out the Place, where he wou'd have the Temple built one Day; and, to reconcile this Opinion to *Geography*, he affirms, that God, at this Time, tranſported to *Luz* the Hill of *Sion*, upon which the Temple at *Jeruſalem* was afterwards built. *Philo*, who certainly believ'd a *Metempſychoſis*, tells us, that the Angels which *Jacob* ſaw, are *Emblems* of Souls, whereof ſome *deſcend* to animate Bodies, whilſt others *aſcend*, having quitted the Bodies, which they once animated. St *Auſtin* will have this *Ladder* to repreſent the *Croſs* of *Chriſt*; and ſome of the *myſtical* Divines, making it an Emblem of a *contemplative* Life, do maintain, that the Angels, *aſcending* the Ladder, are thoſe *Believers*, whom they call *perfect*, as having the Faculty of cauſing their Affections to *ſoar* up to the higheſt Heavens, and that the *deſcending* repreſented thoſe mean and abject Souls, whoſe Center is the Earth, and whoſe Delight conſiſts in fleſhly Things. *Saurin*'s Diſſertations.

(*x*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. II. Exercit. 16. (*y*) John i. 51. (*z*) *Bullinger*'s Commentary.

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"fully know by my Doctrine, my Miracles, my Death, my glorious Reſurrection, and triumphant Aſcenſion into "Heaven."

THUS, according to the Declaration, which God makes from the Top of the Ladder, it ſeems reaſonable to imagine, that he might have a twofold Deſign in making this Repreſentation to *Jacob*, viz. by a proper *Type*, to prefigure the Incarnation of his Son, which, like this Ladder, joined Heaven and Earth, the divine and human Nature together; and, by a proper *Emblem* of the Angels aſcending and deſcending upon it, to give him an Evidence of the watchful Providence of God, that attended him. The former of theſe Deſigns might perhaps be a little too abſtruſe for *Jacob*'s Comprehenſion at preſent, but the latter he immediately underſtood; and therefore we find him, as ſoon as he aroſe, (out of a grateful Senſe of the divine Goodneſs in ſending him a Viſion ſo full of Conſolation) erecting, and conſecrating a Pillar, in order to perpetuate the Memory of ſo momentous an Event.

The Form and End of Jacob's *Pillar.*

IT is the Opinion of ſome *Commentators* indeed, that, to preſerve the Memory of his heavenly Viſion, *Jacob* took the Stone, whereon his Head lay, and wherein they diſcern nothing extraordinary, and ſet it up, for a Monument, or Pillar, upon the Top of ſome other Stones, which he had gather'd, and heap'd together: But, beſides that the Fancy of an Heap of Stones ſeems unworthy of the holy Scriptures, and betrays us into a low and trifling Idea of this great Affair; there is not the leaſt Ground, from the Text itſelf, nor from this *ſymbolical* Way of tranſmitting Facts to future Generations, to ſuppoſe, that there was any more, than one ſingle Stone.

From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

THE Word *Matzebah*, which our Intepreters render a *Pillar*, is by the *Septuagint* tranſlated Στήλη, by the *vulgar Latin*, *Titulus*; and from hence ſeveral, both Antients and Moderns, have ſuppos'd, that there was an *Inſcription* upon this Pillar. The Manner of *conſecrating* this Pillar was, by pouring Oil upon it, which *Jacob* might have by him, without a Miracle, (conſidering how common the Uſe of Oil was in theſe hot Countries) to refreſh the Limbs, when weary with travelling, and how neceſſary upon that Account it was, to carry ſome with him in his Journey: Nor is there any Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that *Jacob* made uſe of this Form of *Conſecration*, in Compliance with the Cuſtom of the Country, where he then was. It is uncertain whether this Cuſtom was eſtabliſh'd in *Jacob*'s Time; but, if it was, it is hardly credible, that a pious Man, as he is repreſented, wou'd have adopted a ſuperſtitious Ceremony into the Worſhip of the true God. (*a*) The much more probable Opinion therefore is, that, as the Rites of *ſacrificing* and *Circumciſion* were inſtituted before the Promulgation of the Law; ſo this manner of conſecrating Things, by Way of Unction or Libation, was at firſt enjoin'd the Patriarchs *Abraham* and *Iſaac* by God, and, either by Precept or Tradition from them, came afterwards to be practis'd by *Jacob*. Nor is it unlikely, but that *Jacob*'s Practice in this Particular, and the great Veneration, which was afterwards paid to his *monumental* Pillar, might give Occaſion * to the worſhipping ſuch erected Stones in future Ages, and (upon ſuch Abuſe) of God's ſo ſtrictly prohibiting any to be ſet up: (*b*) *Ye ſhall not make ye any Idols or graven Image, neither ſhall ye rear up any*

(*a*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Exercit.

* From *Jacob*'s pouring Oil upon the Stone of *Bethel*, did ariſe the Superſtition of the Antients for their *Betuli*, which were Stones anointed and conſecrated to the Memory of great Men after their Death. *Sanchoniatho*, or rather *Porphyry*, the Author of the Fragment, which *Euſebius* has preſerv'd, under the Name of *Sanchoniatho*, attributes the Invention of theſe *Betuli* to *Saturn*; but the beſt Account, that can be given of this abſurd Practice, is from hence; and a ſufficient Demonſtration it is, how the beſt and nobleſt Acts of Piety may be perverted, and degenerate into mere Stupidity, by a fond ſuperſtitious Imitation. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Bethel*, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 50.

(*b*) Lev. xxvi. 1.

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any Matzebah (Statue or Pillar) *to bow down unto it, for I am the Lord your God.*

In the religious Senſe of the Word then, *Matzebah* may properly ſignify a large conſecrated Stone, erected *Pillar-wiſe*, before which Proſtrations and Adorations were made, and upon which Oblations and Libations, but not any bloody Sacrifices, were preſented: But then the Queſtion is, how *Jacob* cou'd think to ſecure this Monument from being thrown down by the Natives, or Paſſengers, or how he cou'd impoſe a new Name upon it, and eſtabliſh that Name in future Ages, when the Place had a Name before, and no Perſon was preſent to bear Teſtimony of what he did. This indeed the Scripture gives us no Manner of Account of, and therefore (if we do it but *modeſtly*) we are left at Liberty to make our own Conjectures.

What it was. According to the antient *Verſions* of the Word, we may ſuppoſe, that there was upon this Stone ſome legible and intelligible Title, or Inſcription; nor is it improbable, that the Title ſhou'd be, what the Patriarch, in a ſort of Extaſy, called it, *Bethel*, or the *Houſe of God*. How *Jacob* might be provided with an Iron-pen, or *Stile*, for the Purpoſe of engraving this Title, can be no difficult Thing to imagine, if we do but conſider, that the *Stile* was the common Inſtrument of writing in thoſe Days, which every *Scholar* us'd to carry about with him, and which *Jacob*, * having led a ſtudious and contemplative Life under his Father and Grandfather, and (as ſome ſuppoſe) under *Melchiſedeck* likewiſe, was not unqualified to make uſe of; and that the very antient, if not univerſal Cuſtom of erecting, anointing, and conſecrating ſuch like Stones, with an Inſcription, either *literal*, or *hieroglyphical*, and ſometimes both, could hardly have any other Foundation, than this Practice of his. From Gen. xxviii. 10. to Ch. xxxvii.

But, beſides the bare Inſcription of the Name, and Title of the Stone, there might probably be yet ſomething more, to attract the Eyes of the Traveller, and to raiſe a Veneration for the Place. And therefore, admitting the Stone to be *ſquare*, we find that there were two Oaths, as it were, taken upon it, by the covenanting Parties, *i. e. the Oath of God to* Jacob, repeating the Subſtance of what he had ſworn to his Fathers, and limiting it to him, and his Seed; and *the Oath of* Jacob *to God*, obliging himſelf and his Poſterity, to ſuch a conſtant Homage, as is therein ſpecified; and, hereupon we may infer, that for the better Preſervation of the Memory of this great *League*, there might be written, on one Side, the *Obligation of God*, exactly in the Terms of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Verſes, and, on the *oppoſite*, the *Obligation* of *Jacob*, as expreſs'd by him in the three laſt Verſes of the 28th Chapter of *Geneſis*. And, becauſe it was neceſſary, that the Name of the Perſon who erected, and conſecrated the Stone, ſhould be preſerved; we may farther ſuppoſe, that, as God's ſigning this Covenant on his Part might be in this Form, Ani Jehovah, Elohe Abraham, Elohe Isaac, *I the Lord, the God of* Abraham, *the God of* Iſaac; by Parity of Reaſon, *Jacob*'s ſigning might run thus, Ani Jacob, Ben Isaac, Ben Abraham, *I* Jacob, *the Son of* Iſaac, *the Son of* Abraham.

On the *vacant* Sides of the Stone, we may ſuppoſe again, that the other awful Sentences, which *Jacob*, upon this Occaſion, pronounced, (*c*) *How dreadful is this Place; This is the Gate of Heaven, and verily the Lord is in this Place!* were engraven:

* That *Jacob* was a Man of Learning, and of an extraordinary Genius, is not only a general *Tradition* of the *Jews*, but ſupported likewiſe by ſome Lines in the Character, which the Pen of *Moſes* gives us of him. He had certainly great Advantages under his Father, and Grandfather, who juſtly deſerv'd a Name among the oldeſt *Oriental* Philoſophers; and therefore he is deſcrib'd, in the *Eaſtern* Stile, as a *Man dwelling in Tents*, as much as to ſay, one, who leads a philoſophical and contemplative Life, or a *Miniſter*, or Student of *the Houſe of Learning*, as the *Targums* truly interpret the Phraſe. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. I. Occaſ. Annot. 35.

(*c*) Gen. xxviii. 16, 17.

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engraven? And, becauſe a very early Cuſtom of crowning ſuch publick Pillars with *Garlands* might very likely take its Riſe from *Jacob*'s Practice at this Time, we may therefore be allow'd to make one Conjecture more, *viz.* that, as *Luz*, near which this Tranſaction happen'd, had its Name from a Grove of *Almond-trees*, not far diſtant from it; ſo *Jacob* might think it very decent, in Memory of the divine Favours there receiv'd, to crown, and adorn the Top of this *titular* Stone, with a Garland of *Almond-branches* taken from thence. All this, we allow, is no more than Suppoſition and Conjecture: But, without ſome ſuch Contrivance as this, how could this Stone have been an Inſtrument to perpetuate the Memory of any Event? How, a Means of *Jacob*'s impoſing a new Name upon a Place, that was entirely in the Poſſeſſion of others? Well might the Natives, or Proprietors aſk, by *what Authority* this was done; and, ſince *Jacob* was not there to give them an Anſwer, his only Way could be, to leave the Hiſtory, and Occaſion of it, engraven upon the *very* Stone.

AND indeed, without ſome ſuch Suppoſition, why ſhould this Stone, even by different Nations, be accounted ſuch a valuable Piece of Antiquity? Why ſhould the *Jews* be ſo fond to have it thought, that they had it in the *Sanctuary* of their *ſecond* Temple, and that upon it the *Ark of the Covenant* was plac'd? Since the Deſtruction of their Temple, why ſhould it be their Cuſtom, one Day in a Year, with great Lamentation, *to go, and anoint this Stone*, in Remembrance of their Father *Jacob*, and the Covenant made with him? And why ſhould the *Mahometans* pretend, that they have this Stone (tho', by Miſtake of one Patriarch for another, they call it *the Stone of* Abraham) ſet up at their Temple at *Mecca*, which they make their common *Kibla*, or Point of Worſhip, and before which the Pilgrims pay their ſolemn Devotions?

THESE, we allow, may be no more than falſe Pretences; but ſtill they are an Evidence, that this *Pillar* was once held in high Veneration, which it could hardly have been, but muſt very ſoon have been buried in Oblivion and Rubbiſh, had it been no more than a large ragged Stone, without any Thing to diſtinguiſh it, *i. e.* without any Sculpture, or Inſcription on it. And therefore, (notwithſtanding the Silence of Scripture) we have ſufficient Reaſon to conclude, that this Pillar was erected in order to preſerve the Remembrance of the heavenly Viſion, which God, in this Place, vouchſafed *Jacob*; that to this Purpoſe it was engraven with ſuch Inſcriptions, as might give Poſterity ſufficient Intelligence upon what Occaſion it was erected; that, by Means of ſuch Inſcriptions, it came to be recogniz'd as *Jacob*'s Pillar, and held in great Eſteem in future Generations; that this Pillar thus engraved, (as it was the firſt of its Kind, that we have upon Record) gave probably the Origin to the Invention of *Stelography*, or the antient Manner of writing upon Stone, ever after; and that the Conſecration of this Stone, and the Impoſition of a new Name upon the Place where it ſtood, is enough to juſtify the Practice of *ſanctifying* Places, appointed for religious Worſhip, by ſome ſolemn Form of *Separation*; of calling them the *Houſe of God*, and imputing to them a *relative* Holineſs; in Chriſtian Countries, of *dedicating* them to the Memory of departed *Saints* and *Martyrs*; and, every where, of obſerving that wholeſome and devout Advice of the *Preacher*: (*d*) *Keep thy Foot, when thou goeſt into the Houſe of God, and be more ready to hear, than to give the Sacrifice of Fools. Be not raſh with thy Mouth, and let not thine Heart be haſty to utter any Thing before God, for he is in Heaven, and thou upon Earth, therefore let thy Words be few.*

From Gen. xxviii. 18. to Ch. xxxvii.

(*d*) Eccleſ. v. 1, 2.

CHAP.

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From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Life of JOSEPH *, which includes the rest of* JACOB's.

The HISTORY.

Joseph *is hated by his Brethren*, and why.

JACOB had not been long with his Father, before there befel him another sad Disaster. *Joseph* was his beloved Child, as being the Son of his dear departed *Rachel*, and ‡ a Youth of a very promising and extraordinary *Genius*. As a Mark of his peculiar Love, the fond Father gave him Cloathes, richer than he did the rest, and, among others, † one Coat more especially, which was made of a *changeable*, or *party-colour'd* Stuff. This made his other Brothers envy him not a little; and, what gained him no Good-will among them, was their looking upon him as a *Spy*, because he had told his Father some Things, wherein the Sons of *Bildah* and *Zilphah* († with whom he was chiefly conversant) † had grosly misbehaved, which made

* Two Reasons are generally assigned, why *Moses* is more prolix in relating the Adventures of *Joseph*, than of any other of *Jacob*'s Children? Both because his Life is a bright Example of Piety, Chastity, Meekness, and Prudence; and because it was, by the Means of *Joseph*, that *Jacob* went down into *Egypt*: And, as his going down gave Occasion to the wonderful Departure of the Children of *Israel* from thence, so the History of the *Jews* would have been sadly imperfect, and indeed altogether unintelligible, without a longer Account, than ordinary, of *Joseph*'s Life, and Transactions there. *Heidegger*'s Hist. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 20.

‡ Most Versions, as well as ours, have made *Jacob* to love *Joseph*, because he was *the Son of his old Age*: Whereas had this been the Cause of his Affection, he must have loved *Zebulun* as much as *Joseph*, because he was of the same Age, and *Benjamin* much more, because he was above fifteen Years younger. It seems therefore, as if they had confounded the Words *Ben-Zekenim*, the *Son of Senators, or Elders* (as he is called here) with *Ben Ziknah*, the *Son of old Age*, whereas the former has a Signification quite different. According to the *Hebrew Idiom*, it signifies *the Son, or Disciple of Senators*, i. e. one endued with an extraordinary Wisdom and Prudence; accordingly the *Samaritan*, *Arabick*, and *Persian* Versions have rendered it, *because he was a wise and prudent Son*, tho' even this comes short of the *Energy* of the *Idiom*, and might more properly be rendered *because he was as wise and prudent, as a Senator*. And this justifies the Reason of *Jacob*'s extraordinary Love to *Joseph*, because 'tis natural for Parents, especially for Fathers, to admire those Children, who shew any Degree of Wisdom above their Years; whereas to be fond of a Child, begotten in one's old Age, and for no other Reason, is no more than a Piece of Dotage, which *Moses* would hardly have thought worth recording. Universal History l. 1. c. 7. and *Howell*'s History l. 1.

† The Coat, whereby *Jacob* distinguished his Son *Joseph* from the rest of his Brothers, is generally thought to signify a Garment, that was wrought with Threads of divers Colours, or made up of Pieces of Silk or Stuff, which had much Variety in them; but the Word *Passim*, which is here made use of, according to some learned *Annotators*, does properly signify a *long Garment*, down to the Heels or Ancles, with long Sleeves down to the Wrists, which had a *Border* at the Bottom, and a *Facing* (as we call it) at the Hands, of a Colour different to the Garment, which was accounted noble, as well as beautiful, in antient Times. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† He chose the Sons of his Father's Concubines, rather than those of his Wife *Leah*, to be his Companions, on purpose perhaps to avoid the ill Consequences of the latter's Envy and Emulation against him. For, 'tis not unlikely, that *Leah*'s Sons, considering the excessive Love, which their Father had for him, might be ready to suspect, that he design'd to bequeath the Right of *Primogeniture* to him, which each of them thinking they had a better Title to, might thereupon be tempted to malign, and mal treat him: Whereas among the Sons, descended from Concubines, (as having not the like Ambition) he might find better Quarter, and to their Company the rather resort, out of a Principle of Humility and Condescension, and to discountenance the haughty Behaviour of the Sons of *Leah* towards the Sons of the Concubines. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in Locum.

† The *Hebrew*, and the *Alexandrian* LXX have it, *they brought unto their Father an evil Report*, or *grievous Complaints against* Joseph, *i. e.* they begun their base and barbarous Treatment of him with Lies and Calumnies. However

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made them treat him ſo very ſurlily, that, whenever he ſpake to them, they would ſcarce give him a civil Anſwer. But, that which compleated their Envy and Reſentment, or rather turned them into an irreconcileable Hatred, was, his *innocently* telling them ſome of his Dreams, which ſeem'd to portend his Advancement in the World above them.

HE told them, that, one Night, he dreamt, that, as he, and they were binding Sheaves together in the Field, his Sheaf ſtood upright, while theirs fell proſtrate before it, as if they had been doing Obeiſance; and that, at another Time, he fancied himſelf mounted on high, and the Sun, Moon, and eleven Stars, doing him the like Homage. This raiſed the Indignation of the reſt, as thinking it a Diſparagement to have a *younger* Brother their *Superior*: Which their Father perceiving, (in Hopes of mitigating their Reſentment) * thought fit to diſcountenance him in the *Interpretation* of his Dreams, by telling him, that they were vain, and *chimerical*, and what could never come to paſs; tho', in himſelf, he could not but think, that there was ſomething extraordinary and *ominous* in them. His Brothers however, inſtead of abating their Hatred, grew, every Day, more and more exaſperated; ſo that they reſolved, at laſt, to cut him off, and only waited for a convenient Opportunity. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

IT happened, at this Time, that *Joſeph*'s ten Brethren (for *Benjamin* was, as yet, too young for any Buſineſs) were keeping their Flocks not far from *Shechem*, when their Father, not having heard from them for ſome Time, and † being not a little anxious for their Welfare, ſent *Joſeph* to find them out, and know how they did. As he drew near to *Shechem*, he was informed by a Perſon, whom he met with by Accident, that they had removed from thence, and were gone, about twenty Miles farther *North*, to a Place called † *Dothan*. Thither *Joſeph* went after them; and no ſooner did they ſee him approaching, but their old Malice revived, and immediately they reſolved to make away with this *Maſter-dreamer*, (as they called him) and ſo perſuade their Father that ſome wild Beaſt had devoured him.

THIS Reſolution, barbarous as it was, had certainly been put in Execution, † had not

Aquila, Symmachus, and the *Syriack* make *Joſeph* the Accuſer; but of what Crime it was, that he accuſed them to his Father, and whether it conſiſted in *Deeds*, or *Words* only, is a Subject that has occaſioned a great Variety of Conjectures among *Criticks* and *Commentators*. Some will have it, that *Joſeph* told of their Unkindneſs and Aſperity to him; others, of their quarrelling, and contentious Way of living. Some, of their committing *Sodomy* or *Beſtiality*; while thoſe, who confine it to *Words* only, ſuppoſe it to be paſſionate and undutiful Reflections, they might make upon their Father, for loving *Joſeph* more than themſelves. But, whatever it was, it may be gathered, from their propenſe Malice to him, that it was no ſmall Crime, becauſe that for his telling it (and which he might do with no other Intent, but only that his Father's Rebukes and Admonitions might reform them) they hated him even unto Death. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* and *Howell*'s Hiſtory.

* St *Chryſoſtom*, in his Homily upon the Place, has given us this farther Reaſon ——— "Beſides, *ſays he*, he "might think it convenient to give this calm Check to a Spirit ſo much elated, as this young Man muſt be "by thoſe great and certain Expectations, which God was pleaſed, in ſo extraordinary a Manner, to ſet be- "fore him. The Foreknowledge of all that Greatneſs and Glory, which was one Day infallibly to be his "Portion, might have put him upon a wrong *Biaſs* of Behaviour; might have tempted him to *antedate* his Su- "periority; and fail, or waver, more or leſs, in his Duty to his elder Brethren, if not to his Father himſelf: "and this ſeems to be the Meaning of *Jacob*'s mentioning his Mother, who was dead, and did not ſo well com- "port with his Dream. But, at the ſame Time that in Prudence he was willing to prevent any vain aſpiring "Conceits, or Tumours in his Son, in *Faith* he was perſuaded, that the Fact would prove ſuch, as it was "foretold."

† The Reaſon of *Jacob*'s Uneaſineſs, and of ſending his Son *Joſeph* upon this Errand, will be very obvious, if it be remembered that the Sons of *Jacob* had ſo incenſed the neighbouring Places by the Maſſacre of the *Shechemites*, that *Jacob* was obliged immediately to quit the Country, for fear of a general Inſurrection upon him, as we read Gen. xxxiv. 30.

† It was a Town about twelve Miles to the *North* of the City of *Samaria*, as *Euſebius* informs us. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I.

† He either thought himſelf moſt concerned to ſave his Brother, as being the Firſt-Born, and therefore like to be the firſt in the Blame; or he might hope, by thus piouſly and compaſſionately preſerving the Favourite *Joſeph*, to recover

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not *Reuben*, who was the eldeſt, interpoſed, and diſſuading them from imbruing their Hands in his Blood, adviſed rather to throw him into the next Pit, with a Deſign himſelf to draw him out privately, and convey him ſafe home to his Father. *Reuben*'s Advice was liked: and therefore, as ſoon as *Joſeph* came up to them, they immediately ſeized him, pulled off his fine Coat, and threw him into a Pit, which, at that Time, chanced to be dry; whereupon *Reuben* withdrew, to contrive ſome Means for reſcuing his Brother, whilſt the others (as if they had done ſome glorious Act) ſat down to eat, and drink, and regale themſelves.

Is ſold into Egypt.

In the mean Time ‖ a *Caravan* of *Iſhmaelites*, who were travelling from Mount *Gilead* into *Egypt* with Spices and other Merchandize, appeared in Sight, which put *Judah* in the Thought of taking their Brother out of the Pit, and ſelling him to theſe Merchants, which wou'd every whit anſwer their Purpoſe as well, or better. The Propoſal was no ſooner made, than it was approved: *Joſeph* was taken out of the Pit, was ſold to the Merchants, and the Merchants ſold him again to *Potiphar*, one of the King's chief Officers, and *Captain of his Guards*. *Reuben*, being abſent while this was done, came to the Pit not long after, in order to reſcue his Brother; but, finding him not there, he began to bewail and lament himſelf to ſuch a Degree, that his Brethren, to pacify his Grief, were forced to tell him, in what Manner they had diſpoſed of him; whereupon *Reuben*, finding it impoſſible now to recover him, joined with them in contriving how to manage the Matter with their Father, ſo as to take off from themſelves all Manner of Suſpicion.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

To this Purpoſe they killed a Kid, and dipping *Joſeph*'s Coat in the Blood of it, ‖ ſent it to their Father, as if they had found it in the Field, and were fearful that it was their Brother's. Their Father ſoon perceived whoſe Coat it was; and, ſuppoſing that ſome wild Beaſt or other had ſlain his Son, † he rent his Cloaths, and put

recover that Place in his Father's Affection, which he had loſt by his Inceſt with *Bilhah*, his *concubinary* Wife. The Speech, which *Joſephus* introduces him as making upon this Occaſion, is very moving, and very *rhetorical*. "It were an abominable Wickedneſs, *ſays he*, to take away the Life, even of a Stranger, but to deſtroy a Kinſman "and a Brother, and, in that Brother, a Father and a Mother too, with Grief for the Loſs of ſo good, and ſo "hopeful a Son. ——— Bethink yourſelves, if any Thing can be more diabolical. Conſider that there is an *all-* "*ſeeing* God, who will be the *Avenger*, as well as *Witneſs* of this horrid Murder. Bethink yourſelves, *I ſay*, and "repent of your barbarous Purpoſe. You muſt never expect to commit this flagitious Villany, and the divine Ven- "geance not overtake you; for God's Providence is every where, in the Wilderneſs, as well as in the City, and "the Horrors of a guilty Conſcience will purſue you wherever you go. ——— But, put the Caſe your Brother "had done you ſome Wrong; yet is it not our Duty to paſs over the Slips of our Friends? When the Simplicity of "his Youth may juſtly plead his Excuſe, his Brothers certainly, of all Men living, ſhould be his *Friends* and *Guar-* "*dians*, rather than his *Murtherers*; eſpecially when the Ground of all your Quarrel is this ——— That God loves "your Brother, and your Brother loves God. *Joſephus*, l. 2. c. 3.

‖ Tho' we name the *Iſhmaelites* only, yet here ſeem to be two, if not three Sorts of Merchants mentioned in this Paſſage, the *Iſhmaelites*, the *Midianites*, and the *Medanites* (as they are called in the *Hebrew*, Gen. xxxvii. 36.) who were a diſtinct People from the *Midianites*, as deſcended from *Medan*, one of *Abraham*'s Sons by *Keturah*, and Brother to *Midian*, Gen. xxv. 2. But as they, and the *Midianites* lived near together in *Arabia*, not far from the *Iſhmaelites*, they all joined together in this *Caravan*, and one Society of Merchants, as it is the Cuſtom, even to this Day, in thoſe *Eaſtern* Countries, for Merchants and others to travel through the *Deſarts* in large Companies, for fear of wild Beaſts or Robbers. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

‖ In one and the ſame Verſe it is ſaid, that *they* ſent *the Coat of many Colours*, *and they* brought *it to their Father*: But this ſeeming *Soleciſm* is eaſily reſolved, only by ſaying, that they *ſent* it by the Hands of Perſons, who *brought* it to their Father; or that they *ſent* it by a Meſſenger, as being afraid to be preſent at the firſt Guſt of their Father's Paſſion, and afterwards *brought*, or *produced* it, when one of them (as *Judah* is ſuppoſed to have been their *Spokeſman*) related the Tale which follows: By which Artifice they ſeem'd to give themſelves an Air of Compaſſion, ſince it was no uncommon Thing afterwards, (as in the Caſe of *Julius Cæſar*, and *Julia* his Daughter, the Wife of *Pompey*) on mournful Occaſions, to produce ſuch affecting Relicks and Remains. *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

† *Rending the Cloaths* was an *Eaſtern* Way of expreſſing either Grief for Calamity, or Horror for Sin. *Reuben* was the firſt, we read of, who, to denote his exceeding Sorrow, rent *his Cloaths*; and, as *Jacob*, we find, does the like, we may well ſuppoſe that it was an uſual Manner of expreſſing all Grief and Uneaſineſs of Mind, in thoſe Days; and,

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put on Sackcloath, and began to mourn for his Death. In vain did the reſt of his Children endeavour to comfort him; his Grief would admit of no Remedy; his Reſolution was to † lament his Loſs to the Hour of his Death; nor did he ever ceaſe this diſconſolate Way of Life, until he was told the ſurprizing News of *Joſeph*'s Advancement in *Egypt*.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

FROM the Time that *Joſeph* had Admiſſion into *Potiphar*'s Family, he ſhewed ſuch Diligence and Fidelity, and prov'd ſo ſucceſsful in every Thing he undertook, that his Maſter ſoon took Notice of him, and, in ſome Time, having made him his *Steward*, † put all his Affairs under his Management.

Is tempted and accus'd by Potiphar's *Wife.*

IN this Condition, *Joſeph* might have liv'd very happy, had it not been for an Adventure of a Nature ſomewhat ſingular. He was now in the † Bloom of his Youth, and of a Beauty and Comelineſs ſo extraordinary, that his Maſter's Wife could not forbear conceiving an *irregular* Paſſion for him. Upon ſeveral Occaſions, ſhe had given him Indications enough of her ardent Deſire to draw him into a wanton Familiarity with her, but he was *blind* to her Signs, and deaf to her ſoft Speeches; ſo that ſhe was at laſt reſolv'd to break through the Rules of her *Sex*, and court him in plain Terms. But how great was her Surprize, when, inſtead of a ready Compliance, as ſhe probably expected, ſhe found herſelf not only denied, but ſeverely reprimanded likewiſe for her diſloyal Paſſion! Being willing however to hope that another Opportunity would prove more favourable, after ſeveral fruitleſs Attempts, ſhe, at laſt, laid hold on *one*, when all the Family was abroad, and * accoſted him in ſo violent and paſſionate

by putting on Sackcloth, (which *Jacob* is here the firſt Precedent of doing, but was afterwards commonly uſed upon all mournful Occaſions) he ſeem'd to ſignify, that, ſince he had loſt his beloved Son, he look'd upon *himſelf* as reduced to the meaneſt, and loweſt Condition of Life. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* and *Howell*'s Hiſtory.

† *Jacob* expreſſes his Sorrow in theſe Words, —— *I will go down unto the Grave unto my Son.* But if, by the Grave, we are here to underſtand a Place of *Sepulture*, how could *Jacob* ſay, that he would *go down* thither to *his Son*, when he preſumes here, that he was not buried, but torn to Pieces by wild Beaſts. To ſolve this Difficulty, ſome imagine, that the Particle *El* ſhould not, in this Place, be render'd *to*, but (as it ſometimes means) *for*, or *in the ſtead of*; and ſo the Senſe is, *I will go down to the Grave*, INSTEAD OF *my Son*, who (unhappy Child as he was) had no Burial: But, ſince the Word *Scholah*, in *Greek* ἅδης, in *Latin Infernum*, ſignifies very frequently *the State of the Dead in general*, the much clearer Senſe of the Words will be, —— *I will not ceaſe mourning until I die, and be laid in my Grave. Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† The Words in the Text are, *he knew not aught he had, ſave the Bread, which he did eat*; which is one of the higheſt Expreſſions of Confidence, that we can imagine: For it ſignifies, that he was utterly careleſs about any Thing that concern'd his Eſtate, not minding what his Expence or Receipts were; but, taking his Eaſe, left all to *Joſeph*'s Honeſty. In ſhort, he thought of nothing, but only to enjoy what he had, without Care or Trouble. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† *Joſeph*, at this Time, was about ſeven and twenty Years old. For he was ſeventeen, when he was ſold to *Potiphar*, Gen. xxxvii. 2. and he was committed to Priſon immediately, upon his Non-compliance with his Miſtreſs's Temptation; where, (as far as it appears) he had not been long, before he interpreted the Dreams of the two diſgrac'd Courtiers; and, two Years after that, he was releas'd and promoted, *viz.* when he was thirty Years old: So that we may reaſonably conclude, that this Temptation befel him about three Years before his Releaſement, *i. e.* in the twenty-ſeventh Year of his Age. At this Time, it is ſuppoſable, that he was a comely Perſon enough, and the Saying is, that *honeſta Forma muta Commendatio eſt*; but the Stories, relating to his exceſſive Beauty, as they are recorded by the *Talmudiſts*, are ridiculous, and not much better, than what *Mahomet*, in his Hiſtory of the Patriarch tells us, *viz.* That his Miſtreſs, having invited the Ladies of the Town to a ſplendid Entertainment, order'd *Joſeph* to be call'd for, but that, as ſoon as he appear'd, they were amaz'd at his Beauty, and ſo confounded, that they knew not what they did, but inſtead of eating their Meat, they eat their Fingers, and ſaid among themſelves, *this is not a Man, but an Angel. Bibliotheca Bib.* in *Locum*, and *Alcboran*, Chap. of *Joſeph*.

* *Joſephus* tells us, that *Potiphar*'s Wife took the Opportunity of a certain *Feſtival*, when all the People were gone a *Merry-making*, to tempt *Joſeph*; that, feigning herſelf ſick, ſhe decoy'd him, by that Means, into her Apartment, and then addreſs'd herſelf to him in Words to this Effect. " It had been much better for you, *ſays ſhe*, had you " complied with my firſt Requeſt; if, for no other Conſideration, in Regard, at leaſt, to the Dignity of the Perſon " who is become your Petitioner, and to the Exceſs of my Paſſion. Beſides, it would have ſav'd me the Shame of " condeſcending to ſome Words and Expreſſions, which I am ſtill out of Countenance, when I think of. —— " You might perhaps make ſome Doubt before, whether I was in earneſt; but this is to ſatisfy you, that I mean no " Ill by my perſiſting in the ſame Mind. Take therefore your Choice now, whether you will improve this Op-

" portunity

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ſionate a Manner, that ſhe would not hear any farther Denial. In vain it was for him * to expoſtulate the Heinouſneſs of the Crime: Her Appetite was eager, and impatient; and therefore ſhe caught him by the Cloak, and preſs'd him to lie with her; and he, having no other Way to eſcape, left his Cloak in her Hand, and fled.

WHETHER it was that ſhe fear'd, by his Manner and Behaviour, that he might accuſe her to her Huſband, or that ſhe was enraged at the Slight put upon her profer'd Love; but ſo it was, that ſhe reſolv'd his immediate Ruin: And, accordingly, ſhe began with * ſetting up a moſt horrid *Outcry*, which immediately brought in all, that were within hearing, and then ſhewing them *Joſeph*'s Cloak, (which ſhe pretended he put off in order to lie with her) ſhe told them, that he had made ſo furious an Attempt upon her Virtue, that nothing but her loud Cries could have ſav'd her.

BY the Time that her Huſband came home, * ſhe had dreſs'd up her Story ſo well, and expreſs'd the pretended Indignity put upon her with ſuch an Air of Reſentment, that her *credulous* Huſband, little ſuſpecting his Wife's *Treachery*, was ſo prepoſſeſs'd with the Circumſtance of the Cloak, that, without any farther Enquiry, † he hurried poor *Joſeph* away, and clapp'd him up in the King's Priſon: Where we

" portunity of a preſent Satisfaction, in the Embraces of a Creature, that loves you dearly, and from whom you " may expect ſtill greater Things; or ſtand the Shock of my Hatred and Revenge, if you will preſume to value your- " ſelf upon the vain Conceit of your Chaſtity, more than my Favour, &c.". Antiq. l. 2. c. 4.

* *Joſephus*, however brings in his *Name-ſake* expoſtulating the Matter with his Miſtreſs, and reminding her of her Duty to herſelf, and her Huſband, to Piety, and common Fame. " What ſignifies, *ſays he*, a *momentary* Pleaſure, " with a certain Repentance immediately to enſue; an Heavineſs of Heart for a Thing once done, and an utter Im- " poſſibility of recalling and undoing it, together with perpetual Fears of Diſcovery and Diſgrace? What does all " this ſignify, *I ſay*, in Ballance of the moſt ſubſtantial Comforts, and the moſt neceſſary Duties of human Life? " Whereas in a *conjugal* State, the ſelf ſame Delights are all free, ſafe, innocent, and warrantable both before God " and Man. Conſider again how it would leſſen your Authority, to make your Servant your Equal by a ſhameful " Participation in one common Crime; and, pray, is it not better to truſt to a good Conſcience, that fears no Light, " than to commit Wickedneſs in the Dark, and then live all your Days in a reſtleſs Dread of being detected? &c." Antiq. ibid.

* There is ſomething not unlike this revengeful Artifice in *Potiphar*'s Wife, in the Repreſentation, which the Poet makes of *Phædra*, when, in an Affair of the like Nature, ſhe finds herſelf rejected by her Son-in Law *Hippolytus*.

Regeremus ipſæ crimen, atque ultro impiam
Venerem arguamus, &c.
Adeſte, *Athenæ*, fida famulorum manus,
Per opem, &c.
——————— En præceps abiit,
Enſemque trepidâ liquit attonitus fugâ,
Pignus tenemus ſceleris, &c. Senec. Hip.

* Upon *Potiphar*'s coming home, *Joſephus* makes his Wife break out into theſe Words: " You'll never deſerve " to live, *Huſband*, unleſs you make an Example of that perfidious Wretch, your Man. He has forgotten what he " was, when you took him into your Houſe, how kindly and reſpectfully he has been treated here, to a Degree " beyond his very Hope, as well as his Deſert. The Charge of your whole Family is commited to him, the Com- " mand of the reſt of your Servants, and the Truſt of all you have. What will you think of this Fellow now, " who, in Requital of all your Bounty, and good Offices, could have the Impudence to attempt the Violation of " your Bed, and to take the Opportunity of this *Feſtival* Day, when you were out of the Way, to break in upon my " Privacy, and preſs the Enjoyment of his beaſtly Ends. You have made him, in effect, Maſter of all Things un- " der your Roof; and would nothing ſerve him, but he muſt have your Wife likewiſe? Here's the ungrateful " Villain's Cloak, which, in his Fright, he left behind him, when I cried out, as he was going to *force* me." Antiq. l. 2. c. 4.

† 'Tis ſomewhat wonderful, that, if *Potiphar* believ'd his Wife's Story, he did not immediately put him to Death; but there is one Thing, which might check the Violence of his Paſſion, and that was, the great Opinion, he had, for ſome Time, been confirm'd in, of *Joſeph*'s Virtue and Integrity. *Joſeph*, he ſaw, was young and beautiful, and therefore he might think it a Thing not impoſſible for a Lady of Diſtinction to be in Love with him, and upon a Diſappointment to be exaſperated: As therefore he would not inflict any *capital*, or corporal Puniſhment on him, ſo he thought it prudent to hurry him away to Priſon unheard, leſt, being allow'd to ſpeak in his own Vindication, he might clear himſelf, and thereby bring Diſcredit upon his Family. It muſt not be denied however (what St *Chry-*

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we ſhall leave him for a while, to take a View of what paſs'd in his Father's Family.

Thamar's *Stratagem againſt her Father-in-law,* Judah.

† BEFORE the Time, that *Joſeph* was ſold into *Egypt*, *Judah*, his Father's Son by *Leah*, had married † a *Canaanitiſh* Woman, named *Shuah*, by whom he had three Sons, *Er*, *Onan*, and *Shelah*. *Er* being cut off for his Wickedneſs, before he had any Children by his Wife *Thamar*, *Judah* order'd his ſecond Son *Onan*, (according to the Cuſtom of the Country) to marry her, and † to raiſe a Poſterity to his Brother. *Onan* ſeemingly obey'd his Father, but not brooking the Thoughts, that any of his Children ſhould inherit his Brother's Name who was dead, he took ſuch a wicked and *unnatural* Way to prevent having any, that God was provok'd to puniſh him with ſudden Death likewiſe. His third Son *Shelah* was not yet fit for Marriage; and therefore *Judah* deſir'd his Daughter-in-law to retire to her Father's Houſe, and there live a *Widow*, until he became *adult*, and then he would make him her Huſband. *Thamar* did ſo, and waited till *Shelah* was come to Man's Eſtate; but finding no Performance of *Judah*'s Promiſe, (as indeed he never heartily intended any) ſhe was reſolv'd to make herſelf amends ſome other Way, which ſhe did by the following *Stratagem*.

JUDAH had lately buried his Wife; and, as ſoon as the uſual Days of Mourning were over, he took a particular Friend with him, and went to *Timnah*, to divert himſelf a little at the *Shearing-Feaſt*. *Thamar* had Intelligence of this; and therefore, putting off her Widow's Weed, and dreſſing herſelf like a *Courtezan*, ſhe threw a Veil over her Face, and planted herſelf between two Ways, where ſhe knew her Father-in-law, in his Way to *Timnah*, was obliged to paſs.

JUDAH no ſooner ſaw her, but, taking her to be what ſhe appear'd, he began to make his Addreſſes to her. What ſhe inſiſted on was only a Reward for her Compliance, which he readily agreed to, and promiſed to ſend her a *Kid:* but ſhe, having a farther Deſign upon him, demanded a Pledge for the Performance of his Promiſe, which was his *Signet*, his *Bracelet*, and his Staff; and ſo being agreed, they went together, had their Enjoyment, and ſhe proved with Child.

JUDAH,

ſoſtom has obſerv'd) that here again was a ſpecial, and, as it were, a miraculous Intervention of the divine Power, which preſerv'd his Life, as it did before, when he was caſt into the Pit. The *ſuperior* Influence, which *ſoften'd* the *Heart* of *Reuben*, *reſtrain'd* the *Hand* of *Potiphar*, in order to make our *Patriarch* a more glorious Example, and to compleat theſe Events, in the Courſe of his Life, which God had predetermin'd and foretold. *Chryſ.* Hom. in Locum.

† Tho' the latter Part of *Jacob*'s Story, relating to the *Inceſt* with his Daughter *Thamar*, was acted after *Joſeph* was ſold, and while he was in *Egypt*; yet the former Part of it, relating to his *Marriage*, and the Birth of his three Sons, muſt needs fall out before *Joſeph* was ſold. For, ſince there were but two and twenty, or, at the moſt, but three and twenty Years between *Joſeph*'s being ſold into *Egypt*, and *Jacob*'s going down thither, it cou'd no ways be, that, in ſo ſhort a Space of Time, *Judah* cou'd marry a Wife; have three Sons at three ſeveral Times by her; marry two of her Sons ſucceſſively to one Woman; defer the Marriage of the third Son, to the ſame Woman, beyond the due Time; afterwards, himſelf have Sons by the ſame Woman his Daughter-in-law; and one of theſe Sons, *Pharez*, beget two Sons, *Hezron*, and *Hamul*, Gen. xlvi. 12. It can no ways be, I ſay, that all theſe Tranſactions ſhould be compris'd in ſo ſhort a Time. And therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that the Buſineſs of his being married, and having Children, was *prior* to *Joſeph*'s being ſold; but that *Moſes*, not willing to intermingle the Story of the two Brothers too much, brings all he had to ſay concerning *Judah* into the Compaſs of one *Chapter*, and ſo concludes his Adventures, before he proceeds to thoſe of *Joſeph*. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, l. 1. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7. and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† It was not ſo bad for a Man *circumcis'd* to marry the Daughter of one *uncircumcis'd*, as it was for an *Iſraelite* to give a Daughter in Marriage to an uncircumcis'd Huſband, *Gen.* xxxiv. 14. For an uncircumcis'd Man was accounted *unclean*, tho' he had renounc'd Idolatry; but a Woman, born of uncircumcis'd Parents, if ſhe embrac'd the Worſhip of the true God, was not ſo accounted. And ſuch an one, we may ſuppoſe *Judah*'s Wife to have been; otherwiſe, he had offended his Father, as much as *Eſau* did *Iſaac* by marrying the *Daughter of* Heth. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† This is the firſt Mention we have of this Cuſtom, which nevertheleſs ſeems to have been a very common one, and well underſtood even by young *Onan*; for he knew, that the firſt-born Child was not to be accounted *his*, but his deceas'd Brother's, was to be call'd by his Name, and inherit his Eſtate. For this, ſay the *Hebrew Doctors*, was an antient Cuſtom, in Force before the Law of *Moſes*, that, when a Man died without Iſſue, his Brother ſhould marry his Wife, and that the firſt Son, upon ſuch Marriage, was to be reputed her deceas'd Huſband's Heir. *Patrick*'s, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

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JUDAH, according to his Promiſe, ſent by his Friend *Hirah* (for that was his Name) a Kid to redeem his Pledge; but when *Hirah* came to the Place, the Woman was gone, nor could he find, upon his beſt Enquiry, that any ſuch Perſon, as he deſcribed, had ever been there: So that *Judah*, when he told him his ill Succeſs, thought it the wiſeſt Way to let her go off with the Pledges, rather than run the Hazard of his Reputation, by making any farther Search.

About three Months after this, Word was brought him, that his Daughter-in-law had played the Harlot, and was certainly with Child. *Judah*, tho' glad perhaps at the News, becauſe her Death would free him from the Promiſe of giving his Son *Shelah* to her, pretended however to be highly enrag'd at her Incontinency, and, ordering her to be brought forth, † condemn'd her to be burnt, according to the Laws of the Country. *Thamar*, inſtead of being ſurpriz'd at this dreadful Sentence pronounced againſt her, only ſent the Pledges to *Judah*, with this Meſſage, That the Owner of theſe Things was the Perſon, by whom ſhe was with Child: Whereupon, ſtruck with Confuſion, and reflecting on the Injury, he had done her, in withholding his Son, he acknowledg'd her † leſs culpable in the whole Affair than himſelf, and, from that Moment, took her home to his Houſe, but had never any more Communion with her. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

When the Time of her Delivery was come, ſhe was brought-to-bed of *Twins*, but the Manner of their Birth was ſomewhat ſurprizing: For, tho' one of them put forth his Hand, about which the Midwife tied a ſcarlet Thread, to diſtinguiſh him for the Firſt-born; yet, as he withdrew it, his Brother got before him, and ſo came firſt into the World; which occaſioned his Name to be *Phares*, i. e. one *breaking forth*, as the other with the Thread on his Hand, was called *Zarah*.

To return to *Joſeph*. He had not been long in Priſon, before his virtuous and obliging Deportment gained him the Favour of the Keeper, inſomuch that he was intruſted with the Management of the Affairs belonging to the Priſon, and with the Cuſtody of the Priſoners themſelves.

Joſeph interprets the Dreams of the King's Cup-bearer.

At this Time there were two Perſons of Note, the King's Cup-bearer, and his chief Baker, for ſome Offence or other committed to the ſame Priſon, where *Joſeph* was; and, by the *Head-keeper*, entruſted to his Care and Attendance. To this purpoſe *Joſeph* coming to their Apartment one Morning, and finding them both penſive and melancholy upon the Account of a *Dream*, which each of them

† Among *Eaſtern* Nations, as well as elſewhere, Women, who were guilty of Adultery, were more ſeverely puniſh'd, than the Men: Whether it was, that the Injury done the Huſband was reputed to be more heinous, or that the Men, having the Power of making Laws, took care to enact them in Favour of themſelves. Thus God is ſaid, *for the Hardneſs of their Hearts*, to have indulg'd the *Jews* in the Matter of *divorcing* their Wives; but the Wives had not the like Privilege over their Huſbands. In many Places a Man might have as many Wives as he could maintain; but the Women were to be content with one Huſband: And, in like Manner, here *Judah*, we find, condemns *Thamar*, tho' a Widow for her Crime, to be burnt; whilſt himſelf, in the ſame State of Widowhood, thought Fornication a very pardonable Crime. It is queſtion'd however, by what Right and Authority he could paſs this Sentence upon her: And, to anſwer this, it is ſuppos'd, that every Maſter was Judge and chief Magiſtrate in his own Family; and that therefore *Thamar*, tho' ſhe was a *Canaanite*, yet being married into *Judah*'s Family, and having brought Diſgrace upon it, was properly under his Cognizance. His Cognizance however (according to the Opinion of ſome) did not extend ſo far, as to have her burnt *at the Stake*, (as we call it) but only *branded* in the *Forehead* for a Whore; tho' others deny, that his Authority extended even ſo far: For, being in a ſtrange Place, it can hardly be thought, that the Power of Life and Death, or indeed of any other Penalty, was lodg'd in him: And therefore they think, that the Words mean no more than this, ——— That ſhe ſhould be brought before a Court of *Judicature*, and ſentenc'd according to the Laws of the Country. *Selden* de Jure Nat. l. 7. c. 5. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Howell*'s Univerſal Hiſtory.

† The Words in the Text are, *She hath been more righteous, than I:* Not more *virtuous* or *chaſte*, for ſhe knowingly committed Adultery and Inceſt, when he deſignedly did neither; but more *juſt*, in that he, by with-holding *Shelah* from her, had provok'd her to lay this Trap for him. So that, tho' *Thamar* was wickeder in the Sight of God, yet ſhe may be ſaid to be juſter before *Judah*, or to have done no more, in drawing him into this *Scrape*, than what he juſtly deſerv'd. *Pool*'s Annotations.

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them had had the Night before, and under more Concern ſtill, becauſe, in that Place, they could have no Perſon to interpret for them; to allay their *ſuperſtitious* Humour in truſting to *Diviners* and *Soothſayers*, he told them, in the firſt Place, that the *Interpretation* of Dreams did not depend upon Rules of Art, but, if there were any Certainty in it, muſt proceed from a *divine Inſpiration*, and then deſir'd to know what it was, that they dreamt.

THE *Cup-bearer* began, and told him, ——That, in his Sleep he fancied he ſaw a Vine, with three Branches, which, all on a ſudden, *budded*, then *bloſſom'd*, and ſo bore ripe Grapes; and that he had in his Hand the King's Cup, into which having ſqueez'd the Juice of the Grapes, he gave it to the King, and the King drank it from his Hand as uſual. To this *Joſeph* replied, that, as the three Branches denoted three Days, it would not exceed the Compaſs of that Time, before the King, ‡ having made an Enquiry into the Conduct of his Servants, would reſtore him to his Favour, and his *Poſt* again. Only he deſir'd, that, if his Interpretation prov'd true, he would, in his Proſperity, † be pleaſed to remember him, and to recommend his Caſe to the King; ſince the Truth was, that he had been fraudulently taken † from his own Country, and caſt into Priſon without any Fault or Offence of his.

Of his chief Baker.

† HEARING ſo happy an Interpretation of this Dream, the *Baker* was the readier to propoſe his, which was to this Effect. —— That, while, *as he thought*, he had on his Head three *Wicker-Baſkets*, in the uppermoſt of which were ſeveral Kinds of baked Meats for the King's Table, the Birds came, and eat them out of the Baſket. To which *Joſeph* immediately replied,

‡ The Expreſſion, which *Joſeph* here makes uſe of concerning the King's Cup-bearer and Butler, *Pharaoh ſhall lift up thy Head*, ſeems ſomewhat too literally tranſlated, ſince the Words in the Original mean no more, than that *Pharaoh* would have them brought forth and examin'd. The Antients, we are to know, in keeping their Reckonings or Accounts of Time, or their Liſt of domeſtick Officers or Servants, made uſe of Tables with Holes bored in them, in which they put a Sort of Pegs, or Nails with broad Heads, exhibiting the Particulars, either Number, or Name, or whatever it was. Theſe Nails or Pegs the *Jews* call *Heads*, and the Sockets of the Heads they call *Bajes*. The Meaning therefore of *Pharaoh's lifting up his Head* is, that *Pharaoh* would take out the Peg, which had the Cup-bearer's Name on the Top of it, to read it; *i. e.* would ſit in Judgment, and make Examination into his Accounts. For it ſeems very probable, that both he, and the Baker had been either ſuſpected or accuſed of having cheated the King, and that, when their Accounts were examin'd and caſt up, the one was acquitted, while the other was found guilty. And tho' *Joſeph* uſes the ſame Expreſſion in both Caſes, yet we may obſerve, that, ſpeaking to the Baker, he adds, that *Pharaoh ſhall lift up thy Head from off thee*, i. e. ſhall order thy Name to be ſtruck out of the Liſt of his Servants, by taking thy Peg out of the Socket. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum.*

† There is nothing of a Diſtruſt of God's Goodneſs, Juſtice, or Power, in making uſe of human Means. The Releaſe of the King's Cup-bearer appear'd to *Joſeph* to be a good Opportunity, pointed out by Providence, for him to lay hold on, and wanting he would have been to his own Preſervation, had he not employed it. Though therefore it may be thought, that his aſking this Court-Officer to repreſent his Caſe to the King, might be in Reward or Compenſation for his Prediction; yet even herein he may be juſtified by *apoſtolical* Authority, which, in Caſes of this Nature, inſtructs, (1 Cor. ix. 4. and Gal. vi. 6.) that temporal Advantages may very lawfully be both aſk'd, and receiv'd. In the Cup-bearer's *not remembering* him however, we may obſerve ſomething, that ſeems providentially to have turn'd to his Advantage, ſince, had he been diſcharg'd before *Pharaoh's* Dream, he might many Ways have miſs'd of that prodigious Favour and Advancement, which, by this Means, he attain'd. *Bibliothea Bibl.* in *Locum.*

† The Words in the Text are, *from the Land of the* Hebrews, which ſome Men ſuppoſe were added by *Joſhua*, or ſome other Writer, after the Death of *Moſes*; becauſe, in *Moſes's* Days, and much more in *Joſhua's*, *Canaan* was not known by that Name. It is not the whole Land of *Canaan* however, that *Joſeph* here means, but only that Part of it, which lay about *Hebron*, where *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, had, for a long while liv'd, *Gen.* xxii. 1, 2. xxxv. 27. xxxvii. 14. 'Tis ſaid indeed, that they were *Strangers* and *Sojourners* in the Country, but then they were Strangers of great Note and high Renown, who were treated as Princes, liv'd by their own Laws, and made Leagues not only with private Men, but with Cities, and with Kings, *Gen.* xxiii. 6. xxi. 22. xxvi. 28. xxxiv. 6. The Fame of whoſe Deeds could not but be ſpread abroad, both by the Victory, which *Abraham* got in a Battle over ſeveral Kings, and by the ſacking of *Shechem*, which their Neighbours durſt not revenge; all which might very well make that Part of the Country, wherein they, for three Generations, had reſided, not improperly be call'd the *Land of the* Hebrews. *Patrick's* Commentary.

† As fluſh as the chief Baker was with Hopes, there is this obvious *Difference* between his, and the Cup-bearer's *Preſage*, viz. that he was not an Agent, but a Sufferer in his Dream; for he did not give a Cake, or a Confection to the King, as the other did the Cup, but the Fowls of the Air deſcended upon his Baſket, and fled off with the Dainties that were in it. *Patrick's* Commentary.

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plied, that the three *Baſkets* (even as the three *Branches* had done) ſignify'd three Days; but that, in the Space of that Time, the King, having made Scrutiny into his Behaviour, and found him guilty, would order him to be hanged upon a Gibbet, for the Fowls of the Air to devour his Fleſh. And as *Joſeph* foretold, ſo it came to paſs: For, three Days after this, the *Cup-bearer* was reſtor'd, and the *Baker* hanged. The *Cup-bearer* however, when himſelf had got into Proſperity again, thought little of *Joſeph*, till, in about two Years after this, an Accident happen'd, which forc'd him, in a Manner, to call him to Remembrance.

And thoſe of the King himſelf.

THE King, his Maſter, had, in one Night, two very portentous Dreams, which gave him the more Uneaſineſs, becauſe none of the * *Egyptian Magi* could give him the leaſt Light into their Meaning. Seeing the King therefore in this Perplexity, the Cup-bearer could not forbear telling him, —— That, while he, and the chief Baker were under his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure in Priſon, each of them, in the ſame Night, had a Dream, which a young Man, an *Hebrew*, then in Priſon with them, interpreted exactly, and as the Event happened; and that, in his Opinion, he had a Talent that Way much ſuperior to any, that had hitherto been conſulted.

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PLEASED with this Diſcovery, and eager to have his Dream explain'd, the King gave Orders immediately for *Joſeph* to be ſent for; who, after he had ſhaved, and dreſſed himſelf, was introduced into his Preſence; where he had not been long, before the King related his Dreams to him. "*viz.* That, as he was walking on the "Banks of the River *Nile*, *as he thought*, "he ſaw ſeven *fat* Kine, which fed in "the Meadows. And ſoon after that, "ſeven others, exceeding *lean*, and fright-"ful to behold, which came, and eat up "the *fat* ones, and yet looked not a Bit "the better; and that, after this, he "dreamt again, and fancied that he ſaw "*ſeven* full Ears of Corn, proceeding all "from the ſame Stalk, which were, in "like Manner, devour'd by ſeven others, "that were blaſted and wither'd."

As ſoon as the King had ended, *Joſeph*, giving him firſt to underſtand, that it was † by the Aſſiſtance of God alone, that he was enabled to be an Interpreter of Dreams, told him, that the *ſeven Kine*, and *ſeven Ears* of Corn, ſignified the ſame Thing, and the Repetition of the Dream only denoted the Certainty of the Event; that, therefore, as the *lean* Kine ſeem'd to eat up the *fat*, and the *wither'd* Ears to conſume the full and flouriſhing; ſo, after ſeven Years of great Plenty, other ſeven Years of extreme Famine ſhould ſucceed,

* The *Chaldeans* of old were the moſt famous People in the World for Divination of all Kinds; and therefore 'tis very probable, that the Word *Hhartoumim*, which we render *Magicians*, is not of *Hebrew*, but *Chaldee* Origin. The Roots however, from whence it ſprings (if it be a compound Word, as probably it is) are not ſo viſible; and therefore Commentators are perplex'd to know by what Method, Men of this Profeſſion proceeded in their Enquiry into ſecret Things, whether they pretended to expound Dreams, and deſcry future Events, by natural Obſervations, by the Art of Aſtrology, (which came much in Requeſt in future Ages) by ſuch Rules, as are now found in the Books of *Oneirocriticks*, or by certain Characters, Images, Pictures, and Figures, which were engrav'd with magical Rites and Ceremonies. It is not to be doubted indeed, but that the *Magicians*, whom *Pharaoh* conſulted for the Interpretation of his Dreams, made uſe of ſome at leaſt, if not all theſe Arts; and the *Jewiſh* Doctors would make us believe, that, after ſeveral Attempts of divers Kinds, they came at laſt to this Expoſition, that *Pharaoh*'s Daughters (for they ſuppoſe him to have ſeven) ſhould die, and that he ſhould have ſeven others born to him in their Stead; but this being not at all ſatisfactory to their Maſter, put the Cup-bearer in Mind of *Joſeph*'s great Abilities that Way. *Le Clerc*'s, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The Words, wherein *Joſeph* prefaces his Interpretation of *Pharaoh*'s Dreams, are much of the ſame Kind with what we find *Daniel* addreſſing *Nebuchadnezzar* upon the like Occaſion: *The Secret, which the King hath demanded, cannot the wiſe Men, the Aſtrologers, the Magicians, the Soothſayers ſhew unto the King; but there is a God in Heaven, who revealeth Secrets, and maketh known unto the King, what ſhall be in the latter Days*, Dan. ii. 27, 28. Both theſe holy Men inſinuate, that the Intereſts of Princes are more eſpecially the Care of divine Providence, and that therefore, for their Admonition, he frequently ſends Dreams and Viſions upon them. And this Declaration, previous to the Expoſition, was perfectly proper, and of mighty Force to beſpeak the King's Attention and Regard, at the ſame Time that *Joſeph* was aſſerting the Being and Interpoſition of Almighty God, in the Guidance of human Affairs. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

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ſucceed, which would lay waſte all the Country, and leave no Signs of the former Plenty: And therefore, ſince it had pleaſed God thus to inform the King what Seaſons he intended to bring upon the Earth, he hop'd he would make a right Uſe of the Information, by appointing a wiſe and prudent Man over his whole Kingdom, who ſhou'd take care to build Granaries, and appoint Officers under him in every Province, who ſhou'd collect, and lay up † a *fifth* Part of each *plentiful* Year's Product, againſt the ſucceeding Years of *Famine*.

Whereupon he is made Vice-Roy, *or Prime-Miniſter.*

† THIS Interpretation, and the good Advice given upon it, made the King conceive ſo great an Opinion of *Joſeph*'s Wiſdom, that he thought no one cou'd be ſo fit to manage the Office of collecting the Corn, in the Years of Plenty, as he, who had ſuggeſted a Scheme ſo very beneficial. He therefore, in a ſhort Time, made him his *Deputy* over the Land of *Egypt*, and to that Purpoſe, inveſted him with the uſual *Enſigns* of that high Station. Gave him his own Signet from off his Finger; caus'd him to be cloath'd in a Robe of fine Linnen, and put a golden Chain about his Neck; order'd him to ride in a Chariot next to his own; and wherever he went, Heralds to go before, and, in Token that the *Viceroy* was coming, to proclaim to the People, † *bow the Knee*. Nor was this all: For, to attach him ſtill cloſer to his Service, and make him forget the very Thoughts of ever returning to his own Country, † he chang'd his Name to that of *Zaphnah-paaneah*, which ſignifies

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

† Since there were to be as many Years of Scarceneſs, as of Plenty, ſome have made it a Queſtion, why *Joſeph* advis'd no more than a *fifth Part* of the Corn, in plentiful Years, to be laid up: But to this it may be replied, that the greater and richer Sort were us'd, in Time of Plenty, to fill their Store-houſes with Proviſion, againſt a ſcarcer Year, which ſometimes happen'd; that, in the Times of Famine, Men were wont to live more frugally and parcimoniouſly, as the *Egyptians*, at this Time, according to *Joſephus*, were oblig'd to do by *Pharaoh*'s ſpecial Command; that, even in the Year of Famine, Tillage went on, and the Harveſt might be ſomething, (tho' not mention'd, by reaſon that the Product was comparatively inconſiderable) eſpecially in the Lands lying near the *Nile*; and that as the tenth Part was an ordinary Tribute due to the Kings of *Egypt*, in the Years of extraordinary Plenty (when the *fifth* was no more than the *tenth* in other Years) *Pharaoh* might think it proper to double this Charge, or (what is rather to be ſuppos'd from a good King and a good Counſellor) to buy as much more, as was his Tribute, which he might do at an eaſy Rate, when ſuch a vaſt Plenty made Corn extremely cheap. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Here we may obſerve again, that *Joſeph* directs *Pharaoh* to look up to God, as the Author of all theſe Events, and that not in an ordinary, but extraordinary Manner, ſince ſuch Fertility, and ſuch Famine, did not proceed from mere natural Cauſes, but from an over-ruling Providence, which made the River *Nile* overflow its Banks ſo largely for ſeven Years together, and ſo occaſion a great Plenty; and then, for the next ſeven Years, overflow very little, if at all, and ſo produce a very ſore and long Famine. Nor can it be objected to *Joſeph*, that he was guilty of Preſumption or Boldneſs, in giving his Advice to *Pharaoh*, concerning the Proviſion that was to be made againſt the enſuing Scarceneſs, ſince he was conſcious to himſelf, that he was beſt able to give ſuch Advice, and would have been guilty of the Sin of Omiſſion, had he neglected to do it, in ſo great and ſo general a Concern. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† *Annotators* are much at a loſs to determine of what *Original* the Word *Abrech* is, ſome pretending that it is altogether *Hebrew*, while others make it a Compound of *Hebrew* and *Syriack*, and others contend, at the ſame Time, that it is purely *Egyptian*. Thoſe, who pretend that it is *Hebrew*, beſides the Signification of *bowing the Knee*, (which it very well bears) by dividing it into two Words, make it import a *tender Father*, and ſuppoſe, that *Joſeph* might very properly be call'd a *Father*, in Point of his conſummate Wiſdom, and young or *tender*, in Regard to his Years. Thoſe, who make it a Mixture of *Hebrew* and *Syriack*, divide it, in like Manner, into two Words, and ſuppoſe, that, as *Ab*, in the *Hebrew*, is *Father*, ſo *rech* or *rach*, in the *Syrian* Tongue, is *King*, in the ſame Senſe, that *Joſeph* ſays of himſelf, and (perhaps with Alluſion to this very Name) *God has made me a Father unto* Pharaoh, *Gen.* xlv. 8. i. e. in giving him wholeſome Counſel, even as a Father does his Children: But thoſe, who contend for its being purely *Egyptian*, do freely confeſs, that, at this Diſtance of Time, and under ſuch *Obſoleteneſs* of that Language, 'tis next to impoſſible to find out the genuine Signification of an *honorary* Term, (as this very probably was) and therefore they obſerve, that, as the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian makes no Mention of this Circumſtance in *Joſeph*'s Story, he might be induc'd to that Omiſſion, by reaſon of his not underſtanding this Word of *exotick* Growth. In this Uncertainty of Opinions therefore, we have thought it the beſt Way to follow that Tranſlation, which ſome of the beſt *Hebrew* Interpreters, the *Septuagint*, and *Vulgat* Verſions, have approv'd. *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 20.

† It was an antient Cuſtom among *Eaſtern* Princes, upon their Promotion of any Favourite, to give him a new Name. *Nebuchadnezzar*, we read, *Dan.* i. 7. impos'd new Names upon *Daniel*, and his Companions in *Babylon*; and, to this very Day, the *Mogul* never advances a Man, but he gives him a new Name, and that ſignificative of ſomething

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fies a *Prime-minister*, and match'd him into a noble Family, to *Asenah*, the Daughter of † *Potipherah*, Priest, or Prince of *On*; by whom he had two Sons, the former of which he call'd *Manasseh*, intimating, that God had made him forget all his Toils; and the other *Ephraim*, because he had made him fruitful in the Land of his Affliction.

His wise Management.

In the mean Time, *Joseph* being now about thirty Years old, when he was rais'd to this Height of Power, took a Progress through the whole Kingdom; built Granaries, appointed proper Officers in every Place, and, in short, order'd all Things with such Prudence and Application, that, before the seven Years of Plenty were expir'd, he had amass'd together an immense Quantity of Corn, enough to supply both *Egypt* and the neighbouring Countries; so that when the Years of Famine came on, and the People apply'd themselves to *Pharaoh*, he remitted them to *Joseph*, who, when he saw it fit, open'd his Stores, and sold Provision to all that came.

In the second Year of the Famine, *Jacob*, who was not exempt from the common Calamity, hearing that there was Corn to be bought in *Egypt*, sent ten of his Sons thither to buy some; who, upon their Arrival, were directed to apply to *Joseph* for an Order, and, as soon as they saw him, prostrated themselves before him, and begg'd that they might be supply'd with Corn.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

And Treatment of his Brethren, when they came to buy Corn.

JOSEPH, at first Sight, knew his Brethren, but, being minded to terrify them a little, would not, as yet, discover himself to them; and therefore, chusing to speak by an Interpreter, with a severe Look and angry Tone, he ask'd them, whence they came, and, upon their answering, from the Land of *Canaan*, he charg'd them with being * *Spies*, who were come to discover the Weakness of the Country. To which they replying, that they came with no other Intent, than purely to buy Corn for their numerous Family, being all the † Sons of one Man, who once indeed had twelve, but that the youngest was left at home, and the next to him dead; he immediately catch'd at their Words, and put their Honesty upon this Probation: —— That, since, *as they said*, they

something belonging to him: But here the Question is, what the Meaning of the Name, which *Pharaoh* gave *Joseph*, is? In the *Hebrew* Text it is *Zaphnah paaneah*, but, in the *Egyptian* and *Greek Pentateuch*, it is *Pson-thon-phanech*. The oriental Versions however, are pretty unanimous in rendering it, *a Revealer of Secrets*; but there are some Reasons, why this should not be its true Interpretation. For, the Time, when *Pharoah* gave the Patriarch this Name, was when he advanc'd him, from the Condition of an imprison'd Slave, to that of a *Ruler throughout all the Land of Egypt*; and therefore it is reasonable to suppose, that he gave it in Commemoration of such Promotion, rather than of his expounding Dreams; because, to have call'd him an *Interpreter of Dreams* only, had been degrading him to the Level of *Magicians*. Now if *Pharoah* gave him this Name in Memory of his Promotion, it is very likely, that this Name was strictly and properly *Egyptian*, (otherwise the common People could not have understood it) tho' *Moses*, in his recording it, might endeavour to accommodate it to the *Hebrew* Idiom; and if it was *Egyptian*, the Word in that Language signifies, what we call, a *Prime Minister*; or, strictly, the *first*, or *Prince of the Lords*. Bibliotheca Bibl. Occas. Annot. 41.

† The Reader must remember not to confound *this* Name with *Potiphar*, who bought *Joseph* of the *Ishmaelites*, because their Names in *Hebrew* are not differently written. The one, however, is call'd the *Captain of the Guards*, the other the *Prince*, or *Priest of On*; so that the former must have had his Residence in the Capital, to be always about the King; but the latter liv'd at *On*, or *Heliopolis*, about twenty Miles distant from *Memphis*, the *Metropolis* of the *Kingdom*: Nor can we suppose, that *Joseph* would ever have married his Master's Daughter, lest she should have prov'd not unlike her Mother, for whose Incontinence he had so severely smarted. Universal History, l. 1. c. 7.

* These Words, *Ye are Spies*, are not to be look'd upon as a *Lye*, because they are not spoken by Way of Affirmation, but of Probation only, in the Manner that Judges speak, when they examine suspected Persons, or enquire into a Crime, of which Men are accus'd; and have therefore the Force of an Interrogation, *Are ye not Spies?* or, I must take you to be such, until you prove the contrary. This, though it was but a pretensive Charge of *Joseph*, had yet the better Colour, because *Egypt* was defenceless, and liable to Incursions only on that Side, from whence his Brethren came; for, what with the Interposition of large Deserts, and shallow Seas, it was pretty well secur'd on all other Quarters. *Le Clerc*'s, and *Patrick*'s Commentaries in Locum.

† By this they suggested the Impossibility of their being *Spies*, since no Man, in his Wits, would send so many, and all his own Sons, upon so dangerous and capital an Enterprize: Nor was it probable, that one Man could have a Design upon *Egypt*, but all the great Men in *Canaan* must have join'd in it, and then they would have sent Men of different Families, and not all of one only. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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they had a younger Brother, ſome one of them ſhould be diſpatch'd to bring him, whilſt the reſt were kept in Cuſtody; otherwiſe he ſhould look upon them, (and there he ſpake with a ſeeming Earneſtneſs) as no other, than *Spies* and Enemies; and ſo order'd them all to Priſon, until they ſhould come to a Reſolution.

AFTER three Days Confinement however, he ſent for them again, and then, with a milder Air, told them, that as himſelf *fear'd God*, and was willing to act juſtly by them, he was loath that their Family ſhould want Proviſion, or that they themſelves ſhould ſuffer, if innocent; he therefore propounded this Expedient to them: —— "That one of them ſhould "be confin'd, as an *Hoſtage* for the reſt, "while they return'd with Corn for the "Family; and that, when they came "again, and brought their youngeſt Bro"ther with them, the *Confin'd* ſhould be "releas'd, and all of them reputed *honeſt* "*Men.*"

FOR Perſons in their Circumſtances there was no expoſtulating with one, who had them at his *Mercy*; and therefore they conſented to do whatever he requir'd. But, in the *Interpreter*'s Abſence, they, ſuppoſing that no one elſe underſtood their Language, began to bewail their unrelenting Cruelty to poor *Joſeph*, and to condemn themſelves ſeverely for it; while *Reuben* (who was not ſo culpable in the Matter) put them in Mind, that all this Miſchief might have been prevented, had they liſten'd to his Counſel, and not acted ſo inhumanly to their innocent Brother, for whoſe Sake, it was no more, than what they might expect, that Vengeance, at one Time or other, would certainly overtake them. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

THEIR Diſcourſe, in ſhort, was ſo very dolorous and affecting, that *Joſeph* could no longer contain himſelf, and was therefore forc'd to withdraw a little, to give his Tears vent, and then coming in again, commanded † *Simeon* to be bound, and ſent to Priſon: But, ſetting the reſt at Liberty, he order'd the Officer, who diſtributed the Corn, to ſupply them with what they wanted, and, at the ſame Time (as a freſh Matter for their Surprize) † to put each Man's Money into the Mouth of his Sack. His Orders were accordingly obey'd: And therefore, when they came to bait, and to give their Beaſts Povender †, they were not a little frighten'd to find their Money return'd; nor fail'd they to make all the diſmal Reflections hereupon, that their Fears cou'd ſuggeſt, concluding that the haughty *Viceroy* had done this, that he might have a Pretence to make them his Slaves, at their next coming down.

Their Account to their Father Jacob, *when they got home.*

AS ſoon as they were got home, they acquainted their Father with all theſe Adventures; they told him the Treatment, they

† It may be ſuppos'd perhaps, that, becauſe *Reuben* was the eldeſt, he, upon this Occaſion, had been the propereſt Hoſtage: But *Reuben*, we may obſerve, had ſhew'd himſelf averſe to thoſe Lengths of Wickedneſs and Inhumanity (in which moſt of the other Brothers were agreed) againſt *Joſeph*. *Reuben*, in ſhort, reſolv'd to ſave him; and, as *Judah* was inclin'd to favour him, had *Simeon* join'd with them, their Authority might have prevail'd for his Deliverance: But *Simeon* was the Perſon, who was moſt exaſperated againſt him. He was the eldeſt of thoſe, who had propos'd to murther him, and was therefore a *fit Proxy* for the reſt; the Man (as the *Hebrews* ſay) who put *Joſeph* in the Pit, and was now very juſtly to be ſerv'd in his Kind: Tho' they, who tell us this, have a Tradition, that, as ſoon as his Brothers were gone, *Joſeph* had him unbound, and order'd him what Proviſions, and Conveniences he pleas'd, during his Confinement. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† This *Joſeph* might do, without defrauding *Pharaoh*: For, he might either ſupply them out of that Stock of Proviſions, which belong'd properly to himſelf; or, if the Proviſions were the King's, he might pay for them out of his own Purſe. Nor is there any Occaſion to conceive, that a Perſon, ſo entirely in Favour and Confidence with his Prince, as *Joſeph* was, had his Hands tied up from diſpoſing, at his own Diſcretion and Pleaſure, of ſo ſmall a Boon, as this, to his Friends, for their Relief and Comfort. *Muſculus*.

† If it ſhould be made a Queſtion, why *Joſeph*'s Brethren made Uſe of their own Stocks, and eſpecially in a Time of ſo great Scarcity, in a *publick Inn*; the Anſwer is obvious: ——— That the Inns, or Reſting-places, in thoſe Parts of the World, neither were, nor are as yet, ſuch as we meet with in *England*, and ſome other Parts of *Europe*. They afforded no Accommodation of any Kind, but barely Houſe-room. The Paſſengers, who travell'd in thoſe Countries, carry'd moſt, if not all, of their Proviſions with them; nor did they make any other Uſe of theſe *Publick-houſes*, but only to repoſe themſelves in, at the End of their Stages. *Muſculus*.

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they had receiv'd from the King's *Prime-Miniſter*, and how he ſuſpected them of being *Spies*, of which they had no Way to clear themſelves, but by leaving *Simeon* bound in Priſon, as a *Pledge*, till they ſhou'd bring *Benjamin*, to ſhew that what they told him of their Family was true. Theſe were ſad *Tydings* indeed, and what made their poor afflicted Father break out into this melancholy Complaint; "That, "one Way or other, him they *had depri-* "*ved* of his Children; that *Joſeph* was "dead, *Simeon* was left in *Egypt*, and "now they were going to take *Benjamin* "from him likewiſe, which were Things "too heavy for him to bear."

In vain it was for *Reuben*, in order to prevail with his Father to comply, to offer, (as he did) that, if he did not return him ſafe, he might take his two Sons, and kill them, if he pleas'd: The *Death* of a Grandſon was no Compenſation for the *Loſs* of a Child; and therefore, inſtead of aſſwaging, this did but augment his Grief, and make him abſolutely reſolve not to truſt *Benjamin* with them; for *his Brother is dead*, ſays he, *and he is left alone; if any Miſchief ſhould befal him by the Way, then will ye bring my grey Hairs with Sorrow to the Grave.*

In ſuch Debates as theſe they ſpent the Time, till the Famine, every Day increaſing, and their Stock of Proviſion being well nigh gone, *Neceſſity* put them in the Thoughts of going down again into *Egypt*. This their Father likewiſe reminded them of, but without taking any Notice of their Obligation to the *Viceroy* to bring their younger Brother with them; which when *Judah* ſuggeſted to him, and ſet before him, withal, the utter Impoſſibility of their going into *Egypt*, without his complying with that *Condition*, he began to complain again, that he thought himſelf hardly us'd in their telling the *Viceroy* any Thing of the State of his Family, or that they had another Brother; which *Judah* endeavour'd to excuſe, by aſſuring his Father, that, what was ſaid upon that Head, proceeded from the Simplicity of their Hearts, and in Anſwer to the *Interrogatories*, which the *Viceroy* put to them, without ever dreaming that he intended to make ſuch a cruel Handle of it; and then, perceiving his Father to waver a little in his Reſolution, † he reiterates the Neceſſity of their going again, and preſſes him to conſent, with this ſolemn Promiſe, that, at the Hazard of his own Life, he would take care, and return him ſafe: (*a*) *Of my Hand ſhalt thou require him*, ſays he; *if I bring him not unto thee, and ſet him before thee, then let me bear the Blame for ever.*

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

But it was not ſo much his Son's Importunity, as the Neceſſity of Affairs, which induc'd *Jacob* to comply, and therefore, perceiving that there was now no Remedy, he deliver'd up *Benjamin*; but, before they departed, inſtructed them what to do, *viz.* to take a double Quantity of Money with them, for fear that there was ſome Miſtake made in the other, that was return'd, ‡ and ſome ſuch Preſents,

† In the Text, the Words, wherein *Judah* delivers himſelf to his Father, are theſe —— *If thou wilt ſend our Brother with us, we will go down and buy thee Food, but if thou wilt not ſend him, we will not go down*, Gen. xliii. 4, 5. which, at firſt View ſeems to have an Air of *Undutifulneſs* in them, but, upon a nearer Inſpection, will admit of this Apology, *viz.* That this was not the firſt Propoſal made to *Jacob* by his Sons, to have *Benjamin* go with them into *Egypt*. *Reuben* had once before offer'd his two Sons for Pledges, and receiv'd a Repulſe. Upon *Jacob*'s renewing his Orders therefore for them to go, *Judah* only had Courage to engage in this freſh Remonſtrance. He reminds his Father, firſt of the Solemnity and Earneſtneſs, with which *Joſeph* had pretended, that, without *Benjamin*, *they ſhou'd not ſee his Face*: Then he offers to go very willingly in Obedience to his Father's Command, but deſires to inſiſt upon the Condition of *Benjamin*'s going with them, as finally, indiſpenſibly, and abſolutely neceſſary. For the Words, compar'd with thoſe of *Gen.* xliv. 26. do plainly denote as much, *we will not go down*, i. e. it is impoſſible, impracticable, unallowable for us to go. For the *future* Tenſe, according to the *Hebrew* Idiom, will bear this Signification, and conſequently will acquit *Judah* from all Suſpicion of Rebellion, or Undutifulneſs towards his Father. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* on Gen. Annot. 45.

(*a*) Gen. xliii. 9.

‡ The Preſent, which *Jacob* order'd his Sons to carry down to *Joſeph*, is thus particulariz'd in our Tranſlation; *a little Balm, a little Honey, Spices, and Myrrh, Nuts and Almonds*, Gen. xliii. 11. But there is Reaſon to ſuſpect, that

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ſents, as the Country afforded, and what, *they imagin'd*, would be moſt acceptable to the Viceroy: And ſo, having intreated Heaven for their Succeſs, he ſent them away, with an aking Heart, but a reſolv'd Acquieſcence in God's good Providence, let the Event be what it wou'd.

Joſeph's *Treatment of them, upon their ſecond coming into* Egypt.

AS ſoon as they arriv'd at *Egypt*, they went directly to the King's *Granaries*, and preſented themſelves before *Joſeph*, who, ſeeing their Brother *Benjamin* with them, gave Orders to his Steward to conduct them to his Houſe, where he deſign'd they ſhould dine that Day. Here again they began to fear, leſt this might be a Contrivance againſt them upon Account of the Money, which was return'd in their Sacks; and therefore, before they enter'd the Houſe, they acquainted the Steward with the whole Affair; and, to demonſtrate their Honeſty, told him, that, beſides the Money, which they found return'd, they had brought more along with them, to buy a freſh Quantity of Proviſion.

THE Steward, on the other Hand, being let into the Secret, and perceiving the Concern they were in, bad them diſmiſs all uneaſy Apprehenſions; told them, that what they found in their Sacks, they ought to look upon as a Treaſure, ſent them from Heaven; own'd that he himſelf had fairly receiv'd their Money, and gave them Aſſurance, that they ſhould never hear any more of it; and (that they might believe his Words to be true) he went, and brought *Simeon* unbound to them; acquainted them that they were to dine with his Lord that Day; and ſhew'd them, in the mean while, all the Tokens of Civility, that were fitting for welcome Gueſts. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

JOSEPH was to return by Noon, and therefore his Brothers took Care to have their Preſent in Readineſs; and, when he was come, introduc'd it in the handſomeſt, and moſt ſubmiſſive Manner, they could. He receiv'd them all with a very friendly Countenance; enquir'd much concerning the Health and Welfare of their aged Father; and then, turning to *Benjamin*, aſk'd them, if he was the younger Brother, they had mention'd to him; and, without ſtaying for their Anſwer, ſaluted him in theſe Words, *God be gracious to thee, my Son.* But, finding his Affections begin to work, and fearing leſt he ſhou'd diſcover himſelf too ſoon, he retir'd into his Chamber, and there vented his Paſſion in a Flood of Tears; which when he had done, he waſh'd his Face, and return'd to the Company, and order'd the Dinner to be ſerv'd up.

THREE Tables were ſpread in a large *Dining-room*; one for himſelf alone, by Reaſon of his Dignity; another for his *Egyptian-Gueſts*, * who hate to eat with People of a different Nation; and a third for

ſome of theſe are not the real Things, which the original Words intend. *Balm* indeed (which we may ſuppoſe was that of *Gilead*) was of great Price all the World over, and a ſmall Quantity of it was a Preſent worth Acceptance; but unleſs the *Honey* in *Canaan* was better than ordinary, there doubtleſs was no Want of it in *Egypt*: And therefore it is much more likely, that this Part of the Preſent conſiſted of *Dates*, ſince the *Hebrew* expreſſes both by the ſame Name, and, in *Judea*, eſpecially about *Jericho*, (as both *Joſephus*, and *Pliny* tell us) there was great Plenty of them. The Word *Neketh*, which is render'd *Spices*, ſhould rather ſignify *Storax*, which is an *aromatick* Gum, put into all precious ſpicy Ointments: And the Word *Loth*, which is tranſlated *Myrrh*, would come nearer the Original, if it were call'd *Laudanum*. *Botnim*, which we read *Nuts*, are what we call *Piſtachioes*, which were highly eſteem'd by the Antients, as a delicious Food; and with theſe Almonds perhaps might not improperly be join'd together. Univerſal Hiſtory, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The Reaſon, which ſome aſſign for the *Egyptians* refuſing to eat with the *Hebrews*, was their ſacrificing ſome Creatures, which the *Egyptians* worſhipp'd: But, tho', in after Ages, they certainly did worſhip ſeveral Kinds of Animals, yet there appears nothing from the Story, that they did ſo in *Joſeph*'s Days; for their Worſhip of the famous Ox, call'd *Apis*, was a much later Invention, as many learned Men have demonſtrated. It is much more likely therefore, that this great Abhorrence ſhould be reſolv'd into their different Manner, both of dreſſing, and eating their Victuals. No People, as *Herodotus* tells, [even where he treats of their Manner of Feaſting, *Euterpe* c. 28.] were more tenacious of their old Cuſtoms, than the *Egyptians*. They would not uſe thoſe of any other Nation whatever; and therefore the *Hebrews* were not the only People, they had an Averſion to. For (as the ſame Hiſtorian informs us) an *Egyptian* Man, or Woman, wou'd not kiſs the Mouth of a *Greek*; would not make uſe of a Spit, or a Pot belonging to them; nor eat any Meat, that was cut with one of their Knives. *Patrick*'s, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

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for his Brethren, who were amaz'd to find themſelves plac'd in exact Order, according to their *Seniority*, and did not a little wonder what this unexpected Civility might end in.

JOSEPH however, during the whole Entertainment, behav'd very courteouſly. From his own Table † he ſent Diſhes to every one of his Brothers, but to *Benjamin* he ſent five Diſhes for each of their one; which was another Myſtery, they could not unriddle; however, for the preſent, they were very chearful and merry.

After they had eat, and drank very plentifully, they began to think of taking their Leave, and of going about the Affair, for which they came; but *Joſeph* had one Fright more in reſerve for them, and therefore he order'd his Steward, when he fill'd their Sacks with Corn, to return their Money (as he had done before) but, into *Benjamin*'s Sack, not only to put his Money, but the Silver Cup likewiſe, wherein he himſelf us'd to drink, and, after they were gone a little Way out of Town, to go, and overtake them, and charge them with *Felony*.

The Steward did as he was commanded: And, when he came up with *Joſeph*'s Brethren, upbraided them with Ingratitude, in ſo badly requiting his Lord's *Civility*, as to ſteal away his Cup. Conſcious of their own Innocence, and diſdainful of ſo vile a Charge, they put the Matter upon this ſhort Iſſue:——That, whoever, upon Search, ſhould be found to have the Cup, ſhould be given up to ſuffer Death, and themſelves become all his Lord's Bond-Slaves. So ſaid, ſo done: The Beaſts were unloaded: The Sacks were ſearch'd: And, to their great Aſtoniſhment and Surprize, the Cup was found in *Benjamin*'s. To no Purpoſe it was for the poor Youth to ſay any Thing in his own Defence: Upon ſuch a Demonſtration none would believe him: And yet, being all concern'd in the Diſgrace, they loaded their Aſſes again, and, in a mournful Manner, returned to the City.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

JOSEPH was at home, expecting their Return, and when they came before him, reprimanded them very ſharply, while they lay proſtrate at his Feet, and † acknowledg'd their Guilt; but, in the Concluſion of his Speech, he aſſur'd them, that the Perſon only, who was detected in the Theft, ſhould remain a Slave: the reſt might return home, when they pleas'd, to their Father.

JUDAH, who had taken *Benjamin* under his Care, being, by this Time, recover'd from his Surprize, drew near, and addreſs'd *Joſeph* in the moſt ſubmiſſive and pathetick Terms. He acquainted him with the whole Caſe between them, and their Father, in Relation to their bringing *Benjamin* into *Egypt*, to take away the Suſpicion of their being *Spies*. He deſcrib'd very paſſionately their Father's melancholy Condition for the Loſs of his Son *Joſeph*; the extreme Fondneſs he had for his Son *Benjamin*; the Difficulty they were under, to prevail with him to truſt him with them, ſo that he himſelf was forc'd

† The Manner of eating among the Antients, was not for all the Company to eat out of one and the ſame Diſh, but for every one to have one or more Diſhes to himſelf. The *whole* of theſe Diſhes were ſet before the *Maſter of the Feaſt*, and he diſtributed to every one his Portion. As *Joſeph* however is here ſaid to have had a Table to himſelf, we may ſuppoſe, that he had a great Variety of little Diſhes, or Plates ſet before him; and, as it was a Cuſtom for great Men to honour thoſe, who were in their Favour, by ſending ſuch Diſhes to them, as were firſt ſerv'd up to themſelves, *Joſeph* ſhew'd that Token of Reſpect to his Brethren: But, to expreſs a particular Value for *Benjamin*, he ſent him five Diſhes to their one, which Diſproportion cou'd not but be marvellous and aſtoniſhing to them, if what *Herodotus* tells us be true, l. 6. c. 27. *viz.* "that the Diſtinction in this Caſe, even to *Egyptian* Kings themſelves, in all publick Feaſts and Banquets, was no more than a *double Meſs*." *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

† *Judah*, in Behalf of himſelf, and his Brethren, might very well have pleaded in Defence, that they receiv'd their Sacks from the Officer, tied up as they were, without ever once opening them; and that the ſame Hand, which now, for this two Times, had return'd their Money, was the moſt likely to have convey'd the Cup into them: But ſince there was a manifeſt Juggle in the Thing, he was fearful of irritating the Governor, if he ſhould go about to detect it, and therefore he thought that the beſt Way, for him and his Brethren to eſcape, was to acknowledge the Crime, though they were innocent of it, and (as if they had no Perception of the Trick, that was put upon them) to implore his Pity and Compaſſion, by Arguments taken from other Topicks. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
BOMBAY BRANCH

A MAP of Ancient ÆGYPT from Celarius

To the Right Reverend Father in God IOHN Lord Bishop of BATH & WELLS this Plate is most humbly Inscribed by his Lordships most Dutiful Son & Servant Tho. Stackhouse

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

MARMA-

RICA

Marmaridæ

Oasitæ Nomi

Nomos Ammoniacus

Adyrmachiae

Mareotis

DELTA

PALÆSTINÆ PARS

ARABIA

PETRÆA

HEPTANOMIS

THEBAIS

AETHIOPIAE

PARS

Blemmyes

Lycomedis Palus

Fons Solis

Oasis parva

Oasis magna

Pampanis

Aenesisplacra

Salinus portus

Auis

Graiasgony

Alburnitidis

Antiphre

Chersonesus

Pharus

Canopus

Heracleum

Bolbiticum Ostium

Sebennyticum

Paudoslamida

Pharnitic.

Mendesium

Tanitic. Ostium

Pelusiacum

Phinocolura

Ostracine

Pompeii Pelusium

Sirbonis palus

Casius M.

Caliotis

Parætonium

Phœnicus portus

Plinthine

Alexandria

Tisardum

Nemesium

Sophanis

Callii

Bibliophorium

Catabathmus

Pedonia

Penigeus

Hierax

Marea Palus

Naucratis

Xois

Mendes

Taris

Schennitus

Bubastus

Heropolis

Babylon

Pyramids

Memphis

Heliopolis

Aphroditopolis

Arsinoe

Acanthus

Labyrinthus

Nuopolis

Herocleopolis

Arsinoe

Clysma

Aelena

Asiongeber

Moeridis Lacus

Monocaminum

Parvus

Castra Alexandri

Oxyrynchus

Cynopolis

Hermopolis

Antinoupolis

Acoris

Phylace

Lycopolis

Hypsele

Alabastra

Pasalus

Veneris Civitas

Panopolis

Crocodilopolis

Ptolemais

Chenaboscia

Cœna

This

Coptos

Philotera urbs

Myoshormus

Abydus

Diospolis parva

Apollinis parva

Tentyra

Thebæ quæ et Diospolis

Hermonthis

Tuphium

Latopolis

Chnubis

Apollinis

Elethyia

Ombi

Elephantine

Syene

Cataractes minor

Philæ

Metacompsa

Magni Locus

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From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

fore'd to become Security for his ſafe Return; and that, if he ſhould go home without him, his Father's Life was ſo wrapt up in the Child, that he would certainly die with Grief. Rather therefore than ſee this Grief of his aged Father, and his grey Hairs with Sorrow deſcending to the Grave, he offer'd himſelf an *Equivalent* for his Brother: (*b*) *Now therefore, I beſeech thee, my Lord, let me, thy Servant, abide here a Slave, inſtead of the Lad, and let him go up with his Brethren; for how ſhall I ſee my Father without him?* This moving Speech, and generous Offer, were what *Joſeph*'s Soul could not withſtand, and therefore, being able to contain himſelf no longer, he order'd all the Company to leave the Room, that he might have a more affectionate Freedom in diſcovering himſelf to his Brethren.

His diſcovering himſelf to them.

BUT, no ſooner had he told them, that he was *Joſeph their Brother* (which was all that his full Heart would let him utter) than, reflecting upon what they had once done to him, they were all ſtruck with ſuch a Surprize and Confuſion, that for a long Time, they could make him no Anſwer.

As ſoon however, as he had recover'd himſelf, he deſir'd them to draw near unto him; he embrac'd them all round with an unfeign'd Tenderneſs; and, to diſpel all farther Apprehenſions, told them, that their ſelling him into *Egypt* was directed by an unforeſeen Providence; that therefore they had no Reaſon to be angry with themſelves, for doing it, ſince they were no more than the *Inſtruments* in God's Hand, to bring about what his eternal Purpoſe had determin'd; that he had no Reaſon to reſent it, ſince, by that Means, he had been advanc'd to the Honour and Dignity of being Governor of all *Egypt*; nor his Father, or any of his Family, to murmur at it, ſince God had appointed this Method for the Preſervation of their Lives. For five Years more, *he told them*, there were to be of the Famine; and therefore he bid them haſten into *Canaan*, and tell his Father of all his Glory and Greatneſs, and deſire him to come down, that he might take care of him, and feed him in this Time of *Dearth*, and provide him with a Country, (even *the Land of* Goſhen) not far diſtant from him, and very commodious for ſuch, as led a *paſtoral* Life. All this, he own'd, would be ſtrange and ſurprizing for them to tell; but their Father would hardly doubt the Teſtimony of ſo many *Eye-witneſſes*; above all, he would not fail to believe what his Favourite *Benjamin* told him: And, with that, he threw himſelf upon *Benjamin*'s Neck, kiſs'd him, and wept over him for Joy; and having treated all the reſt in the ſame kind Manner, and as a Perſon, that was perfectly reconcil'd to them, they began to take Courage, and convers'd more familiarly with him.

A RUMOUR, in the mean Time, was ſpread thro' the Court, that *Joſeph*'s Brethren were come to buy Corn, which, when *Pharaoh* heard, he ſent for him, and told him, that ſince his Father's Family was ſo numerous, and the Famine, as yet, not half over, his beſt Way would be to ſend for them, and place them in what Part of the Country, he thought fit; for that they ſhould never want Proviſions, or any other Favour, that he could ſhew them. He put him in Mind likewiſe to ſend them a freſh Supply of Corn, and whatever elſe he thought would be neceſſary in their Journey, with Chariots and Waggons, to bring down their Wives and Children, and the beſt of their *Moveables*.

JOSEPH gladly obey'd the King's Command: And (beſides the Chariots and Proviſions) ſent to his Father ten Aſſes, laden with the choiceſt Commodities of *Egypt*; to his Brethren he gave each of them Changes of Garments, but to *Benjamin* he gave *five*, with three hundred Pieces of Silver; and ſo diſmiſs'd them with this kind Charge, that they ſhould not *fall out by the Way*. With Hearts full of Joy they proceeded in their Journey to *Canaan*, and were gladly receiv'd by their good

(*b*) Gen. xliv. 33, 34.

A. M. 2276, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1728, &c.

Their Account of all this to their Father Jacob.

good old Father, eſpecially upon the Return of his two Sons, *Simeon* and *Benjamin*, whom he ſcarce expected to have ſeen any more. But when they inform'd him, that his Son *Joſeph* was likewiſe alive, and in what Pomp and Splendor he liv'd; that he was the very Man, the King's *Prime-Miniſter* and Governor of *Egypt*, who had put them in ſo many deadly Frights; being not able to bear ſo much good News at once, he *fainted* away in their Arms: But when he came to himſelf again, and they ſhew'd him the Preſents, which *Joſeph* had ſent, and the Chariots and Carriages, which were come to take him, and his Goods away, his Spirits reviv'd, his Doubts and his Fears vaniſh'd, and, in an Extaſy of Joy, he cry'd out, (*c*) *It is enough! Joſeph, my Son, is yet alive; I will go and ſee him, before I die.*

To ſee ſo dear a Son, for whom he had mourn'd ſo long, in all his *Egyptian* State and Glory, was enough to make him haſten his Journey; but, as his Gratitude to God, for all his late Mercies vouchſaf'd unto him, and his farther Want of the divine Protection, to accompany him into *Egypt*, requir'd ſome freſh Act of Religion from him, he choſe to go to *Beerſheba*, and there offer ſome Sacrifices, both becauſe it was the Place, where *Abraham* and *Iſaac* had liv'd ſo long, and becauſe it was in the Way to *Egypt*, as being the utmoſt Boundary of *Canaan* towards the *South*.

From Gen xxxvii. to the End.

Here it was that God appear'd to him again in a Viſion; bid him † not fear to go down into *Egypt*, ſince he would be with him, and protect him, and, in due Time, bring his Poſterity out of it again to enter into the Poſſeſſion of the *promis'd Land*; and that, as to his own *Particular*, he ſhould live near his beloved *Joſeph*, die in his Arms, and † have his Eyes clos'd by his Hand. So that, encourag'd by this divine *Promiſe*, *Jacob* left *Beerſheba*, and chearfully purſu'd his Journey into *Egypt*, where, when he arriv'd, † he, and his Family made up, in all, juſt ‖ the Complement of ſeventy Perſons.

Jacob *goes down into* Egypt, *and is joyfully receiv'd by his Son* Joſeph.

As

(*c*) Gen. xlv. 28.

† It is not unlikely, that the good old Man had promis'd himſelf the Comfort of ſpending the Remainder of his Days in the Land, which God had been pleas'd to promiſe him; and therefore, after ſo much Labour of Life, and Change of Place, when he thought himſelf at the End of his *Pilgrimage*, and perhaps depended upon the *Patriarchal* Line being put in Poſſeſſion before his Death, to be oblig'd to leave his Land, and to go into a foreign one, was not a little diſcouraging; eſpecially if he retain'd in his Mind the melancholy Prediction to his Grandfather, *Gen.* xv. 13. *Know of a Surety, that thy Seed ſhall be a Stranger in a Land, that is not theirs, four hundred Years, and ſhall ſerve them.* Bibliotheca Bibl. in Locum.

† There ſeems to be ſomething of a Reaſon in Nature, why ſuch a particular Regard ſhould be had, at Death, to the *Eyes*; and that is, becauſe they are in Life ſo eminently ſerviceable both to Body and Mind. We cloſe the Eyes of the Dead, becauſe no Part of the Body looks ſo ghaſtly after Death, whereas nothing was ſo ſprightly and beautiful before: And the Reaſon why the neareſt in Blood or Friendſhip ſhould have this Office, is too obvious to need any Explication.

Dii precor hoc jubeant, ut euntibus ordine fatis,
Ille meos oculos comprimat, ille tuos. *Penel.* ad *Ulyſſ.* de *Telemach.*

† The whole Account of *Jacob*'s Sons and Grandſons, who went along with him into *Egypt*, ſtands thus, ——— By *Leah* 32; by *Zilphah* 16; by *Rachel* 11; by *Bilhah* 7: In all 66, excluſive of *Jacob* himſelf, and of *Joſeph*, and his two Sons, which make up the 70: And 'twas neceſſary indeed, that theſe *Genealogies* ſhould be exactly regiſter'd, not only to diſtinguiſh each *Tribe*, and thereby diſcover the *Meſſias*, when he came; but (as it is in the Caſe before us) to make it apparent, that the Increaſe of *Iſrael*, even under Oppreſſion, ſhould bear a fair Proportion to the Promiſe made to *Abraham*, viz. *That his Seed ſhould be even as the Stars of Heaven, and as the Sand upon the Sea-ſhore, for Multitude.* Univerſal Hiſtory, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

‖ There are three different Accounts in Scripture of the Number of *Jacob*'s Family, when they came down into *Egypt*. In *Gen.* xlvi. 26. it is ſaid, that *all the Souls, which came with* Jacob *into* Egypt, *were threeſcore and ſix:* In the very next Verſe, and in *Deut.* x. 22. it is ſaid, that *they were threeſcore and ten*; and yet St *Stephen*, in *Acts* vii. 14. tells us expreſsly, that they were *ſeventy five*. Now, in order to reconcile theſe ſeeming Contradictions, we muſt obſerve, that in each Place there is a different Manner of Computation. In the firſt Catalogue, *Moſes* ſpeaks of thoſe Perſons only, *who came out of* Jacob's *Loins*, i. e. his Children and Grandchildren, that went into *Egypt* with him; and theſe, excluſive of *Jacob* himſelf, and *Joſeph* and his two Sons, who were in *Egypt* before, were exactly *ſixty ſix:* Whereas, including *Jacob* himſelf, together with *Joſeph* and his Sons, *Ephraim*, and *Manaſſeh*, (who, tho' they were in *Egypt* before, yet, living there as Strangers only, and having their Original from the

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AS ſoon as he came within the Borders of *Egypt*, not far from the Land of *Goſhen*, he ſent *Judah* before to acquaint his Son *Joſeph*, with his Arrival; who inſtantly took his Chariot, with a Retinue, ſuitable to his high Station, and, with infinite Satisfaction, congratulated his Arrival at a Place, where he had it in his Power to make his Life happy and comfortable. What the Expreſſions of *filial* Duty, and *paternal* Affection were upon this Occaſion, Words cannot deſcribe: Tears of Joy flow'd from both Sides; and, while the Son was contemplating the Goodneſs of God, in bringing him to the Sight of his aged Father, the Father, on the other hand, thought all his Happineſs upon Earth compleated in this *Interview*; and therefore, (*d*) *Now let me die*, ſays he to his Son, *ſince I have ſeen thy Face, becauſe thou art yet alive.*

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

AS ſoon as theſe tender Greetings, and the ſolemn Rejoicings, which follow'd upon them, were over, *Joſeph* propos'd to his Father and Brethren, to go, and acquaint *Pharaoh* with their Arrival: And, as he ſuppos'd, that the King would have a Curioſity to ſee ſome of them, he gave them in Charge, that, in Caſe he ſhould aſk them what Occupation they were of, their Anſwer ſhould be, that they were *Shepherds*, as their Anceſtors, for many Generations, had been before them; by which Means he might † ſecure for them the *Land of Goſhen*, which would be a ſeparate Habitation, and an happy Retreat from the Inſults of the *Egyptians*, who were known † to have an utter Deteſtation to Shepherds.

WITH this Caution he took five of his Brothers along with him; and, having inform'd *Pharaoh*, that his Father and Family

Land of *Canaan*, may be reckon'd, as if they had come into *Egypt* with *Jacob*) the Number is exactly ſeventy. The Difference between *Moſes* and St *Stephen* is a little more difficult to reconcile; and yet, if we ſuppoſe, that St *Stephen* follows the firſt Number of *Moſes*, viz. *ſixty-ſix*, out of which he excludes *Jacob*, *Joſeph* and his two Sons, and to which he adds only nine of his Sons Wives (for *Judah*'s Wife was already dead, and *Benjamin* is ſuppos'd to be ſtill unmarried, and *Joſeph*'s Wife out of the Caſe) theſe nine Wives, I ſay, which tho' not of *Jacob*'s Blood, yet belong'd to his Family, and to *Joſeph*'s *Kindred* (which is the very Expreſſion St *Stephen* makes Uſe of) added to the Number of *ſixty ſix* other Perſons, will amount exactly to *ſeventy-five*. *Patrick*'s Commentary, Univerſal and *Howell*'s Hiſtories.

(*d*) Gen. xlvi. 30.

† By the general Conſent of *antient Geographers*, the Land of *Goſhen* is ſituate in the *Eaſtern* Part of *Egypt*, between the *Red-Sea*, and the River *Nile*, upon the Borders of *Canaan*. It was a fruitful Spot of Ground, very fit for Paſturage, and therefore *Joſephus* tells us, that *Pharaoh*'s own Cattle were kept there, and accordingly we find him ordering *Joſeph* to make one of his Brothers the *Inſpector-General* over them. The Country was ſeparate from *Egypt*: And, for this Reaſon, the *Iſraelites*, inhabiting it, might keep themſelves in a Body, without endangering their Religion or Manners, by intermixing with the *Egyptians*, and without incurring their Envy or Odium, as they would have done, had they liv'd among them, and ſhar'd any Power or Profit in the Government. They came down into *Egypt* upon a particular Exigency, and were to return again, to take Poſſeſſion of the *promis'd Land*; and therefore a Country, that lay in a Manner contiguous to it, was the moſt convenient for their Abode, that they might be in Readineſs to remove, whenever God ſhould order them to leave it, which they would not have found ſo eaſy a Thing to do, had they been ſettled in the Heart of *Egypt*. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† The Country of *Egypt* (as *Diodorus* tells us, l. 1.) was divided into three Parts, whereof the *Prieſts* had one, the *King* a ſecond, and the *Soldiery* a third: But, under theſe, there were three other Ranks of Men, *Shepherds*, *Huſbandmen*, and *Artificers*. The *Huſbandmen* ſerv'd the King, and the other two Orders, in tilling the Ground, for very ſmall Wages, and ſo did the *Shepherds*, in their Capacities; for the *Egyptians*, we muſt remember, had Sheep and Oxen, as well as Horſes and Aſſes, which they ſold unto *Joſeph*, in the Time of the Famine. It cannot be thought therefore, that they abominated all Shepherds in general, but only ſuch *Shepherds* as were *Foreigners*, and for what Reaſon it was that they did this, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to reſolve. Some are of Opinion, that Shepherds were held in Deteſtation, becauſe they were a People, in thoſe Days, addicted to *Robbery*, which made them very odious to the *Egyptians*: But others imagine, that Theft, among the *Egyptians*, was not reputed ſo abominable a Crime; and therefore they think, that the moſt probable Reaſon of this Averſion to Shepherds, and to the *Hebrews*, as ſuch, was the great Oppreſſion, and Tyranny, under which they had lately groan'd, when the *Phœnician* Shepherds penetrated *Egypt*, waſted their Cities, burnt their Temples, murther'd the Inhabitants, and ſeated themſelves, for a conſiderable while, in the Poſſeſſion of it. But, upon whatever Account it was, that the *Egyptians* had this Averſion to Shepherds, it certainly was an Inſtance of *Joſeph*'s great Modeſty and Love of Truth, that he was not aſham'd of an Employment, ſo mean in itſelf, and ſo vile in the Eyes of the *Egyptians*. Had he been minded to make the moſt of the Matter, he might have inſtructed his Brothers to have conceal'd their Way, or Buſineſs of Life; or, if he was aware, that they would

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Family were come as far as *Goſhen*, he preſented his Brothers to the King, who, for his Sake, receiv'd them very graciouſly, and when he aſk'd them, what Profeſſion they were of, they told him that they were Shepherds, as their Family, for many Generations had been; that Want of Water for their Cattle, and of Suſtenance for themſelves, had made them leave *Canaan*; but that ſince (as they underſtood) his Majeſty had been ſo hoſpitable, as to give them Reception in his Dominions, they humbly pray'd, that they might be allow'd to ſettle in *Goſhen*, as a Country moſt convenient for their Purpoſe: Which he readily granted, and offer'd moreover to make any one of them, whom *Joſeph* ſhould appoint, his *royal* Shepherd.

Has an Interview with the King, and ſettles at Goſhen.

Not long after this, *Joſeph*, in like Manner, preſented his Father to *Pharaoh*, who, ſeeing him look very hail and hearty, and deſirous to know of what Age he might be, was inform'd by *Jacob*, that he was † an *hundred and thirty*; which when the King ſeem'd to wonder at, he told him moreover, that his Life was not, as yet, near ſo long, as that of ſome of his Anceſtors, becauſe his Fate had been to have too large a Share of Troubles and Fatigues to *harraſs*, and wear him out: And ſo, wiſhing his Majeſty Abundance of Health and Proſperity, he return'd to *Goſhen*, where *Joſeph* took care to ſupply him, and all his Family, with ſuch a plentiful Proviſion of Corn, and other Neceſſaries from the King's Storehouſes, as, in the Time of the greateſt Scarceneſs, made him inſenſible of any Want.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

But while *Jacob* and his Family liv'd in Plenty, the *Egyptians* found the ſad Effects of the *Famine*, which increaſing daily upon them, and *Joſeph* holding up his Corn at an high Rate, in a ſhort Time brought all their Money into the King's Coffers; and, when their Money was gone, they were all (except the *Prieſts*, who were furniſh'd from the King's Stores) oblig'd to part with their Cattle, their Houſes, their Lands, and, ‖ at length, their *very ſelves*, for Proviſion. All theſe *Joſeph* purchas'd of the People in the King's Name, and for the King's Uſe; and, to let them ſee, that the Purchaſe was in earneſt, and that their Liberties and Properties were now become the King's, he tranſplanted them, from their former Places of Abode, into diſtant and different Parts of the Kingdom, that they might in Time loſe the very Remembrance of their antient Poſſeſſions.

Joſeph's wiſe Management in Egypt.

This, in another Perſon, might have been thought an immoderate *Zeal* for an *abſolute* Power in the King, and an Advantage unjuſtly taken of the Neceſſities of the Subject; but *Joſeph* ſo manag'd the Matter, as to gain the Commendation of both Prince and People. For, when the *ſeventh*, and laſt Year of Famine was come,

would follow the ſame in *Egypt*, that they had done in *Canaan*, he might nevertheleſs have put into their Mouths the high Dignity of their Deſcent, and the wonderful Hiſtory of their Family, *viz.* that *Abraham* was their *great Grandfather*, a Prince renown'd for his Defeat of four confederated Monarchs; that *Iſaac* was their Grandfather, whoſe Amity and Alliance had been courted by Kings; and that *Iſrael* was their Father, who once gain'd a Victory even over a mighty Prince of the celeſtial Hoſt; all great Men in their Generations, and dignified with the Converſation of God himſelf. This, and a great deal more, had *Joſeph* been minded to ſerve the Purpoſes of Vanity, he might have ſuggeſted to his Brethren; but, by his open Declaration, we may perceive, that his Pleaſure and Ambition was, that the wonderful Chain of the divine Meaſures and Counſels, in bringing him, from an humble Condition of Life, to ſuch a Sublimity of Power and Figure, might be as conſpicuous as poſſible. *Pool*'s Annotations, *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† *Pharaoh*'s Queſtion to *Jacob*, and *Jacob*'s Anſwer, we may ſuppoſe, were not all the Diſcourſe, that paſs'd between them, but only what moſt deſerv'd to be mention'd, becauſe (as the learned *Pererius* obſerves) this Anſwer of *Jacob*'s is the very *Hinge* upon which the whole *Chronology* of the patriarchal Times turns. The ſame excellent Commentator remarks, that, tho' *Jacob* liv'd ſeventeen Years after this, yet, even at laſt, he did not attain *to the Days of the Years of the Life of his Fathers*; ſince his Father *Iſaac* liv'd an hundred and fourſcore Years, and his Grandfather *Abraham* to an hundred and ſeventy five. *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

‖ When the *Egyptians* were drove to this laſt Extremity, in our Tranſlation it is ſaid to be in the *ſecond Year*; but this muſt not be underſtood to be the *ſecond* Year of the ſeven Years of Famine, but the *ſecond* after that laſt mention'd, wherein they had ſold their Cattle, which was in reality the *laſt* Year of the Famine; becauſe he now gave them Corn for *Seed*, as well as for *Food*; whereas, in the firſt Years, there was neither *ſowing* nor *reaping*. Gen. xlv. 6. *Pool*'s Annotations.

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come, he acquainted them, that they might now expect a Crop againſt next Year; that the *Nile* would overflow, and the Earth bring forth her Fruits, as uſual. Hereupon he diſtributed freſh Lands, Cattle, and Corn to them, that they might return to their Tillage, as before; but upon this Condition he did it, that, from thenceforward, the *fifth* Part of all the Product of their Lands ſhould go to the King, and the reſt be theirs. To theſe Conditions the People willingly conſented, as imputing the Preſervation of their Lives intirely to *Joſeph*'s Care; and from that Time it paſs'd into a Law, that the fifth Part of the Product of the Land of *Egypt* ſhould always belong to the Crown.

His viſiting his Father before he died.

WHILST *Joſeph* was enjoying the Fruits of his great Succeſs and *Policy*, his Family at *Goſhen*, (which he fail'd not frequently to viſit) became very wealthy, and very numerous, till, at length, his Father *Jacob*, finding himſelf grow old and feeble, and perceiving that his latter End was near approaching, ſent for him, and to this Purpoſe addreſs'd himſelf to him. "Tho' "the Deſire of ſeeing a Son, ſo dear to "me as you are, rais'd to the Height of "*Egyptian* Glory, join'd to the raging "*Famine*, which then viſited our Land, "made me willingly come down into this "ſtrange Country; yet *Canaan*, being "the Inheritance, which God promis'd to "*Abraham* and his Poſterity, and where "he lies interr'd with my Father *Iſaac*, "and ſome other of our Family, in the "Ground, which he purchas'd of the "Inhabitants for that Purpoſe; my laſt, "and dying Requeſt to you is, † that "you will not ſuffer me to be buried here, "but ſwear to ſee me carried to *Machpe-*"*lah*, and there depoſited with my An-"ceſtors. Your great Power with the "King will eaſily obtain that Favour, "which is the laſt I have to aſk." *Joſeph* was not long before he gave his Father a ſatisfactory Anſwer. He promis'd, and he ſwore to him, that he would fulfil his Deſire, which pleas'd the good old Man to that Degree, that || he bow'd, and made his Acknowledgment for this kind Aſſurance.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

JOSEPH,

† Tho' there be ſomething of a natural Deſire in moſt Men to be buried in the Places, where their *Anceſtors* lie; yet *Jacob*'s Averſion to have his Remains depoſited in *Egypt* ſeems to be more earneſt than ordinary, or otherwiſe he would never have impos'd an Oath upon his Sons, and charg'd them all, with his dying Breath, not to ſuffer it to be done. For he very well knew, that had his Body been buried in *Egypt*, his Poſterity, upon that very Account, would have been too much wedded to the Country, ever to attempt the Acquiſition of the *promis'd Land*; and therefore, to wean them from the Thoughts of continuing in *Egypt*, and fix their Minds and Affections in *Canaan*, he order'd his Body to be carried thither beforehand, in Teſtimony, that he died in full Perſuaſion of the Truth of the Promiſes, which were given to him, and his Anceſtors: Nor was it inconvenient, that future Generations, after their Return into *Canaan*, ſhould have before their Eyes the Sepulchre of their Forefathers, for a Record of their Virtues, and an Incitement to the Imitation of them. But the ſtrongeſt Motive of all for *Jacob*'s deſiring to be buried in *Canaan* (ſuppoſing that he foreknew that our Saviour *Chriſt* was to live and die, and, with ſome others, riſe again in that Country) was, that he might be one of that *bleſſed* Number; as it was indeed an antient *Tradition* in the Church, that, among thoſe, *who came out of their Graves after our Lord's Reſurrection*, Matth. xxvii. 53. the Patriarch *Jacob* was one. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.*

|| The Words in our Tranſlation are, *he bowed himſelf upon the Bed's Head*, Gen. xlvii. 31. where ſome Expoſitors, preſuming that his *Bowing* was a religious Action, will, by no Means, have it directed to *Joſeph*, but to God only, for the Aſſurance, which *Joſeph* had given him, that he ſhould be buried according to his Deſire. But, if the *Word* muſt be tranſlated *bowed*, there is no Neceſſity to make it an Act of Adoration, but only a common Form of Civility, wherewith a *Father* might comply, without any Diminution to his Superiority over his *Son*. What led theſe Expoſitors into this Conception, was the *Verſion* of the *Septuagint*, and the Words of the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, where *Jacob* is ſaid (in Alluſion, as they ſuppoſe, to this Paſſage) to have *worſhipped upon the Top of his Staff*, Heb. xi. 21. But the plain Truth is, that the Apoſtle here ſpeaks of another Thing; not of what *Jacob* did now, when *Joſeph* ſwore unto him, but of what he did, when he bleſs'd his other *Children*. In the former Caſe, he ſeems to have kept his Bed; but, in the latter, to have receiv'd freſh Spirits, and ſat upon it, though leaning perhaps *upon his Staff*. So that, the Apoſtle's Words are not taken from theſe of *Moſes*, but are a Reflection of his own, whereby he ſignifies the Strength of *Jacob*'s Faith, even when he was ſo weak, as not to be able to bow himſelf, and worſhip, without the Help of his *Staff*. This clearly removes the Difficulty, and reconciles *Moſes* and the Apoſtle very perfectly; but there ſeems to be a more compendious Way of doing this. For, ſince the Word *Schacah*, which ſignifies *to bow the Body*, may, in like Manner, be render'd to *lie*, or *fall down*, the moſt eaſy Tranſlation ſeems to be, *he laid himſelf down upon his Pillow*, as weak Men are wont to do, after they have ſet up a while, to diſpatch ſome Buſineſs. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

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JOSEPH, who could not be long abſent from Court, took his Leave of his Father, but not without giving ſtrict Charge to ſome of the Family, that, upon the very firſt Appearance of Danger, they ſhould immediately ſend for him. Accordingly, as ſoon as Word was brought him, that his Father was a-dying, he took his two Sons, *Manaſſeh*, and *Ephraim*, with him, and went to viſit him; who, when he heard that his favourite Son was come, ſummon'd all his Spirits together, and was ſo far reviv'd, as to be able to ſit up in his Bed.

HERE he began with recapitulating all the glorious Promiſes, which God had formerly made him, concerning his numerous Poſterity's inhabiting the Land of *Canaan*, and concluded † with the Death of his dear *Rachel*. "How tenderly I lov'd "her, *continued he*, all my Family can "teſtify; but this farther Proof I deſign "to give you of my Affection to her. "You have two Sons, born in a foreign "Country, and who, according to the "uſual Order of Inheritance, ſhould have "only the Portion of *Grandchildren* in the "Diviſion of the *promis'd Land*; but, "from this Day forward, they ſhall be "call'd by my Name, be eſteem'd my "Sons, and as Heads of two diſtinct *Tribes* "(for they ſhall not be call'd the Tribe of "*Joſeph*, but the Tribe of *Ephraim* and "*Manaſſeh*) receive a double Portion in "that Allotment; But it muſt not be ſo "with the other Sons, which you beget "after theſe. They come in only for the "Portion of Grandchildren: And to you "in particular, I bequeath that Tract of "Ground, which, by the Force of Arms "I took from the *Amorites*, that it may "deſcend to your *Tribe* for ever." From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

ALL this while *Jacob*, whoſe Sight was very much decay'd, talk'd to his Son concerning his Children, as if they had been abſent; but, when he perceiv'd that they were in the Room, he rejoic'd not a little, and order'd them to be brought near him. *Joſeph* plac'd them in a Poſition, according to the Order of their Age, to receive his Father's Bleſſing; but *Jacob*, croſſing his Hands, laid his *right* (which carry'd with it the Preference) upon the *Younger*, and his *left* upon the *Elder* of them; which *Joſeph* ſuppoſing to proceed from a Miſtake, was going to rectify, but was told by his Father, that what he did was by divine Direction, and ſo made *Ephraim* not only the firſt in Nomination, but gave him a Bleſſing much more extenſive, than what he gave his Brother.

Jacob's *Benediction to all his Children.*

BY this Time, *Jacob* finding himſelf grow faint, and the Hour of his Departure near approaching, call'd the reſt of his Sons together, to take his Farewel of them, and diſtribute his Bleſſing, or rather to foretel what ſhould befal them, and their Poſterity, in future Ages: And ſo, directing his Speech to them ſeverally, he began with *Reuben* the eldeſt, and told him,—— That, for the Crime of Inceſt, in polluting his Father's Bed, he, and his Tribe were degraded † from the Privileges of his Birth-right. He told *Simeon* and *Levi*, (whom he join'd together upon this Occaſion) that, for their impious Maſſacre of *Hamor*

† Since *Jacob* had ſo ſtrictly inſiſted upon his being buried with his Father, and bound *Joſeph* with an Oath to ſee it done, it was proper for him to explain and clear himſelf, as to what might be ſecretly objected to his not interring *Rachel*, (*Joſeph*'s own, and his beſt beloved Conſort) in that *Burying-place*, where he ſo earneſtly deſir'd to lie himſelf; and for his Excuſe in this Reſpect, he had two Things to offer; 1ſt, That he was then upon his Journey, and in his Return from *Padan*; and 2dly, That he had erected a *monumental Pillar* upon her Grave, in a very publick and frequented Place: To which a *Right Reverend* Commentator has added a further Apology. —— That, as ſhe died in Child-bed, and *Jacob*, in his Travels, might not have all Things neceſſary to preſerve her Body long, he was conſtrain'd to bury her ſooner perhaps, than otherwiſe he would have done. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† The Prerogatives of the Birth-right conſiſted chiefly, in the Honour of the Prieſthood, in the Rule and Government of the Family, and in a double Portion of the Inheritance, which, at this Time, were all taken away from *Reuben*, and divided ſeverally; ſince it appears in the Sequel of the Hiſtory, that the Tribe of *Reuben* continu'd all along in Obſcurity, while the Prieſthood was conferr'd on *Levi*, the Government on *Judah*, and the double Portion on *Joſeph*, to deſcend to their reſpective Tribes. *Howell*'s Hiſtory of the Bible.

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Hamor and his People, † their Tribes ſhou'd for ever be ſeparate and *diſpers'd* among the other; but then, turning to *Judah*, he propheſied of him, that to his Tribe ſhou'd the *Sovereignty* belong, and they be † ſituated in a very fruitful Country; that from his Name ſhou'd the whole Nation of the *Jews* derive their Appellation; and that the Form of Government, which he then inſtituted, ſhou'd endure among them, until the *Meſſiah* came. † Of *Zebulun* he foretold, that his Tribe ſhou'd be planted near the Sea-coaſts; and † of *Iſſachar*, that *his* ſhou'd prove a puſillanimous People, and be Lovers of inglorious Eaſe, more than of Liberty and Renown.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

FROM *Leah*'s Sons the Patriarch paſſes to thoſe of his two *concubinary* Wives; and † of *Dan*'s Poſterity he foretels, that tho' they were deſcended from an Handmaid, yet they ſhou'd have the ſame Privileges with the other Tribes, ſhou'd become a politick People, and greatly vers'd in the Stratagems of War; of † *Gad*'s, that they ſhou'd be frequently infeſted with *Robbers*, but overcome them at laſt; of *Aſher*'s, that they ſhou'd be ſituated in a fruitful and exuberantly rich Soil; and ‡ of *Napthali*'s, that they ſhou'd ſpread their Branches like an Oak, and multiply exceedingly.

JACOB

† *Jacob*'s Words, in this Place, may imply a double Diſperſion, *viz.* of the two Tribes from each other; and of their being interſpers'd among the reſt: And, accordingly, that of *Levi* had no *Inheritance* among his Brethren, in the *Land of Canaan*, but only a certain Number of Cities aſſign'd to them in every Tribe. And, as for that of *Simeon*, they had properly no more, than a Portion of *Judah*'s Inheritance, *Joſh.* xix. 1. if we except ſome few Places, which they got upon Mount *Seir*, and in the Wilds of the Valley of *Gedor*, 1 Chron. vi. 39, &c. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

† The Country, which the Tribe of *Judah* was to inhabit, is thus deſcrib'd by *Jacob*: *Binding his Fole unto the Vine, and his Aſs unto the choice Vine; he waſhed his Garments in Wine, and his Cloaths in the Blood of Grapes*, Gen. xlix. 11. which are Expreſſions ſomewhat *hyperbolical:* (For they imply, that Vines, in this Country, ſhou'd be as common as Thorns in other Places; and Wine as plentiful as Water) but were, in a great Meaſure, anſwer'd in that fertile Land, which fell to the Tribe of *Judah*'s Share. For here was the Valley of *Eſcol*, a Bunch of whoſe Grapes was brought by the *Spies* as a Specimen of the Fruitfulneſs of the Land, *Numb.* xiii. 23. Here was a *Brook*, or Torrent, of the ſame Name, along whoſe Banks were the moſt delicious Paſture-Grounds for Cattle; and, as modern Travellers tell us, here are very large Grapes ſtill to be met with, eſpecially in the Valley of *Hebron*, which, in all Probability, is that, through which this *Torrent* runs. *Pool*'s Annotations, *Bibliotheca Bibl.* and Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

† Had *Jacob* been preſent at the Diviſion of the Land of *Canaan*, he cou'd hardly have given a more exact Deſcription of *Zebulun*'s Lot, than we find him doing, two hundred and fifty Years before it happen'd. For it extended from the *Mediterranean Sea* on the Weſt, to the Lake of *Genezareth* on the *Eaſt*, and lay therefore very commodiouſly for Trade and Navigation. The foretelling ſo preciſely and diſtinctly the Situation and Employment of this Tribe, tho', at firſt Appearance, it may ſeem a Matter of no great Moment, yet will be found to be quite otherwiſe, when it is conſider'd, that ſuch *Particularities* as theſe could not but be very convincing to the *Iſraelites*, that it was not Chance, nor Power, nor Policy, that put them in Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*, but *God's Right-Hand, and his Arm, and the Light of his Countenance, becauſe he had a Favour unto them.*

† No leſs remarkable is the Deſcription of *Iſſachar*'s Tribe, ſince, tho' they were a very laborious People in all rural Employments, yet they had no great Inclination to War; and were therefore frequently infeſted, and ſubjected by Strangers, eſpecially in the Time of the Judges.

† The *Jews* think, that the Prophecy of *Dan*'s deſtroying his Enemies by Craft, was more particularly fulfill'd, when *Sampſon*, who was of that Tribe, pull'd down the Temple, which cruſh'd himſelf and the *Philiſtines* to death.

† *Gad*'s Lot happen'd on the other Side of *Jordan*, where they were continually expos'd to the Incurſions of the bordering *Arabs*; but, by their Watchfulneſs and Bravery, they not only prevented them, but ſeveral Times caught, and plunder'd them in their Turns, in ſo much, that in one Battle, they took from them fifty thouſand Camels, two hundred and fifty thouſand Sheep, beſides an hundred thouſand Men Priſoners, *Deut.* xxxiii. 22, &c.

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation, *Napthali is a Hind let looſe, he giveth goodly Words*, are very obſcure, and ſcarce intelligible. For tho' the former Part of the Prediction is commonly apply'd to *Barak*'s overcoming *Siſerah*, and the latter to that noble *Canticle*, which *Deborah* made upon that Occaſion; yet the Expoſition, which the learned *Bochart* gives us of this Paſſage, *He ſhall be like a Tree, which ſhooteth out pleaſant Branches*, is both more agreeable to the Original, and more anſwerable to the Event; ſince no Tribe multiply'd ſo wonderfully, as this of *Napthali*, who had but four Sons, when he came into *Egypt*, and yet could muſter upwards of fifty-three thouſand Men fit to bear Arms, when he came out of it, *i. e.* in leſs than 220 Years. Eſſay towards a new Tranſlation.

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JACOB had reſerv'd the Sons of his beloved *Rachel* to the laſt; and therefore, turning to † *Joſeph*, at the ſame Time that he recollects his paſt Troubles, and ſets forth the future Greatneſs of his Tribe, he pours down upon him, and, in him, upon his Poſterity, Benedictions of all Kinds. "The Lord, even the God of "thy Fathers, *ſays he*, ſhall bleſs thee "*with the Dew of Heaven*, and with the "*Fatneſs of the Earth*, with the *Fruit of* "*the Womb*, i. e. with a numerous Poſte- "rity, and with the *Fruit of the Breaſt*, "with Plenty of all Sorts of Cattle. May "all the Bleſſings, promis'd to me and "my Forefathers, be doubl'd upon *Jo-* "*ſeph*'s royal Head; may they out-top "and out-ſtretch the everlaſting Moun- "tains, and prove to him more fruitful, "and more laſting, than they."

WHETHER *Jacob* might foreſee no Merit or Happineſs extraordinary in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, or that its being afterwards blended with the Tribe of *Judah* might make it partake of the ſame Bleſſing; but ſo it was, that he contented himſelf with deſcribing its † fierce and warlike Diſpoſition, which, like a ravenous *Wolf*, *would ſhed the Blood of its Enemies, and in the Evening divide their Spoil.* From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

THUS the good old Patriarch having given his † Bleſſing to his Children, according to the divine Direction, and not according to his own Inclination, reminded them all, (but *Joſeph* more eſpecially) to bury him among his Anceſtors, in the Cave of *Machpelah*; and ſo laying himſelf down in his Bed again, in a ſhort Time expir'd, after he had liv'd 147 Years in all, and ſeventeen of theſe in *Egypt*. *Death and pompous Funeral.*

THE Loſs of ſo good a Father, was doubtleſs lamented by all his Family, but by none with more ſincere Expreſſions of filial Sorrow, than by *Joſeph*. At length, remembring his dying Charge, he order'd his Phyſicians (according to the Cuſtom of the Country) to * embalm his Father's Body, and all Preparations for his Funeral to

† In the Benediction, which *Jacob* gives his Favourite *Joſeph*, there are two remarkable Titles, which he confers upon him. 1ſt, *That he was the Shepherd, and the Stone of* Iſrael, which ſeems to be a thankful Recognition of *Joſeph*'s Kindneſs to his Father and Family, in keeping, and feeding them, even as a *Shepherd* does his Sheep; by which Means he became the *Foundation*, or *Baſis*, as it were, of the Houſe of *Jacob*, by preſerving them from periſhing by Famine, and continuing them ſettl'd in the beſt Part of the *Egyptian* Kingdom, for a conſiderable Time: Tho' ſome refer it rather to his virtuous reſiſting the Temptations of his Miſtreſs, and patiently enduring the Maſter's Severity, to both of which he remain'd as immoveable, as a Stone. 2d, The other Title is, that he was *ſeparate from his Brethren*: Where, tho' the Word *Nazir* ſignifies to *ſeparate* (as *Joſeph* was certainly ſeparated from his Brethren, when he was ſold into *Egypt*) yet, as it is hardly ſuppoſable, that *Jacob* would couch ſo cruel an Action in ſo ſoft a Term, 'tis rather to be thought, that he us'd the Word *Nazir*, which ſignifies *crown'd*, in Alluſion to the Superintendants of the King's Houſhold, in all the *Eaſtern* Countries, who were call'd *Nazirs*, and wore probably ſome Kind of *Diadem* about their Heads, by Way of Diſtinction and Grandeur. And, as for the Fruitfulneſs promis'd to *Joſeph*, this was exemplify'd in the large Extent of his two-fold Tribe, *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, which at their *firſt* numbering yielded ſeventy-two thouſand ſeven hundred, *Numb.* i. and at their *ſecond*, eighty-five thouſand, and two hundred Men, all able to go out to War, *Numb.* xxvi.

† How brave and warlike a Body of Men, and how very expert in Feats of Arms, this Tribe became, we may conceive from what we are told of them, *viz.* that *there were ſeven hundred choſen Men among them, left-handed, every one of whom could ſling Stones at an Hair's Breadth, and not miſs*, Judges xx. 16. And how pertinacious they were in their Undertakings of this Kind, is manifeſt, both from the fierce Battles, which they fought againſt all the other Tribes, (tho' in a very bad Cauſe, *Judges* xix.) wherein they twice came off Conquerors; and from the long Oppoſition, which the Houſe of *Saul*, deſcended from this Tribe, made againſt the Acceſſion of *David* to the Throne, and which cou'd not be ſuppreſs'd, until *Abner*, the General of their Forces, had forſook them, *Judges*, and 1 *Sam.* paſſim.

† Beſides theſe Prophecies of *Jacob*, which were ſufficiently verified by their Events, the *Jews* aſcribe ſome other Works to him, *viz.* a Treatiſe, entitled, *The Ladder to Heaven*, and another call'd, *Jacob*'s *Teſtament*, which Pope *Gelaſius* reckons among the *Apocrypha*; together with ſome *Forms* of Prayer, which the *Jews* uſe every Night, and pretend that they were compos'd by him. As to the Commendations, which they ſo plentifully beſtow upon this Patriarch, theſe, in a great Meaſure, are juſtify'd by the *Character*, which the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* gives him, Chap. xliv. 23. And, as the *Mahometans* allow him not only to be a Prophet, but the Father likewiſe of all the Prophets, except *Job*, *Jethro*, and *Mahomet*; ſo they believe, that the Royal Dignity did not depart from his Poſterity, until the Times of *John the Baptiſt*, and *Jeſus Chriſt*; and that from him the Twelve Tribes of the *Jews* did ſpring, even as their own Twelve did from *Iſhmael*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Jacob*.

* The Manner of embalming among the *Egyptians*, according to *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and others, was as follows. When a Man died, his Body was carry'd to the Artificer's, whoſe Buſineſs it was to make Coffins. The upper Part

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to be made. For the Space of *ſeventy* Days they continu'd their Mourning for him; † in which Time it being improper for *Joſeph* to appear at Court, he deſir'd ſome of the Officers about the King to acquaint his Majeſty, that his Father, before his Death, had oblig'd him, upon Oath, to bury him in a Sepulchre belonging to their Family, in the Land of *Canaan*; and that therefore he begg'd Leave to go, and fulfil his laſt Commands, and wou'd, without Delay, return again. The King readily conſented to his Requeſt, and order'd moreover the chief Officers of his Houſhold, and ſome of the principal Nobility of the Kingdom, to attend the Funeral, who, join'd with his own, and his Father's whole Family, ſome in Chariots, and ſome on Horſeback, made * a very large and pompous Proceſſion. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

As ſoon as they were enter'd into the Land of *Canaan*, they made an Halt at † the *Threſhing-Floor of Atad*, and there continu'd mourning, and lamenting the Death of their Friend and Father, ſeven Days; which made the *Canaanites*, perceiving that the Company came from *Egypt*, call the Place, *Abel-mizraim*, or the

of the Coffin repreſented the Perſon, who was to be put in it, whether Man or Woman; and (if a Perſon of Diſtinction) was generally adorn'd with ſuch Paintings and Embelliſhments, as were ſuitable to its Quality. When the Body was brought home again, they agreed with the Embalmers; but, according to the Quality of the Perſon, the Prices were different. The higheſt was a Talent, *i. e.* about three hundred Pounds Sterling; twenty *Minæ* was a moderate one; and the loweſt a very ſmall Matter. As the Body lay extended, one of them, whom they call'd the *Deſigner*, mark'd out the Place, on the left Side, where it was to be open'd, and then a *Diſſector*, with a very ſharp *Egyptian* Stone, made the Inciſion, through which they drew all the Inteſtines, except the Heart and Kidneys, and then waſh'd them with Palm-Wine, and other ſtrong and binding Drugs. The Brains they drew through the Noſtrils, with an hook'd Piece of Iron, made particularly for that Purpoſe, and fill'd the *Skull* with aſtringent Drugs. The whole Body they anointed with Oil of *Cedar*, with Myrrh, Cinnamon, and other Drugs, for about thirty Days, by which Means it was preſerv'd *intire*, without ſo much as loſing its Hair, and *ſweet*, without any Signs of Putrefaction. After this, it was put into Salt, about forty Days; and therefore when *Moſes* ſays, that *forty Days* were employ'd in embalming *Jacob*, Gen. l. 3. he muſt mean the forty Days of his continuing in the Salt of Nitre, without including the *thirty Days*, that were ſpent in the other Operations above-mention'd; ſo that, in the whole, they mourn'd ſeventy Days in *Egypt*, as *Moſes* likewiſe obſerves. Laſt of all, the Body was taken out of this Salt, waſh'd, and wrapp'd up in Linnen Swaddling-bands dipp'd in Myrrh, and rubb'd with a certain Gum, which the *Egyptians* us'd inſtead of Glue, and ſo return'd to the Relations, who put it into the *Coffin*, and kept it in ſome Repoſitory in their Houſes, or in *Tombs*, made particularly for that Purpoſe. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Embalm*, and *Warburton*'s Divine Legation, Vol. II. l. 3.

† It was againſt Rule, for any Perſon, how great ſoever, in Mourning Apparel, to appear in Publick, and eſpecially in the Royal Preſence, becauſe, in that State, they were look'd upon as *defil'd*; and therefore *Joſeph* does not go himſelf, but deſires ſome of the Courtiers to carry his Requeſt to the King: And this Requeſt he was the rather bound to make, becauſe the Retinue and Guard, which the Pomp of the Funeral, and the Danger of Moleſtation from Enemies, made neceſſary, cou'd not be obtain'd without the King's Leave. *Muſculus.*

* The Splendor and Magnificence of our Partriarch's Funeral ſeems to be without a Parallel in Hiſtory. What hitherto has moſt affected me in the Compariſon, were indeed the noble *Obſequies* of *Marcellus*, as *Virgil* has deſcrib'd them; but how do even theſe (with all their *Parade* of Poetry about them) fall ſhort of the plain and ſimple Narrative before us? For what are the *ſix hundred Beds*, for which the *Roman* Solemnities, on this Occaſion, were ſo famous, in Compariſon of that *national itinerant* Multitude, *which ſwell'd like a Flood*, and *mov'd like a River*; to all *Pharaoh*'s *Servants*, to *the Elders of his Houſe*, and all the *Elders of the Land of* Egypt, *i. e.* to the Officers of his Houſhold, and Deputies of his Provinces, with all *the Houſe of* Joſeph, and his *Brethren*, and his *Father's Houſe*, conducting their ſolemn Sorrow for near three hundred Miles into a diſtant Country? *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Occaſ. Annot. 46.

† The Words in the Text are, ——— *And they came to the threſhing Floor of* Atad, *which is beyond* Jordan, *Gen.* l. 10, Where this Place was, we cannot determine from any Account in Scripture; but it is very probable, that it lay not far from the Place, where *Jacob* was buried, and ſo not far from *Hebron*. For ſince it is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the Corps of *Jacob* was carried to the Cave of *Machpelah*, ſuch a round-about Way, as the *Iſraelites* went afterwards into the Land of *Canaan*, viz. through *Arabia Petræa*, quite on the Eaſtern Side of *Jordan*, it remains to ſuppoſe, that theſe Places are ſaid to be *beyond* Jordan, not in reſpect of *Egypt*, from whence *Jacob*'s Corps was brought, but in reſpect of the Place, where *Moſes* was, when he wrote the Hiſtory, *i. e.* in a Country in the *Eaſt* of *Jordan*; and conſequently the Places *beyond Jordan*, muſt be ſuch, as lay on the Weſt of *Jordan*: But why they made the Threſhing-Floor of *Atad*, rather than the Place of Interment, the Scene of their Lamentations, is not ſo eaſy to reſolve. Perhaps it was a Place more convenient to ſtay in for *ſeven* Days, than the Field of *Machpelah*; or perhaps it might be the Cuſtom, at the very Entrance of the Country, where they carry'd the Corps to be bury'd, to fall into Lamentations, which they might repeat at the Grave again, though no mention be made of it here. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. I. and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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the Mourning of the *Egyptians*, ever after. They thence continu'd their March, till they came to the Field of *Machpelah*, where * they depoſited *Jacob* in the Cave with his Anceſtors, and ſo return'd to *Egypt* again.

Joſeph's Promiſes to his Brethren.

As ſoon as their Father was bury'd, *Joſeph*'s Brethren began to reflect on the Wrongs they had formerly done him, and were not a little apprehenſive, that, as he certainly had it in his Power, he might now have it in his Intention, to avenge himſelf of them: And therefore they conſulted together, and fram'd this Meſſage, ——That it was his Father's earneſt Requeſt, that he ſhould forget all paſt Injuries, and continue them under his Protection, as formerly. This when *Joſeph* heard, ſuch was his compaſſionate Temper, that he could not refrain from weeping; and therefore (to remove their Fears) he ſent immediately for them, and, receiving them with the ſame kind Affection, as when their Father was alive, excus'd the Actions, committed againſt him, in ſuch an obliging Manner, and gave them ſuch freſh Aſſurances of his future Love, and Adherence to them upon all Occaſions, as made them return to their Families full of Joy and Satisfaction.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

And his Death.

* The *ſacred Hiſtory* gives us no further Account of any Particulars in *Joſeph*'s Life, though he liv'd fifty four Years after his Father's Death. It informs us, that he liv'd to ſee himſelf the happy Parent of a numerous Offspring, in his two Sons *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, even to the third Generation; and all this while, we may preſume, that he continu'd in high Favour with his Prince, and in weighty Employments under him. But, when he grew old, and found his Death approaching, he ſent for his Brethren, and, with the like *prophetick Spirit*, that his Father *Jacob* had done, told them, that God, according to his Promiſe, would not fail to bring their Poſterity out of *Egypt*, into the Land of *Canaan*; and therefore he made them ſwear to him (as he had done to his Father) that, when it ſhould pleaſe God thus to *viſit* them, they would not forget to † carry his Body along with them: And to this

* The *Jewiſh* Doctors have a Tradition of a bloody Fight, which *Joſeph* had, at his Father's Funeral, with one *Tzepho*, the Son of *Eliphaz*, who wou'd have oppos'd his burying him in the Cave of *Machpelah*, as diſputing his Title to the Ground; but that *Joſeph*, and his Men, having overcome him, carry'd him away with them into *Egypt*, and kept him there Priſoner, as long as *Joſeph* liv'd; however, as ſoon as he was dead, *Tzepho* found Means to eſcape into *Italy*. Univerſal Hiſtory in the Notes, l. 1. c. 7.

* The Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* has given us an Encomium of the Patriarch *Joſeph* in theſe Words: *Of* Jacob *was this Man of Mercy born, who found Favour in the Eyes of all Fleſh. He was born to be the Prince of his Brethren, and the Support of his Family; to be the Head of his Kinſmen, and the firm Support of his People. His Bones were viſited, and propheſied after his Death*, Chap. xlix. 15. His Meaning is, that his Bones were remov'd out of *Egypt*, and that this fell out as a Conſequence of his *Prophecy*, that God wou'd viſit the *Hebrews*, and bring them into the promis'd Land. The *Jewiſh* Rabbins have taken a great Latitude in aſcribing ſeveral Particulars to this great Man, which have not the leaſt Foundation in Scripture. They make him the Inventor of all the Arts and Sciences, for which the *Egyptians* afterwards became ſo famous; and attribute to him the Compoſition of ſeveral Books, ſuch as *Joſeph*'s *Prayer*, *Joſeph*'s *Mirrour*, &c. which do not ſo much redound to his Credit. *Mahomet*, in his *Alcoran*, [Surat 12] relates his Hiſtory at length, but blends it with many fabulous Circumſtances, which have been much improv'd by the Eaſtern People; for they make him, in a manner, greater than the *Jewiſh* Doctors do. They tell us equally, that he taught the *Egyptians* the moſt ſublime Sciences, and particularly *Geometry*, which was highly neceſſary in their Diviſion of the Land. They ſuppoſe, that all the Wells, and Baths, and Graineries, which go under his Name, nay, that all the antient *Pyramids* and *Obeliſks*, tho' they do not, were of his Erection; and they believe, that he had all along upon his Shoulder a Point of Light, like a Star, which was an indelible Mark of the Gift of Prophecy; with many more Fictions of the like Nature. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Joſeph*.

† There are ſeveral Reaſons, which might induce *Joſeph* not to have his dead Body immediately carry'd into *Canaan*, and bury'd, as his Father's was. 1ſt, Becauſe his Brethren, after his Deceaſe, might not have Intereſt enough at Court to provide themſelves with ſuch Things, as were neceſſary to ſet off the Pomp and Solemnity of a Funeral befitting ſo great a Perſonage. 2dly, Becauſe he might foreſee, that the *Egyptians*, in all Probability, as long as their Veneration for his Memory was warm, wou'd hardly have ſuffer'd his Remains to have been carry'd into another Country. 3dly, Becauſe the Continuance of his Remains among them might be a Means to preſerve the Remembrance of the Services, he had done them, and thereby an Inducement to them to treat the Relations, he had left behind him, with more Kindneſs. 4thly, And chiefly, becauſe the Preſence of his Body with the *Iſraelites* might be a Pledge to aſſure them, and a Means to ſtrengthen and confirm their Faith and Hope in God's Promiſes to

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this Purpoſe, as ſoon as he was dead, (which was in the hundred and tenth Year of his Age) they had his Body embalm'd, and * kept in a *Coffin*, until the Time of their *Deliverance* ſhould come.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

The OBJECTION.

" THE Hiſtory of *Joſeph* is as little " liable to Exceptions, as almoſt " any Portion of Scripture; and yet there- " in we meet with ſome Facts, that are " not ſo agreeable to our Apprehenſions, " nor conſonant to the Character of that " holy Patriarch. For, to paſs by *Jacob*'s " *Farewel*, which ſeems rather to *curſe*, " than *bleſs* his Children, beſides the " many *odd* Compariſons, that attend it; " what ſhall we ſay to *Joſeph*'s marrying " into an *idolatrous* Family, and ſwear- " ing ſo frequently *by the Life of* Pha- " raoh; to his practiſing (as his Steward " inſinuates) *Arts of Divination*, and " adviſing the King to take the Advantage " of a Famine, (at the Hazard of a " Mutiny) in order to impoveriſh all " his Subjects, except the *Prieſts*; and " what is more than all, to his cruel " Uſage of his Brethren, and putting his " aged Father into ſo many Frights? " His Care and Concern for the Sup- " port of his Father, while he liv'd, and " for his honourable Interment, when he " came to die, was highly commendable " without doubt: But we cannot but think, " that the *Sacred Hiſtorian* was minded to " aggrandize his Port and Manner of Liv- " ing, when he repreſents him, as (*e*) " *commanding his Servants the Phyſicians* " *to embalm his Father.* For, beſides " the extravagant Piece of State of having " ſuch a Body of *Domeſticks* about him; " (*f*) there is Reaſon to preſume, that " the Science of *Phyſick*, properly ſo cal- " led, was not at this Time, ſo much as " profeſs'd in *Egypt*, as it certainly was " not in *Greece*, until *Hippocrates* brought " it into Requeſt: And, conſequently, " that the *Phyſicians*, which *Moſes* here " mentions, in order to diſplay poor *Joſeph*'s " Magnificence, were no better, than a " Company of *Diſſectors* and *Embalmers*, " which *Egypt* was known to abound " with.

" HOWEVER this be, it is hardly ſup- " poſable, that *Joſeph* ſhould, in ſo ſhort " a Time, as *Moſes* allows him, acquire a " Knowledge of *the Egyptian* Language, " ſufficient to qualify him for the Office of " *Potiphar*'s Steward; nor can we con- " ceive the Reaſon, why his Maſter, if " he believ'd his Wife, and ſuppos'd him " guilty of invading his Bed, did not im- " mediately put him to Death. But, the " greateſt Wonder of all is, how *this* " ſame *Potiphar* could be call'd an *Eu-* " *nuch*, when it is ſo notorious that he " had a Wife: How *Jacob* can ſay of " himſelf, that he *got* a Tract of Ground " *with his Sword and his Bow*, when it is " ſo well known, that he was a peaceable " Man, and was never engag'd in War; " or how the famous Prophecy of *the* " *Sceptre's not departing from* Judah can " be ſaid to have been fulfill'd in its ap- " pointed Time, when the *Jews* (it muſt " be

their Progenitors, that he would infallibly put their Poſterity in Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*: And accordingly, when *Moſes* deliver'd them out of *Egypt*, he carry'd *Joſeph*'s Body along with him [*Exod.* xiii. 19.] and committed it to the Care of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, who buried it near *Shechem*, [Joſh. xxiv. 32.] in the Field which *Jacob*, a little before his Death, gave to *Joſeph*, as his peculiar Property. *Peterius* and *Patrick*'s Commentaries. *Pool*'s Annotations and *Calmet*'s Dictionary under the Word.

* The *Jewiſh* Rabbins have a Story, that the *Egyptian Magicians* came and told *Pharaoh*, that if he had a mind to keep the *Hebrews* in his Dominions, he muſt hide *Joſeph*'s Body in ſome certain Place, where they ſhou'd never find it, becauſe it wou'd be impoſſible for them to go out of *Egypt* without it; that thereupon his Body was put into a Cheſt of 6000 lb. Weight, which was ſunk in the Mud of one of the Branches of the River *Nile*; and that *Moſes* was forc'd to work a Miracle to get it out, and carry it away. *Calmet*, ibid.

(*e*) Gen. l. 2. (*f*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 9.

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" be own'd) had loſt all Government of " their own, and were ſubject to other " Nations, long before the *Meſſias* came."

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing that the Prophecy, concerning Judah's *Sceptre was fulfill'd in due Time.*

The moſt material Objection we have plac'd at laſt; and, becauſe it relates to a Paſſage in Scripture, which is known to have its Difficulties, it may not be improper, in order to give it a clear Solution, firſt to cite the Paſſage itſelf, and then to explain the Terms, contain'd in it: (g) *The Sceptre ſhall not depart from* Judah, *nor a Law-giver from between his Feet, until* Shiloh *come, and unto him ſhall the Gathering of the People be.*

1. Now the Word *Shevet*, which we render *Sceptre*, has both a *literal*, and a *figurative Signification*. In its *literal*, it denotes a *Rod*, a *Wand*, a *Sceptre*, a *Shepherd*'s *Crook*, &c. and in its *figurative*, it either implies the Correction and Puniſhment, whereof the *Rod*, or the Authority and Power, whereof the *Sceptre*, is the Enſign. It cannot be doubted, I think, but that the Word is to be taken in a *figurative* Senſe here; and yet it cannot be ſuppos'd to ſignify *Puniſhment*, becauſe the Tribe of *Judah* was ſo far from being in a State of Affliction, that it always flouriſh'd exceedingly, and, even in the Time of its *Captivity*, enjoy'd its own Form of *Government*. The Word muſt therefore, in this Place, be put for that *Power* and Dominion, whereof the *Sceptre*, in antient Times, was thought a fitter Repreſentation, than either the *Crown* or *Diadem*.

2. The Word *Mechokek*, which we tranſlate *Law-giver*, is not *ſynonimous* with the former, but has two diſtinct Significations. It ſometimes ſignifies, not a Perſon who has Power to make Laws himſelf, but only to *teach* and *inſtruct* others in thoſe Laws, that are already made: And, in this Senſe, it differs very little from the *Scribes*, and *Doctors*, and Teachers of the Law, whereof there is ſo much mention made in our *Saviour*'s Days. At other Times, it denotes a Perſon, inveſted with Power and Authority even to make Laws, but then this Authority of his is inferior to that of a King; ſo that properly he may be call'd an inferior *Magiſtrate*, or Governor, ſet over a People, by the Licence of ſome *Monarch*, and, by his Commiſſion, appointed to rule: And in this Senſe the Word ſhould rather be taken here, becauſe there were ſuch *Governors* and Deputies ſet over the *Jews*, after their Return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

3. The Phraſe, which we render *between his Feet*, (according to the Modeſty of the Scripture Expreſſion) means nothing elſe, but *of his Seed* or Poſterity; and ſo the Intendment of this Part of the Prediction muſt be, that *the Tribe of* Judah *ſhould have Law-givers of their own to the very laſt Times.*

4. From whatever *Radix* it is, that the Word *Shiloh* is deriv'd, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* are agreed in this, that, by the Perſon, to whom this Title is apply'd, the *Patriarch* intended the great Saviour of the World, who is call'd the *Meſſias*, or Chriſt.

5. By *Judah* here, there is not an abſolute Neceſſity to underſtand the People of that *Tribe* only, but all thoſe likewiſe, who were afterwards call'd *Jews*. And, 6. Whether we refer the *Gathering* of the People to the *Tribe of* Judah (as they did in the Times of the *Captivity*) or to *Shiloh, when he ſhould come*, as to the Main of the Prophecy, there is not a great deal of Difference; ſince the Main of the Prophecy is, —— *That the Meſſias ſhould come, before the* Jewiſh *Government would totally ceaſe.* And therefore the Queſtion is, whether there was any Form of Government, ſubſiſting among the *Jews*, and particularly in the Tribe of *Judah*, at the Time when *Chriſt* was born.

The Form of Government, which *Jacob*, upon his Death-bed, inſtituted, was that of dividing his Family into *Tribes*, and making his own, and the two Sons of *Joſeph*, Heads over their reſpective Houſes. This Government was properly *Ariſtocratical:*

(g) Gen. xlix. 10.

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Ariſtocratical: But, in Times of ſome extraordinary Exigence, all Authority was devolv'd into the Hands of a *Judge*, who, when the End, for which he was appointed, was effected, (in the ſame Manner as the *Roman Dictator* did) reſign'd up his Power, and became no more than *one of the Princes of the Tribes of his Fathers.*

THE Abuſe of this *judicial* Power however, in the Hands of *Samuel*'s Sons, made the People deſirous of a *regal* Government; and in that *Form* it continu'd, from the Time it came into *David*'s Hand, (who was of the Tribe of *Judah*) for the Space of four hundred and ſeventy Years. The Diviſion of the Kingdom made a great Alteration in the Fortunes of the *People*, for the *Aſſyrian* Captivity was the Ruin of the ten Tribes. They loſt their Government, and from that Time never recover'd it; but it was not ſo with the Kingdom of *Judah*, in the *Babyloniſh*: (*b*) For, if we conſider, that the *Jews* were carried to *Babylon*, not to be Slaves, but were tranſplanted as a *Colony*, to people that large City; that they were commanded therefore, (*i*) by the Prophet, to *build Houſes*, and *plant Gardens*, and to ſeek the *Peace of the City*, in which they were Captives; and, that upon the Expiration of their ſeventy Years Captivity, many of them were ſo well ſettled in Eaſe and Plenty, that they refus'd to return to their own Country again. If we conſider farther, that the *Jews* liv'd at *Babylon* as a diſtinct People, and were govern'd, in their own Affairs, by their own Elders; that they appointed Feaſts and Faſts, and order'd all other Matters relating to their Civil and Eccleſiaſtical State among themſelves; and that, upon their Return from *Babylon*, they were thought a People conſiderable enough to be complain'd of to *Artaxerxes*: We cannot but conclude, that they made all along a Figure, far from comporting with the Condition of mere *Slaves*, ſubjected entirely to a foreign Yoke, without any Law, or Government of their own.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

AFTER the Time of this Captivity indeed, the *Jews* were never ſo free a People, as they had been before. They liv'd under the Subjection of the *Perſian* Monarch, and under the Empire of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, to their laſt Deſtruction; but ſtill they liv'd as a diſtinct People, govern'd by their own Laws; and the Authority of the *Perſian*, and other Kings, over them, deſtroy'd not that *Rule*, which, in all the Viciſſitudes that befel them, they ſtill poſſeſs'd.

HOW the Caſe ſtood, in the Time of the *Aſmonæan* Princes, may be collected from ſeveral Paſſages in the *Maccabees*: And that the like Government ſubſiſted, to the very Death of Chriſt, may, in like Manner, be evinc'd from many Inſtances in the *Goſpel*; but one or two of theſe will be enough to illuſtrate the Thing.

WHEN our Saviour tells the *Jews*, (*k*) *The Truth ſhall make you free*, and they reply, *We are* Abraham's *Children, and were never in Bondage to any Man*, ſurely they had not forgot their Captivity in *Babylon*, much leſs could they be ignorant of the Power of the *Romans* over them at that Time; and yet they accounted themſelves *free*, and ſo they were, becauſe they liv'd by their own Laws, and executed Judgment among themſelves. When our Saviour foretels his Diſciples, that they (*l*) *ſhould be deliver'd up to Councils, and ſcourg'd in Synagogues*, he ſhews, at the ſame Time, what Power and Authority were exercis'd in the Councils, and Synagogues of the *Jews*: And (to mention but one Inſtance more) when *Pilate*, willing to deliver *Jeſus*, ſays to the *Jews*, (*m*) *Take ye him, and crucify him*; and again, (*n*) *Take ye him, and judge him according to your own Law*; he likewiſe ſhews, that the *Jews* liv'd under their own Law, and had the Exerciſe of *judicial* Authority among themſelves.

BY

(*b*) Biſhop *Sherlock*'s third Diſſertation, annex'd to his Uſe and Intent of Prophecy. (*i*) Jer. xxix. 5, 7.
(*k*) John viii. 32, 33. (*l*) Matth. x. 71. (*m*) John xix. 6. (*n*) Chap. xviii. 31.

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By this Deduction it appears evidently, that the *Sceptre*, plac'd in the Hand of *Judah*, by his Father *Jacob*, juſt before his Death, continu'd in his Poſterity, till the very Death of Chriſt. From that Time all Things began to work towards the Deſtruction of the *Jewiſh* Polity, and, within a few Years, their City, Temple, and Government were utterly ruin'd, aud the *Jews* not carry'd into a gentle Captivity, to enjoy their Laws, and live as a diſtinct People, in a foreign Country; but were ſold, like Beaſts in a Market, became Slaves in the ſtricteſt Senſe, and, from that Day to this, have neither Prince, nor Law-giver among them: So that, upon the Whole, (*o*) the Senſe of *Jacob*'s Prophecy, with relation to *Judah*, as it is now fulfill'd, may not improperly be ſumm'd up in this Paraphraſe.

"The Power and Authority, which "ſhall be eſtabliſh'd in the Poſterity of "*Judah*, ſhall not be taken from them, "or, at leaſt, they ſhall not be deſtitute "of Rulers and Governors; (no, not when "they are in their *declining* Condition) "until the Coming of the *Meſſiah*. But, "when he is come, there ſhall be no Dif"ference between the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, "who ſhall be all obedient to the *Meſſiah*: "And, after *that*, the Poſterity of *Judah* "ſhall have neither *King*, nor Ruler of "their own, but their whole Common"wealth ſhall quite loſe all Form, and "never recover it again."

How Jacob may be ſaid to have taken a Tract of Land by Force of Arms.

The *Bequeſt*, which *Jacob* makes to his Son *Joſeph*, runs into this Form: —— (*p*) *Moreover, I have given to thee one Portion above thy Brethren, which I took out of the Hand of the* Amorite, *with my Sword, and with my Bow.* But when did we ever read of *Jacob*'s being a military Man? His Sons indeed invaded *Shechem*, and took, not from the *Amorites*, but the *Hivites*, the adjacent Country, as we may ſuppoſe; but ſo far is he from approving of what they did, that, to his very dying Hour, we find him ſeverely remonſtrating againſt it; and muſt therefore be ſuppos'd too conſcientious, either to retain himſelf, or to conſign to his beloved Son, a Portion of Land, acquir'd by ſuch wicked and *ſanguinary* Means. From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

The Tract of Ground therefore, which he mentions, muſt certainly be that, (*q*) which he purchas'd of *Hamor*, the Father of *Shechem*; which he gave *Joſeph* for a Burying-place, and where *Joſeph*, in Conſequence of that Donation, (*r*) was afterwards bury'd, and not in the Field of *Machpelah*, the common *Repoſitory* of moſt of his Anceſtors. And, to reſolve the Difficulty of his Saying, that he *took it from the* Amorite *by Force of Arms*, when it is manifeſt, that he *bought it of* Hamor *the* Hivite, *for an hundred Pieces of Silver*; we may obſerve, that the Perſons, who are call'd *Hivites* in one Place, may, without any Impropriety, be call'd *Amorites* in another, for as much as the *Amorites*, being the chief of all the ſeven Nations in *Canaan*, might give Donomination to all the reſt, in like Manner, as all the People of the *United Provinces* are, from the Preeminence of *that one*, commonly call'd *Hollanders*: And then, if we can but ſuppoſe, that, after *Jacob*'s Departure from *Shechem*, for fear of the neighbouring Nations, ſome ſtraggling *Amorites* came, and ſeiz'd on the Lands, which he had purchas'd, and that he was forc'd to have recourſe to Arms, to expel the Invaders, and maintain his Right, all the Difficulty, or ſeeming Repugnance, of the Paſſage, vaniſhes.

(*s*) *JACOB*, we allow, was a Man of Peace, but his Sons were Warriors; and to them he might the rather give Permiſſion, to recover the Poſſeſſion of what he had bought, becauſe he look'd upon it, as an Earneſt of his Poſterity's future Poſſeſſion of the whole Land. (*t*) And tho' we read nothing, in the foregoing Hiſtory, either of the *Amorites* invading *Jacob*'s Property, or of his expelling them thence; yet

(*o*) *Patrick*'s Commentary, in Loc. (*p*) Gen. xlviii. 22. (*q*) Chap. xxxiii. 19. compar'd with Joſh. xxiv. 32. (*r*) Joſh. xxiv. 32. (*s*) *Pool*'s Annotations. (*t*) *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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yet this is far from being the only Inſtance of Things being ſaid to be done in Scripture, (*u*) whoſe Circumſtances of Time, Place, and Perſons, we find no where recorded; and a much eaſier Suppoſition it is, than to make (as ſome have done) the *Sword and the Bow*, here mention'd, to ſignify the *Money*, wherewith he purchas'd this ſmall Territory.

Jacob's Prophecies, *or* Bleſſings *to his Sons vindicated.*

JACOB is the firſt, that we read of, who particularly declar'd the future State of every one of his Sons, when he left the World; but it has been an antient Opinion, that the Souls of excellent Men, the nearer they approach to their Departure hence, the more *divine* they grew, had a clearer Proſpect of Things to come, and (as (*x*) *Xenophon* makes *Cyrus* ſpeak) *at the Point of Death, became prophetick.* Though therefore the laſt Words, which we find our Patriarch uttering to his Sons, may be rather accounted *Prophecies*, than *Benedictions*; yet ſince the Text aſſures us, that (*y*) *he bleſſed every one with a ſeparate Bleſſing*, we may fairly infer, that the three *eldeſt* though he found reaſon to rebuke very ſharply, yet, if his Rebukes, and the Puniſhment pronounc'd againſt them, had the good Effect to bring them to a due Senſe of their Tranſgreſſions, it was a Bleſſing to them, tho' not a *temporal one*; though, even in this laſt Senſe, it cannot be ſaid, but that he bleſſed *them* likewiſe, ſince he aſſign'd each of them a Lot, in the Inheritance of the promis'd Land, which it was in his Power to have depriv'd them of.

HOWEVER this be, (*z*) 'tis certain that all impartial Criticks have obſerv'd, that the Stile of theſe Bleſſings, or Prophecies (call them which we will) is much more *lofty*, than what we meet with in the other Parts of this Book; and therefore ſome have imagin'd, that *Jacob* did not deliver theſe very Words, but that *Moſes* put the Senſe of what he ſaid into ſuch *poetical* Expreſſions. But to me it ſeems more reaſonable to think, that, the Spirit of Prophecy, now coming upon the good old Patriarch, rais'd his Diction, as well as Sentiments; even as *Moſes* himſelf is found to have deliver'd (*a*) his *Benedictions* in a Strain more ſublime, than what occurs in his other Writings.

From Ge. xxxvii. to the End

'TIS true, indeed, that, in the *Predictions* of the Patriarch, as well as in the *Benedictions* of *Moſes*, ſeveral *Compariſons* do occur, which are taken from brute Animals. Thus *Judah* is compar'd to a *Lion*, *Iſſachar* to an *Aſs*, *Dan* to a *Serpent*, *Benjamin* to a *Wolf*, and *Napthali* to an *Hind let looſe*: But this is ſo far from being a Diſparagement to the *prophetick* Spirit, that it is a Commendation of it; ſince, if the *Lion* be a proper Emblem of *Power* and *Strength*; if the *Aſs* be an Image of *Labour* and *Patience*; if the *Serpent*, an Hyeroglyphick of *Guile* and *Subtilty*; if the *Wolf*, a Symbol of *Violence* and *Outrage*; and if an *Hind let looſe* be no bad Repreſentation of a People loving Liberty and Freedom; then were theſe *Qualities*, which nothing but a divine Spirit cou'd foreſee, abundantly ſpecify'd (as their reſpective Hiſtories ſhew) in the Poſterity of the ſeveral Heads of Tribes, to which they are applied.

AND, as theſe Compariſons are a Kind of Teſtimony of the divine Inſpiration of the holy Patriarch upon this Occaſion, ſo are they far from being any Diminution of the Dignity of the Subject, he was then treating of; ſince a Man muſt be a Stranger to all Compoſitions of this Kind, who is not perſuaded, that *Compariſons*, taken from the *Animal-World*, are, as it were, the *Sinews* and Support of what we call the *Sublime*; and who finds not himſelf leſs inclin'd to cavil at *Jacob*'s Manner of Expreſſion, when he perceives the lofty *Homer* comparing his Heroes ſo frequently to a Lion, a Wolf, an Aſs, a Torrent, or a Tree, according to the Circumſtances he places them in, or the different Point of Light, wherein he thinks proper to take them. And I mention it as an Argument

(*u*) To this Purpoſe, ſee Gen. xlviii. 22. Deut. ii. 9, 10, 11. Joſ. xxiv. 11. (*x*) Lib. 8. (*y*) Gen. xlix. 28. (*z*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*a*) Deut. xxxiii.

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of the Truth and Excellency of the *Moſaick* Hiſtory, that we find its Author adhering to the *original Simplicity*, and purſuing that very Method of Writing, which was certainly in Vogue, when the moſt antient Books, that we know any Thing of, were compos'd.

Why Joſeph *might be made* Potiphar's *Steward very ſoon.*

MOSES's Method of Writing (as we have had Occaſion, more than once, to take notice) is very *ſuccinct*; and therefore when he tells us, that, upon *Joſeph*'s coming into *Egypt*, and being ſold to *Potiphar*, *Captain of the Guard*, he commenc'd Steward of his Houſhold, we muſt not ſuppoſe, that there did not a ſufficient Space of Time intervene to qualify him for that Office. What therefore ſome of the *Jewiſh* Doctors tell us, ſeems not improbable, *viz.* that his Maſter, as ſoon as he bought him, ſent him to *School*, and had him inſtructed, not in the Language only, but in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*. However this be, 'tis certain, that there is no ſmall Affinity between the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* Tongue; ſo that a Perſon of good natural Parts, and of an Age the fitteſt that cou'd be for learning any Thing, might, with a little Diligence and Application, make himſelf Maſter of it, in a very ſhort Time.

JOSEPH indeed, as we may obſerve, talk'd to his Brethren by an *Interpreter*; and that he might do, tho' the Difference between the two Tongues was not very great. (*b*) A *Frenchman*, we ſee, is not underſtood at firſt by an *Italian*, or *Spaniard*, tho' all the three Languages are deriv'd from the ſame Original; but, when once he is let into the Knowledge of this, and comes to perceive their different *Formations* and *Conſtructions*, what was *foreign* to him before, ſoon becomes *familiar*. And, in like Manner, *Joſeph*, with a ſmall Matter of Inſtruction, and ſome Obſervation of his own, might be let into the Secret of the *Egyptian* Language, the Nature of their *Accounts* and the Cuſtoms of the Country, and ſo become every Way qualify'd to give the Content, we find he did, in the Place to which he was advanc'd.

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(*c*) THE Notion, that we have of an *Eunuch*, is a Perſon, who has loſt his *Virility*; and therefore to aſſign him a Wife (as we find *Potiphar* had a very naughty one) may ſeem a manifeſt Incongruity; but for this there is an eaſy Solution to be given. The Word *Saris* indeed denotes equally an *Eunuch*, and any *Court Miniſter*; and the Reaſon of this Ambiguity is, —— That, as *Eaſtern Kings*, for their greater Security, were wont to have Slaves, who were *caſtrated*, to attend the Chambers of their Wives and Concubines, and, upon Proof of their Fidelity, did frequently advance them to the other *Court-Employments*, ſuch as being *Privy-Councellors*, *High-Chamberlains*, *Captains* of their Guards, *&c.* it hence came to paſs, that the Title of *Eunuch* was conferr'd on any, who were promoted to thoſe Poſts of Honour and Truſt, even though they were not *emaſculated*. And indeed, when we read, in the Book of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, ſo frequent Mention made of *Eunuchs* about the Perſon of *David*, and other *Jewiſh* Princes, we muſt be far from ſuppoſing, that theſe were all *Eunuchs* in Reality, ſince it was unlawful, (*d*) according to their *Hiſtorian*, in that Nation, to *caſtrate* even a domeſtick Animal; and, according to the Inſtitution of their Law, an expreſs Prohibition it was, that (*e*) *he, who had his privy Members cut off, ſhould not enter into the Congregation of the Lord.*

In what Senſe Potiphar, *tho' a married Man, is call'd an* Eunuch.

BOTH the *Arabick* Verſion, and the Targum of *Onkelos*, are therefore very right, in rendering the Word, a *Prince*, or *Miniſter* of *Pharaoh*: For, if we compare the ſeveral Parts of his Hiſtory, we ſhall find, (*f*) that *Potiphar* had the chief Command of the Forces, that guarded the Perſon and Palace-Royal; that, as ſuch, he preſided in all Courts, and Cauſes, that had a more immediate Relation to theſe; that he had Power, under the King, of

(*b*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, in Gen. xlii. 23. Antiq. l. 4. c. 8. (*c*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit. 20. (*d*) *Joſeph.* (*e*) Deut. xxiii. 1. (*f*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* on Gen. Vol. II. Occaſ. Annot. 39.

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of judging and deciding all Caſes within thoſe Walls, of impriſoning and releaſing, of Life and Death, and of haſtening or ſuſpending the Execution of capital Puniſhments.

Why he did not immediately kill Joſeph.

AND, if *Potiphar* was a Perſon inveſted with all this Authority, it may ſeem a little ſtrange, why he did not immediately put *Joſeph* to Death; ſince, had his Wife's Accuſation been true, his Crime deſerv'd no leſs a Puniſhment: But whether it was, that *Joſeph* had found Means to vindicate himſelf, by the Mediation of the *Keeper of the Priſon*, who was *Potiphar*'s Deputy, tho' there is no Account of it in Scripture; or God, in Behalf of the *Righteous*, might interpoſe to mollify the Heart of this great Man, and reſtrain his Hand from doing Violence; the Iſſue of the Matter ſhews, that he was, in a ſhort Time, convinc'd of his Innocence, or otherwiſe, it cannot be believ'd, that he wou'd have ſuffer'd him to be made ſo eaſy, and to be inveſted with ſo much Power, in the Priſon; tho', at the ſame Time, he might not think proper to releaſe him, for fear that ſo publick an Acquitment might bring Diſreputation both to his Wife and himſelf.

Why Joſeph *might accept of* Honours *from* Pharaoh.

JOSEPH cou'd not but foreſee, that to live in the Palaces of Kings, and to accept of high Poſts and Honours wou'd be very hazardous to his Virtue: (*g*) But, when he perceiv'd the Hand of Providence ſo viſible in raiſing him, by Ways and Means ſo very extraordinary, to Eminence, and an Office wherein he wou'd have it in his Power to be beneficial to ſo very many, he could not refuſe the Offers, which the King made him, without being rebellious to the Will and Deſtination of God. To him therefore, who had ſecur'd him hitherto, he might, in this Caſe, commit the Cuſtody of his Innocence, and accept of the uſual Enſigns of Honour, without incurring the Cenſure of Vanity or Oſtentation.

And marry *an* Egyptian *Woman.*

AND, tho' in After-Ages, all Marriages with Infidels were certainly prohibited; yet there ſeems to be, at this Time, a certain *Diſpenſation* current, for as much as *Judah*, to be ſure, if not more of *Joſeph*'s Brethren, had done the ſame: Beſides that, in *Joſeph*'s Caſe, there was ſomething peculiar. (*h*) For, as he was in a ſtrange Country, he had not an Opportunity of making his Addreſſes to any of the Daughters of the Seed of *Abraham*; as the Match was of the King's making, he was not at Liberty to decline it, without forfeiting his Pretenſions to the Royal Favour, and conſequently to the Means of doing ſo much Good; and, as it is not improbable, that he might be adviſ'd to it by a particular Revelation, ſo is it highly reaſonable to believe, that he *converted* his Wife, at leaſt, to the Worſhip of the true God, before he eſpous'd her: Even tho' there ſhou'd be nothing in that Opinion of the *Rabbins*, that he made a *Proſelyte* likewiſe of her Father, the *Prieſt of* On, (who could not but be deſirous to purchaſe, at any Rate, ſo advantageous an Alliance) and took this Occaſion to eſtabliſh the Rite of *Circumciſion*, if not in all *Egypt*, at leaſt among Perſons of the *ſacred* Order, who, (according to the Account of thoſe, who wrote the Hiſtory of that Country) in very early Days, certainly were not without it.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

That he was not accuſtom'd to ſwear.

SOME may imagine, that, the better to perſonate an *Egyptian* Lord, and thereby conceal himſelf from his Brethren, or rather to comply with the Language of the *Court* in this Particular, *Joſeph ſwore by the Life of* Pharaoh, in the ſame Manner, as the *Romans*, in Adulation to their Emperor, were wont to ſwear by his *Genius*. It muſt be acknowledg'd indeed, that, as every Oath is a ſolemn Appeal to God, to ſwear by any *Creature* whatever muſt needs be an impious and idolatrous Act; and therefore the proper Solution of this Matter is, —— not that Oaths of this Kind were allowable before the Inſtitution of *Chriſtianity*, but that *Joſeph*, in making uſe of theſe Words, did not ſwear at all. (*i*) For, ſince every Oath implies in it either an *Invocation* of ſome Witneſs,

(*g*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriarch. Vol. II. Exer. 20. (*h*) *Heidegger*, ibid. (*i*) *Sanderſon*'s Prælec. 5. §. 7.

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Witneſs, or a *Poſtulation* of ſome *Revenge*, (as our great *Sanderſon* terms it) to ſay that *Joſeph* appeal'd to the *Life of* Pharaoh, as a Witneſs, is ridiculous; and, without a very forc'd Conſtruction indeed, the Words can never be ſuppos'd to include in them a *Curſe*; and therefore their moſt eaſy Signification muſt be, what we call *indicative: By the Life of* Pharaoh, *i. e.* as ſure and certain as *Pharaoh* liveth, *ye are Spies*; juſt as we ſay, *By the Sun, that ſhines, I ſpeak Truth*, i. e. as ſure as the *Sun* ſhines; neither of which can, with any Propriety, be call'd *Oaths*, but only vehement Aſſeverations.

That he did not practiſe Divination, tho' he ſeems to pretend to it.

The Words which *Joſeph*'s Steward, ſent to apprehend his Brethren, makes uſe of, are, (*k*) *Is not this the Cup, in which my Lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth*; and the Words, wherein *Joſeph* accoſts them, when they are brought before him, are, (*l*) *What Deed is this that ye have done? Wot ye not that ſuch a Man, as I, can certainly divine?* And from hence (*m*) ſome have imagin'd, that *Joſeph* was a Perſon addicted to *magical* Arts, and, by Virtue of this ſingle Cup, could diſcover ſtrange and wonderful Things. But, in Anſwer to this, others have obſerv'd, (*n*) that the Word *Naſhah*, which we render to *divine*, was formerly of an indefinite Senſe, and meant in general to *diſcover* or *make a Trial of*; and, accordingly, they have devis'd a double Acceptation of the Steward's Words, as if he ſhould ſay, —— *By this Cup* (viz. left in a careleſs and negligent Manner) *my Maſter was minded to make an Experiment, whether you were Thieves, or honeſt Men*; or ſay, —— *By this Cup, wherein he drinketh, my* * *Maſter diſcovers and finds out the Temper and Diſpoſitions of Men, when they are in Liquor.* But both of theſe Senſes ſeem a little too much forc'd, and are far from agreeing with the other Words of *Joſeph*.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

It muſt be acknowledg'd therefore, that, as *magical* Arts of divers Kinds were in uſe among the *Egyptians*, many Years before *Joſeph*'s Time of coming thither; and that, as *Joſeph*, by his wonderful Skill of interpreting Dreams, had gain'd a great Reputation for Knowledge, and, perhaps, among the Populace, might paſs for a *Diviner*; he took an Occaſion from hence, in order to carry on his Deſign, to aſſume a *Character*, that did not belong to him. There is no Reaſon however to infer from the Words, that * the Art of *divining by the Cup*, (as it came afterwards to be practis'd) was then in uſe in *Egypt*; (*o*) becauſe the Words before us (according to the Senſe of the beſt Interpreters) do not relate to this Cup, as the *Inſtrument*, but as the *Subject* of Divination; not as the Thing, *with which*, but as the Thing, *concerning which* this magical Enquiry was to be made. And ſo the Senſe of the Steward's Words will be, " How could you think, but " that my Lord, who is ſo great a Man " at *Divination*, would uſe the beſt of " his Skill to find out the Perſons, who " had robb'd him of the Cup, which he " ſo

(*k*) Gen. xliv. 5. (*l*) Ver. 15. (*m*) Vid. *Saurin*'s Diſſertation 38. (*n*) *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* What may ſeem to give ſome ſmall Sanction to this Senſe, is that known Paſſage in *Horace*.

Reges dicuntur multis urgere cuculis,
Et tentare mero, quem perſpexiſſe laborant,
An ſit amicitiâ dignus. De Arte Poet.

* *Julius Serenus* tells us, that the Method of *divining by the Cup*, among the *Aſſyrians*, *Chaldees*, and *Egyptians*, was, to fill it firſt with Water, then to throw it into thin Plates of Gold and Silver, together with ſome precious Stones, whereon were engraven certain Characters; and, after that, the Perſons, who came to conſult the *Oracle*, us'd certain Forms of *Incantation*, and ſo calling upon the *Devil*, were wont to receive their Anſwers ſeveral Ways. Sometimes by *articulate Sounds*; ſometimes by the *Characters*, which were in the Cup, riſing upon the Surface of the Water, and, by their Arrangement, forming the Anſwer; and, many Times, by the viſible Appearing of the Perſons themſelves, about whom the Oracle was conſulted. *Cornelius Agrippa* [de occult. Philoſ. l. 1. c. 57.] tells us likewiſe, that the Manner of ſome was, to pour melted Wax into the Cup, wherein was Water, which Wax would range itſelf in Order, and ſo form Anſwers, according to the Queſtions propos'd. *Saurin*'s Diſſertation 38. and *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Exercit. 20.

(*o*) *Heidegger*'s Hiſt. Patriar. Vol. II. Exercit 20.

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" ſo much prizes?" And this tallies exactly with the ſubſequent Words of *Joſeph*, *Wot ye not that ſuch a Man, as I*, " I, who have rais'd myſelf to this Emi- " nence by my Interpretation of Dreams, " and may therefore well be accounted an " *Adept* in all other Sciences, ſhould be " long at a Loſs to know, who the Per- " ſons were, that had taken away my " Cup?" This ſeems to be the natural Senſe of the Words; the only one indeed, that they will fairly bear: (*p*) And tho' they do not imply, that *Joſeph* was actually a *Magician*, yet they ſeem to juſtify the Notions of thoſe Men, who think, that he carry'd his *Diſſimulation* to his Brethren ſo far, as to make them believe that he really had ſome Knowledge that Way.

Was not unkind to his Father, or Brethren.

THE *Royal Pſalmiſt*, in his Deſcription of the Sufferings of *Joſeph*, (*q*) tells us, that he was not only ſold to be a *Bond-ſervant*, but that *his Feet were hurt in the Stocks, and Iron entered into his Soul*, which ſignifies, at leaſt, that he endur'd very hard Uſage, before *the Time came that his Cauſe was known*, and his Innocence diſcover'd; and of all this his Brethren, when they ſold him into Slavery, were properly the Occaſions. So that, could we conceive, that any angry Reſentments could harbour in a Breaſt, ſo fully ſatisfy'd of a divine Providence in all this Diſpenſation, we might have imagin'd, that *Joſeph* took this Opportunity to *retaliate* the Injuries, which were formerly done to him; but this he did not. He deſir'd indeed to be inform'd in the Circumſtances of their Family, without aſking any *direct* Queſtion; and therefore he mentions his Suſpicion of their being *Spies*, merely to *fiſh out* of them (as we call it) whether his *aged* Father, and his *younger* Brother were yet alive. For, upon their Return, we may perceive (eſpecially conſidering that it is the *firſt Miniſter* of a mighty State, that ſpeaks to a Company of poor indigent Shepherds) a wonderful Tenderneſs in his Expreſſions: (*r*) *Is your Father well; the old Man, of whom ye ſpake, is he ſtill alive?* beſides the Inſtructions, which he plainly gave his Steward to bid them be *of good Cheer*. When he underſtood that his Father and Brother were both alive, and, as yet, had not Matters prepar'd for the Removal of his Father and Family, the Eagerneſs of his Affections may perhaps be thought to have carry'd him a little too far, in demanding his Brother to be brought to him; but we are not to doubt but that *Joſeph*, by the divine Spirit, wherewith he was endow'd, did certainly foreſee what would happen, (*s*) and that his Father's grieving a little Time for *Benjamin* wou'd be ſo far from endangering his Health, that it would only increaſe his Joy, when he ſaw him again, and diſpoſe him the better for the Reception of the welcome News of his own Advancement in *Egypt*; which, had it come all upon him at once, and on a ſudden, might have been enough to have bereav'd him of his Senſes, if not of his Life itſelf, by a *Surfeit* of Joy.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

UPON their ſecond Diſmiſſion, after a very Kind Entertainment, it may be thought perhaps a Piece of Cruelty in *Joſeph*, to have his Cup convey'd (of all others) into *Benjamin*'s Sack, and thereupon to threaten to make him a *Bond-ſlave*, for a pretended *Felony*: But herein was *Joſeph*'s great Policy, and Nicety of Judgment. He himſelf had been ſeverely treated by the reſt, when he was young, and therefore was minded to make an Experiment, in what Manner they would now behave towards his Brother; whether they would forſake him in his Diſtreſs, and give him up to be a *Bond-ſlave*, as they had ſold *him* for one; or whether they would ſtand by him in all Events, make Interceſſion for his Releaſe, or adventure to ſhare his Fate.

THIS, perhaps, may be thought his carrying the Matter a little too far: But, without this Conduct, *Joſeph* cou'd not have known, whether his Brethren rightly

(*p*) *Saurin*'s Diſſertations. (*q*) Pſal. cv. 17, 18. (*r*) Gen. xliii. 7. (*s*) Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

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deserv'd the Favour and Protection, which he might then design, and afterwards granted them. Without this Conduct, we had not had perhaps the most lively Images, that are to be met with in Scripture, of *injur'd Innocence*, of Meekness and Forbearance, and the *Triumphs* of a good Conscience, in him; and of the Fears and Terrors, the Convictions and *Self-condemnations* of *long conceal'd Guilt* in them. Without this Conduct, we had not had this lovely Portraiture of paternal Tenderness, as well as brotherly Affection; we had never had those solemn, sad, and melting Words of *Jacob*, (*t*) *If I am bereav'd of my Children, I am bereav'd*, enough to pierce a tender Parent's Heart; or those others, (*u*) *Joseph is alive, I will see him before I die*, enough to raise it into Joy and Exultation again. In a Word, without this Conduct, we had never had that *courteous*, that *moving*, that *pleasingly mournful* Speech, wherein *Moses* makes *Judah address* Joseph, in Behalf of his poor Brother *Benjamin*, which exceeds all the Compositions of human Invention, and * flows indeed from such *natural* Passions, as Art can never imitate. So that, upon a Review of his whole Conduct, *Joseph* is so far from deserving Blame, that all this seeming Rigour and Imperiousness of his, did *eventually* produce a great deal of Good; and was, in reality, no more, than the heightening the Distress, or thickening the *Plot* (as we call it in a Play) to make the *Discovery*, or future Felicity, he intended his Family, more conspicuous and agreeable.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

That there was Plenty of Physicians in Egypt *in the Time of* Joseph.

It must be acknowledg'd indeed, that *Moses* has done Justice to the History of *Joseph*, and employ'd most of the *tender* Passions of human Nature to give it a better Grace; but we must not therefore infer, either that he hath transcended Truth, or committed an Error, in recording the Quality of the Persons, employ'd to embalm his Father. What has led some into a great Mistake concerning the Origin of *Physick*, and that it was of no Vogue in the World until the Days of *Hippocrates*, was the great Superiority of Skill and Genius, which he demonstrated, both in his Practice and Writings. The Truth is, the *Divine old Man* (as (*x*) one expresses it) did so totally eclipse all, who went before him, that, as Posterity esteem'd his Works the *Canon*, so did it look upon him as the great *Father* of Medicine. But if we will credit the Testimony of (*y*) *Galen*, (who tho' a late Writer, was a very competent Judge) we shall find, that he was far from being the first of his Profession, even among the *Greeks*.

HOMER indeed, in his Poem of the *Trojan* War, seems to have cut out more Work for *Surgeons*, than *Physicians*; and therefore we find the chief of the *Faculty* only employ'd * in healing Wounds, extracting Arrows, preparing Anodynes, and other such like external Operations; but, if we look into his other Work, which is of a more *pacifick* Strain, we shall soon discern

(*t*) Gen. xliii. 14. (*u*) Chap. xlv. 28.

* The Observation of a learned Author upon the *Dialogue* between *Jacob* and his Sons, as well as the Speech of *Jacob*, is well worth our Notice, and serious Consideration. "Since such Passages are related by Men, who affect "no Art, and who liv'd long after the Parties, who first utter'd them, we cannot conceive, how all Particulars "cou'd be so naturally and fully recorded, unless they had been suggested by his Spirit, who *gives Mouth* and Speech "to Man; who, being alike present to all Successions, is able to communicate the secret Thoughts of Forefathers "to their Children, and put the very Words of the Deceas'd (never register'd before) into the Mouths, or Pens of "their Successors, for many Generations after, and that, as exactly and distinctly, as if they had been caught, in "Characters of Steel or Brass, as they issu'd out of their Mouths: For it is plain, every Circumstance is here re-"lated, with such natural *Specifications*, (as he terms it) as if *Moses* had heard them talk; and therefore cou'd not have "been thus represented to us, unless they had been written by his divine Direction, who knows all Things, as well "forepast, as present, or to come." Dr *Jackson* on the Creed, l. 1. c. 4.

(*x*) *Warburton*'s Divine Legation of *Moses*, Vol. II. lib. 4. (*y*) Meth. Medic. lib. 1.

* Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀνθάξιος ἄλλων
Ἰὸς τ' ἐκτάμνειν ἐπί τ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσειν. Iliad. XI.

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diſcern the Uſe of internal Applications, when we find * *Helen* brought in, as giving *Telemachus* a Preparation of Opium, which (as the Poet informs us) ſhe had from *Pelydamna*, the Wife of *Thon*, an *Egyptian* Phyſician of great Note. And well might the Phyſicians of *Egypt* be held in great Eſteem, "when (as *Herodotus* "relates the Matter) every diſtinct Diſtemper had its proper Phyſician, who con"fin'd himſelf to the Study and Cure of "that only; ſo that, one Sort having the "Cure of the Eyes, another of the Head, "another of the Teeth, another of the "Belly, and another of occult Diſeaſes, "we need not wonder, that all Places "were crowded with Men of this Profeſ"ſion, or that the Phyſicians of *Joſeph*'s "Houſhould ſhou'd be repreſented as a "large Number." True it is indeed, that theſe Phyſicians (and the very beſt of them) were employ'd in embalming the Dead; but then there was a wiſe Deſignation in this, *viz.* (z) not only to improve them in the Knowledge of *Anatomy*, but to enable them likewiſe to diſcover the Cauſes of ſuch Diſorders, as were a Baffle to their Art. And therefore, it was the Cuſtom of the Kings of *Egypt*, (as *Pliny* informs us) to cauſe dead Bodies to be diſſected, on purpoſe to find out the Origin and Nature of all Diſeaſes. Thus it appears from the concurring Teſtimony of other Hiſtorians, that the Practice of Phyſick was a common Thing in *Egypt*, as early as the Days of *Joſeph*; that the Multitude of its Profeſſors makes it no ſtrange Thing, his having a Number of them in his Family; and that the Nature of the Thing, as well as the Order of the State, oblig'd the very beſt of them to become *Diſſecters*, and *Embalmers*.

Joſeph's *publick Management.*

THIS may ſerve for a Vindication of what the Sacred *Hiſtorian* has related of our *Patriarch* in his *private* Life, and we come now to conſider him in his *publick* Capacity. As ſoon as he had foretold the King the long Famine, that was to befal *Egypt*, he gave him Advice to have the *fifth* Part of the Product of the Country laid up in Store againſt the enſuing Want. The *tenth* Part, (according to the Conſtitution of the Nation) belong'd to the King already, and to adviſe him to purchaſe as much more, for ſeven ſucceeding Years, was to conſider him as the *publick Father* of his People, for whoſe Support and Welfare he was concern'd to provide. When himſelf was appointed to the Office of gathering in the Corn, he took care, no doubt, to have his *Granaries* in fortify'd Places, and, as the Scarceneſs increas'd, to have them ſecur'd by a Guard of the King's Forces, to prevent Inſurrections and Depredations. When he came to open his *Storehouſes*, he ſold to the Poor and to the Rich; and was it not highly reaſonable that he, who bought the Corn, ſhou'd likewiſe ſell it; or that the Money, which, by the King's Commiſſion and Order, had been laid out for ſuch a Stock of Proviſions againſt the approaching Neceſſities of his Subjects, ſhou'd return to the King's Coffers again, to anſwer his Occaſions? When their Money was gone, they brought him their Cattle; but this they did of their own Accord, without any Compulſion or Circumvention; and might he not as legally exchange Corn for Cattle, as he did it for Money before? His Corn he kept up perhaps at an high Rate; but had he ſold it *cheap*, or given it *gratis*, the People, very likely, would have been profuſe, and wanton in the Conſumption of it; whereas his great Care and Concern was, to make it hold out the whole Time of the *Famine*. He oblig'd the Inhabitants of one City and Diſtrict to remove, or make Room for thoſe

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* Τοῖα Διὸς δυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μειλιόεντα
Ἐσθλὰ, τά οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παράκοιτις
Αἰγυπτίη, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
Φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα πολλὰ δ' λυγρά
Ἰητρὸς δ' ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων ——— Odyſſ. Lib. iv.

(z) *Warburton*, ibid.

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thoſe of another; but this he might do, not ſo much to ſhew their Subjection to *Pharaoh*, as to ſecure the publick Peace, by diſabling them, in this Way, from entering into any ſeditious Meaſures and Combinations.

It cannot be imagin'd indeed, but that in a Time of ſuch general Want and Calamity, Men's Minds would be ripe for Rapine, Violence, and Mutiny; and yet we meet with no one Commotion, during the whole Period of his *critical* Miniſtry, which beſpeaks the Skill of the *Mariner*, when he is found able to *ſteer* ſteady in the Midſt of ſo tumultuous a Sea. In fine, after he had a long while executed his high Truſt, and the Years of Famine were come to a Concluſion, he gave the People back their Liberties and Eſtates, reſerving to the King no more, than a double *Tenth* out of the Produce of their Lands, as a *Tribute* of their Vaſſalage; which, conſidering the Richneſs of the Soil, and the little Pains requir'd in cultivating it, was an Impoſition, far from being burthenſome to the Subject, or vaſtly diſproportionate to the Benefit they had receiv'd.

And favouring the Prieſts, vindicated.

There is but one Thing more, that I find objected to *Joſeph* in this publick Station, (*a*) and that is, his Favour and Indulgence to the *Prieſts*, (and Prieſts that were *Idolaters*) in ſparing their Lands, and laying no Tax upon them.

The *Jewiſh* Doctors have a Tradition, that, when *Joſeph* was in Priſon, and his Maſter had bad Deſigns againſt him, it was by the Intereſt of the Prieſts, that he was ſet free, and that, conſequently, in Gratitude, he could not do leſs, than indulge them with ſome particular Marks of his Favour, when he came into ſuch a Compaſs of Power. But there is no Occaſion for any ſuch Fiction as this. (*b*) The Prieſts of *Egypt* were taken out of the chief Families of the Nation: They were Perſons of the firſt Quality; were conſulted upon all publick Affairs of Conſequence; and, upon a Vacancy, generally ſome One of them ſucceeded to the Crown. It was not likely therefore, that Perſons of their high Rank and Station wanted *Joſeph*'s Aſſiſtance, to ſtrengthen their Intereſt, for the obtaining of any *Immunities*; nor is it apparent that they had it. On the contrary, it ſeems evident from the *Text*, that whatever peculiar Favours they were vouchſaf'd, proceeded all, not from *Joſeph*'s Good-will, but from the King's immediate Direction and Appointment: For *the Land of the Prieſts bought he not*, ſays *Moſes* (*Ci chok le cohanim meeth* Pharaoh) becauſe *Pharaoh* had made a Decree expreſsly againſt it, or, (in Analogy to our *Tranſlation*) *becauſe there was an Appointment for the Prieſts, even from* Pharaoh; *and the Portion, which he gave them, they did eat, and therefore ſold not their Lands.*

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Why *Pharaoh*, when he thought fit to leſſen the Property of his *common* Subjects, did not, at the ſame Time, attempt to reduce the exorbitant Riches of the Prieſts, we may, in ſome Meaſure, account for, if we conſider, that, according to the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, the *Egyptian* Prieſts were oblig'd to provide all Sacrifices, and to bear all the Charges of the *national* Religion, which, in thoſe Days, was not a little expenſive; ſo very *expenſive*, that we find, in Countries where the Soil was not fruitful, and conſequently the People poor, Men did not well know how to bear the Burden of Religion; and therefore *Lycurgus*, when he reform'd the *Lacedemonian* State, inſtituted Sacrifices, the meaneſt and cheapeſt that he could think of. But *Egypt*, we know, was a rich and fertile Country, and therefore, in all Probability, the King and People being deſirous that Religion ſhould appear with a ſuitable Splendor, made Settlements upon the Prieſts from † the very firſt Inſtitution of Government among

(*a*) Lord *Shafteſbury*'s Characteriſticks, Vol. III. Miſcel. 3. (*b*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 7.

† It is the Opinion of ſome, that *Mizraim*, the Founder of the *Egyptian* Monarchy, might, in Memory of ſome *Noachical* Tradition, ſet apart, at the very firſt, a Maintenance for the *Prieſthood*, however degenerate and corrupt.

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among them, anſwerable to the Charges of their Function. Add to this, that the Prieſts of *Egypt* were the whole Body of the Nobility of the Land; that they were the King's Counſellors and Aſſiſtants, in all the Affairs which concern'd the Publick; (*c*) were *joint Agents* with him in ſome Things, and, in others, his *Directors* and *Inſtructors*. Add again, that they were the Profeſſors and Cultivators of *Aſtronomy*, *Geometry*, and other uſeful Sciences; that they were the Keepers of the publick Regiſters, Memoirs, and Chronicles of the Kingdom; and, in a Word, that, under the King, they were the ſupreme Magiſtrates, and fill'd all prime Offices of Honour and Truſt: And, conſidering them under theſe Views, we may poſſibly allow, that *Pharaoh* might think that they had not too much to ſupport the Station they were to act in, and, for that Reaſon, order'd that no *Tax* ſhou'd be rais'd upon them.

The Teſtimony of Heathen *Writers, concerning theſe Things.*

THUS we have endeavour'd to clear the *ſacred* Hiſtory from all Imputations of Improbability or Abſurdity, as well as *Joſeph*'s Conduct, both *private* and *publick*, from all unjuſt Cenſure, during this Period of Time; and may now produce the Teſtimony of ſeveral *Heathen* Writers, in Confirmation of ſundry Particulars related herein.

THAT the Memory of *Joſeph*, and of the wonderful Benefits he did, during the Time of his Adminiſtration, was preſerv'd among the *Egyptians*, under the Worſhip of *Apis*, *Serapis*, and *Oſiris*; that the *Egyptian* Manner of interpreting Dreams was taken from what occurs in his Hiſtory; and that the *Chariſtia* (mention'd by (*d*) *Valerius* and (*e*) *Ovid*) *viz.* Feſtival Entertainments, either for confirming *Friendſhip*, or renewing it, when *broken*, were Tranſcripts of the *Feaſt*, which *Joſeph* made for his Brethren, is the general Opinion of ſuch learned Men, as have made the deepeſt Enquiry into theſe Matters.

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THAT the Patriarch *Jacob* went down with his whole Family into *Egypt*, where he found his Son *Joſeph* in great Power and Proſperity, is reported by ſeveral Pagan *Writers*, who are cited (*f*) by *Euſebius*. That the *Egyptians*, (according to what *Moſes* tells of them) had an unaccountable *Antipathy* to *Shepherds*, eſpecially *Foreigners*, is related (*g*) by *Herodotus*. That the Prieſts in that Country enjoy'd ſeveral high Privileges, and were exempted from paying all *Taxes* and publick Impoſts, is every where apparent (*h*) from *Diodorus*: And, that *Joſeph* was juſt ſuch a Perſon, as *Moſes* has repreſented him, the Teſtimony (*i*) of *Juſtin* (with which we conclude the *Patriarch*'s Story) is enough to convince us. *Joſeph, the youngeſt of his Brethren,* ſays he, *had a Superiority of* Genius, *which made them fear him, and ſell him to foreign Merchants, who carry'd him into* Egypt, *where he practis'd the Magick Art with ſuch Succeſs, as render'd him very dear to the King. He had a great Sagacity in the Explanation of* Prodigies, *and* Dreams; *nor was there any Thing ſo abſtruſe, either in divine or human Knowledge, that he did not readily attain. He foretold a great* Dearth, *ſeveral Years before it happen'd, and prevented a Famine's falling upon* Egypt, *by adviſing the King to publiſh a Decree, requiring the People to make Proviſion for divers Years. His Knowledge, in ſhort, was ſo great, that the* Egyptians *liſten'd to the Prophecies coming from his Mouth, as if they had proceeded, not from Man, but from God himſelf.*

Be this as it will, 'tis certain, that, in Proceſs of Time, their Allotment increas'd to ſuch a Degree, that they became Poſſeſſors of one third Part of the whole Land, according to *Diodorus*, l. 1.

(*c*) *Diodorus Siculus*, l. 1. (*d*) Lib. ii. c. 1. (*e*) De Faſt. l. 2. (*f*) Prepar. Evang. l. 9. (*g*) Lib. ii. c. 47. (*h*) Lib. i. (*i*) Lib. xxxvi. c. 2.

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DISSERTATION IV.

Of the Person and Book of JOB.

The Person and Book of Job real.

THAT *Job* was a *real* Person, and not a *fictitious* Character, and his *Story* Matter of Fact, and not a *parabolical* Representation, * is manifest from all those Places, in Scripture, where Mention is made of him: And therefore, when, in the *Old* Testament, we find *Job* put in Company with *Noah*, and *Daniel*, and equally distinguish'd for his *Righteousness*, as, in the *New*, he is commended for his *Patience*; we cannot well suppose, that the Spirit of God, in both these Places, intended to delude us with a *Phantom*, instead of presenting us with a *real* Man.

WHETHER we allow that the Book of *Job* is of *divine Revelation*, or not, we cannot but perceive, that it has in it all the *Lineaments* of a *real History*; since the Name, the Quality, the Country of the Man, the Number of his Children, the Bulk of his Substance, and the Pedigree of his Friends, together with the *Names* and *Situations* of several Regions, can give us the Idea of nothing else: Tho' it must not be dissembled, that, in the *Introduction* more especially, there is an *allegorical* Turn given to some Matters, which (as they relate to *spiritual* Beings) would not otherwise so easily affect the Imagination of the Vulgar.

His Family.

(*k*) *JOB*, according to the fairest Probability, was, in a direct Line, * descended from *Abraham* by his Wife *Keturah*: For, by *Keturah* the Patriarch had several Sons, whom he, being resolv'd to reserve the chief Patrimony entire for *Isaac*, *portion'd out* (as we call it) and sent them into the *East* to seek their Fortunes, so that most of them settled in *Arabia*; and for this Reason perhaps it is, that the Author of his History records of *Job*, that, before his Calamities came upon him, (*l*) *he was the greatest of all the Men of the East.*

THE Character, which God himself gives of *Abraham* is this. —— (*m*) *I know him, that he will command his Children, and his Houshold after him, and that they shall keep the Way of the Lord, to do Justice*

* Nay, upon the Supposition that the whole Book were a Dramatic Composition, this wou'd not invalidate the Proofs, which we have from Scripture of the real Existence of this holy *Patriarch*, or the Truth of his *exemplary* Story. On the contrary, it much confirms them; seeing it was the general Practice of *Dramatic* Writers, of the serious Kind, to chuse any illustrious Character, and well known Story, in order to give the Piece its due Dignity and Efficacy: And yet, (what is very surprizing) the Writers on both sides, as well those, who hold the Book of *Job* to be *Dramatical*, as those, who hold it to be Historical, have fallen into this *Paralogism*, that, if *Dramatical*, *then the Person, and History of* Job, *is fictitious*: Which nothing, but their Inattention to the Nature of a *Dramatic* Work, and to the Practice of *Dramatic* Writers, cou'd have occasion'd. *Warburton*'s Divine Legation, Vol. III. Lib. vi.

(*k*) *Spanheim*'s History of *Job*, c. 5.

* At the End of the *Greek*, the *Arabick*, and *Vulgate* Versions of *Job*, we have this Account of his *Genealogy*, which is said to have been taken from the antient *Syriack*. Job *dwelt in* Ausitis, *upon the Confines of* Idumæa, *and* Arabia. *His Name at first was* Jabab. *He marry'd an* Arabian *Woman, by whom he had a Son, call'd* Ennon. *For his Part, he was the Son of* Zerah, *of the Posterity of* Esau, *and a Native of* Bozrah; *so that he was the fifth from* Abraham. *He reign'd in* Edom, *and the Kings before him reign'd in this Order:* —— Balak, *the Son of* Beor, *in the City of* Dinhabah; *and, after him,* Job, *otherwise call'd* Jobab. Job *was succeeded by* Husham, *Prince of* Teman; *after him reign'd* Hadad, *the Son of* Bedad, *who defeated the* Medianites *in the Fields of* Moab. Job's *Friends, who came to visit him, were* Eliphaz, *of the Posterity of* Esau, *King of* Teman; Bildad, *King of the* Shuhites; *and* Zophar, *King of the* Naamathites. According to this Account, *Job* must be contemporary with *Moses*, and the three Friends, who came to see him, must be *Kings*. But the learned *Spanheim*, who has examin'd this Matter to the Bottom, finds Reason to think, that *Job* was a distinct Person from *Jobab*; was sprung from *Abraham* by his Wife *Keturah*; and liv'd several Years before the Time of *Moses*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, on the Word *Job*, and *Spanheim*'s Life of him.

(*l*) Job i. 3. (*m*) Gen. xviii. 19.

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ſtice and Judgment; which may well afford another Argument for *Job*'s being deſcended from the Houſe of *Abraham*, ſince we find diſperſed, every where in his Speeches, (*n*) ſuch noble Sentiments of Creation and Providence, of the Nature of Angels, and the Fall of Man, of Puniſhments for Sin, and Juſtification by Grace, of a Redemption, Reſurrection, and final Judgment; Notions which he could never have ſtruck out from the *Light of Nature*, but muſt have had them originally from the Inſtitution of his Parents, as they ſucceſſively deriv'd them from the firſt *Father of the Faithful*, who had them *immediately* from God. But (what is an undoubted Matter of Fact) by his Wife *Keturah*, (*o*) *Abraham* had a Son, whoſe Name was *Shuah*, and therefore when we read of (*p*) *Bildad the Shuhite*, we may well ſuppoſe, that he was a Deſcendant from that Family; who, living in the Neighbourhood perhaps, might think himſelf oblig'd, by the Ties of *Conſanguinity*, to go, and viſit his Kinſman, in ſuch ſad Circumſtances of Diſtreſs.

His Country. IN what Part of the World the Land of *Uz* lay, various Opinions have been ſtarted, according to the ſeveral Families, from whence *Job* is made to deſcend: But, upon Suppoſition, that he ſprung from one of *Keturah*'s Sons, his Habitation is moſt properly plac'd in that Part of *Arabia Deſerta*, which has, to the *North*, *Meſopotamia*, and the River *Euphrates*; to the *Weſt*, *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and *Idumæa*; and, to the *South*, the Mountains of the *Happy Arabia*. And this Deſcription receives ſome farther Confirmation from the Mention, which the Hiſtory makes of the *Chaldeans*, and *Sabæans* plundering his Eſtate, who were certainly Inhabitants in theſe Parts.

When he liv'd. IN what Age of the World this great Exemplar of Suffering liv'd, the Difference of Opinions is not ſmall, even tho' there be ſome *Criterions* to direct our Judgment in this Matter. (*q*) That *Job* liv'd in the World much *earlier*, than has been imagin'd, is, in ſome Meaſure evident from his mentioning, with Abhorrence, that antient Kind of *Idolatry*, the Adoration of the Sun and Moon, and yet paſſing by in Silence the *Egyptian* Bondage, which, upon one Occaſion or other, could have hardly eſcap'd the Notice, either of him, or his Friends, had it not been ſubſequent to their Times. That he liv'd in the Days of the *Patriarchs* therefore is very probable, from the long Duration of his Life, which, continuing an hundred and forty Years after his Reſtoration, could hardly be leſs in all than two hundred; a longer Period than either *Abraham* or *Iſaac* reach'd. That he liv'd before the *Law* may be gather'd from his making not ſo much as one Alluſion to it, through the whole Courſe of his Life, and from his *offering*, (even with God's Order and Acceptance) ſuch Sacrifices in his own Country, as were not allowable, after the Promulgation of the *Law*, to be offer'd in any other Place, but that, (*r*) *which the Lord had choſe in one of the Tribes of* Iſrael; and that he liv'd after *Jacob* may be inferr'd from the Character given him by God, *viz.* that for *Uprightneſs*, and the Fear of God, there was none *like unto him upon the Earth*, which large Commendation could not be allow'd to any, whilſt *Jacob*, God's favourite Servant, was alive; nor can we ſuppoſe it proper to be given to any, even while *Joſeph* liv'd, who, in *moral* Virtues, and other Excellencies, made as bright a Figure, as any in his Time. Thus may the Computation be reduc'd to a very narrow Compaſs; and tho' it be extremely difficult to point out the *preciſe* Time, yet the general Opinion is, that he liv'd in the Time of the Children of *Iſrael*'s Bondage, and therefore his Birth is plac'd in the very ſame Year, wherein *Jacob* went down into *Egypt*, and the Beginning of his *Trial* in the Year, when *Joſeph* died; (*s*) tho' it might probably be leſs liable

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(*n*) *Spanheim*'s Hiſtory of *Job*, c. 10. (*o*) Gen. xxv. 2. (*p*) Job ii. 11. (*q*) *Spanheim*, c. 3.
(*r*) Deut. xii. 13, 14. (*s*) *Howell*'s Hiſtory of the Bible.

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liable to Exception, if his Birth were ſet a little lower, much about the Time of *Jacob*'s Death; and then *Joſeph*, who ſurviv'd his Father about four and fifty Years, will be dead about ſixteen Years, at which Time *Job* might juſtly deſerve the extraordinary Character, which God gave him, and have no Man then alive, in Virtue and Integrity, able to compare with him.

His former *Greatneſs, and* ſubſequent *Sufferings.*

How conſiderable a Figure *Job* made in the World, both in *temporal* and *ſpiritual* Bleſſings, the Vaſtneſs of his Stock (which was the Wealth of that Age) conſiſting of ſeven thouſand Sheep, three thouſand Camels, five hundred Yokes of Oxen, and five hundred She-Aſſes; the Largeneſs of his Family, conſiſting of ſeven Sons, and three Daughters; and the Excellency of the Character, which God was pleas'd to give him, together with the Greatneſs of his Sentiments, and the Firmneſs and Conſtancy of his Mind in all he ſuffer'd, are a ſufficient Demonſtration: And yet we ſee, that, as ſoon as God ſubmitted him to the Aſſaults of his *ſpiritual* Enemy, what a ſad *Cataſtrophe* did befal him. The *Sabæans* ran away with his Aſſes; the *Chaldeans* plunder'd him of his *Camels*; a Fire from Heaven conſum'd his *Sheep* and *Servants*; a Wind overwhelm'd all his Children; and, while the Senſe of theſe Loſſes lay heavy upon his Spirits, his Body was ſmitten with a ſore Diſeaſe, in ſo much that he, who, but a few Hours before, was the greateſt Man in the Country, in whoſe *Preſence the young Men were afraid to appear, and before whom the Aged ſtood up*, to whom Princes paid the moſt awful Reverence, and whom Nobles, in humble Silence, admir'd; diveſted of all Honour, ſits mourning on a Bed of Aſhes, and, inſtead of *royal* Appa-rel, has (*t*) *his Fleſh cloathed* (as himſelf expreſſes it) *with Worms and Clods of Earth*, and is all over-ſpread with *Sores* and *Ulcers*.

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What his Diſtemper was.

According to the Symptoms, which *Job* gives us of himſelf, his Diſtemper ſeems to have been a *Leproſy*, but a Leproſy of a more malignant Kind, (as it always is in *hot* Countries) than our Climate (bleſſed be God) is acquainted with; and thoſe, who would have it to be a Malady of a more *opprobrious Name*, loſe all the Sting of the *Sarcaſm*, when they are told, that this Diſtemper, be it what it will, was not of *Job*'s Contraction, but of *Satan*'s *Infliction*, not the Effect or Conſequence of his Vice, but the Means appointed for the Trial of his Virtue.

Their Opinion however ſeems to be well founded, who make this Diſtemper of *Job* not one ſimple Malady, but a Complication of many. For ſince the great Enemy of Mankind, ſaving his Life, had a full Licence to try his Patience to the uttermoſt, it is not to be queſtion'd, but that he play'd all his *Batteries* upon him: And, accordingly, we may obſerve, that, (*u*) beſides the *Blanes* puſtulated to afflict his Body, the Devil not only inſtigated his Wife † to grieve his Mind, but diſturb'd his Imagination likewiſe to terrify his Conſcience. For, when the holy Man complains, (*x*) *Thou ſcareſt me with Dreams, and terrifieſt me with Viſions*, the Analogy of the Hiſtory will not ſuffer us to interpret, that God himſelf did inject theſe affrightening Dreams, but that the Devil (to whoſe Temptations he had ſubmitted him) did raiſe gloomy Thoughts, and frame horrid and ghaſtly Objects in his Imagination, thereby to urge him to Melancholy and Deſpair.

How

(*t*) Job vii. 5. (*u*) *Young*'s Sermons, Vol. II.

† Some of the *Jewiſh* Doctors imagine, that *Dinah*, the Daughter of *Leah*, was this Wife of *Job*'s, but this ſeems to be a mere Fiction. The Moroſeneſs, and Impiety of the Woman, as well as the Place of her Habitation, do no Ways ſuit with *Jacob*'s Daughter: And therefore the more probable Opinion is, that his Wife was an *Arabian* by Birth, and that, tho' the Words which we render, *curſe* God and *die*, may equally bear a quite contrary Signification, yet are they not here to be taken in the moſt favourable Senſe, becauſe they drew from her meek and patient Huſband ſo ſevere an Imprecation, *Thou ſpeakeſt as one of the fooliſh Women ſpeaketh. What? ſhall we receive Good at the Hand of God, and ſhall we not receive Evil?* Job ii. 10. *Spanheim*'s Hiſtory of *Job*, c. 6.

(*x*) Job vii. 14.

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How long it continu'd.

How long this Load of various Calamity lay upon him, is no where mention'd in Scripture; and therefore ſince it is ſubmitted to Conjecture, they, who, (to magnify the Sufferings) prolong the Duration of them to a Year, and (as ſome do) to *ſeven*, (*y*) ſeem to be regardleſs of the *tender Mercies* of the Lord; eſpecially when there are ſome Circumſtances in the Story, which certainly do countenance a much ſhorter Time. The News of the Misfortunes, which attended his *Goods* and *Family*, came cloſe upon the Heels of one another, and we cannot ſuppoſe a long Space before he was afflicted in his Body. † His three Friends ſeem to have been his near Neighbours; and they came to viſit him, as ſoon as they heard of the ill *News*, which uſually flies apace. When they ſaw his Miſery, ſeven Days they ſat with him in Silence: After this, they enter'd into a Diſcourſe with him, and at the End of this Diſcourſe (which could not well laſt above another Week) God heal'd his Sores, before his Friends (who, being Men of Eminence in their Country, may be ſuppos'd to have Buſineſs at home, as ſoon as this melancholy Occaſion was over) were parted from him. Now ſince all this may be included in the Space of a Month, and a Month may be thought Time enough for God to have made Trial of his faithful Servant; when once ſuch Trial was made, we have reaſon to believe, that he would withdraw his heavy Hand, becauſe his Character in Scripture is, that (*z*) *he doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the Children of Men.*

Of the Contents of the Book of Job.

THE unaccountable Greatneſs of *Job*'s Calamities had led his Friends into a Miſconception of him, and made them ſurmiſe, that it muſt be the vindictive Hand of God, either for ſome deep *Hypocriſy*, or ſome ſecret *Enormity*, that fell ſo heavy upon him: And therefore *Eliphaz*, in three Orations, *Bildad* in as many, and *Zophar*, in two, argue, from common Topicks, that ſuch Afflictions, as his, could come from no Hand, but God's, and that it was inconſiſtent with his infinite Juſtice, to afflict without a Cauſe, or puniſh without Guilt; and thereupon charging *Job* with being either a grievous Sinner, or a great Hypocrite, they endeavour, by all Means, to extort a Confeſſion from him. But *Job*, conſcious of his Sincerity to God, and Innocence to Man, confidently maintains his Integrity; and, in Speeches return'd to every one of theirs, refutes their wicked Suggeſtions, and reproves their Injuſtice and Want of Charity; but always obſerves a ſubmiſſive Stile and Reverence, when he comes to ſpeak of God, of whoſe ſecret End, in permitting this Trial to come upon him, being ignorant, he often begs a Releaſe from Life, leſt the Continuance of his Afflictions ſhould drive him into *Impatience.*

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DURING theſe Arguments between *Job* and his Friends, there was preſent a young Man, nam'd *Elihu*, who, having heard the Debates on both Sides, and diſliking both their Cenſoriouſneſs, and *Job*'s Juſtification of himſelf, undertakes to convince them both, by Arguments drawn from God's unlimited *Sovereignty*, and unſearchable *Wiſdom*, that it was not inconſiſtent with his Juſtice, to lay his Afflictions upon the beſt and moſt righteous of the Sons of Men; and that therefore, when any ſuch Thing came upon them, their Duty was to bear it without murmuring, and to acknowledge the divine Goodneſs in every Diſpenſation.

WHEN every one had ſpoken what he thought proper, and there was now a general

(*y*) *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 3. c. 4.

† *Eliphaz*, the *Temanite*, was the Grandſon of *Eſau*, and Son of *Teman*, who dwelt in a City of the ſame Name in *Idumæa*, not far from the Confines of *Arabia Deſerta*. *Bildad*, the *Shuhite*, was deſcended from *Shuah*, the Son of *Abraham* and *Keturah*. 'Tis almoſt impoſſible to find out who *Zophar* the *Naamathite* was, tho' ſome will have him deſcended from *Eſau*; but as for *Elihu*, who comes in afterwards, he was the Grandſon of *Buz*, the Son of *Nahor*; liv'd in the *Southern* Parts of *Meſopotamia*; and, upon the Suppoſition of *Job*'s being ſprung from *Abraham*, was his diſtant Relation. *Spanheim*'s Life of *Job*, c. 11.

(*z*) Lam. iii. 33.

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neral Silence in the Company, the Lord himſelf took up the Matter, and, out of a *Whirlwind*, directed his Speech to *Job*; wherein, with the higheſt Amplifications, deſcribing his Omnipotence in the Formation and Diſpoſition of the Works of the *Creation*, he ſo effectually convinc'd him of his *Inability* to underſtand the *Ways* and Deſigns of God, that, with the profoundeſt Humility, he breaks out into this Confeſſion and Acknowledgement: Behold, (*a*) *I am vile, what ſhall I anſwer thee? I will lay my Hand upon my Mouth. Once have I ſpoken, but I will not anſwer; yea twice, but I will proceed no farther.* This Acknowledgment pleas'd God ſo well, that he declar'd himſelf in Favour of *Job* againſt his injurious Friends, and hereupon putting an End to his Sufferings, * cur'd him of all his Grievances, and rewarded his Faith and Piety with a Portion of *earthly* Felicity, double to what he had before, and with the Prolongation of his Life, beyond the common Extent of thoſe Times.

Its Character. THIS is a brief *Analyſis* of the Book of *Job*: And, whoever looks into it with a little more Attention, will ſoon perceive, that the Author of it (whoever he was) (*b*) has put in Practice all the Beauties of his Art, to make the four *Perſons*, whom he brings upon the *Stage*, keep up each his proper Character, and maintain the Opinions, which they were engag'd to defend; will ſoon perceive, that for its Loftineſs of *Stile*, and Sublimeneſs of *Thoughts*, for its Livelineſs and Energy of *Expreſſion*, for the Variety of its *Characters*, the Fineneſs of its *Deſcriptions*, and the Grandeur of its *Imagery*, there is hardly ſuch another *Compoſition* to be found in all the Records of *Antiquity*, which has rais'd the Curioſity of all Ages to find out the Perſon, who might poſſibly be the *Author* of it.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

When, and by whom written. SOME have imagin'd, that, as it has been no uncommon Thing, in all Ages, for Perſons of Diſtinction to write their own *Memoirs*, *Job* himſelf, or ſome of his Friends at leaſt, who bore a Part in the *Series* of this Hiſtory, might ſet about the inditing it, if not for any other Reaſon, at laſt in Compliance to his Requeſt, (*c*) *O, that my Words were now written, that they were printed in a Book!* But tho' ſome *Family Records* may poſſibly be kept of Events ſo remarkable as thoſe, that occur in *Job*'s Life, † yet the *poetical* Turn, which is given to the *latter Part* of the Book more eſpecially, ſeems to favour of a more *modern* Compoſition, than ſuits with the *Æra*, wherein we ſuppoſe *Job* to have liv'd.

OTHERS therefore ſuppoſe, that the Story of *Job* was at firſt a plain *Narrative*, written in the *Arabian* Tongue, but that *Solomon*, or ſome other *poetical Genius* like him, gave it a *dramatic* Caſt, and,

(*a*) Job xl. 4, 5.

* The *Eaſtern* People have a Tradition, that, upon God's propoſing to make no farther Trial of *Job*, the Angel *Gabriel* deſcended from Heaven, took him by the Hand, rais'd him from the Place where he was, ſtruck the Ground with his Foot, and caus'd a Fountain of the pureſt Water to ſpring out of it, wherein *Job* having waſh'd his Body, and drank a Cup or two of it, found himſelf perfectly cur'd and reſtor'd to Health again. *Calmet*'s Dictonary, under the Word *Job*.

(*b*) Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7. (*c*) Job xix. 23.

† St *Jerom*, in his *Preface* to the Book of *Job*, informs us, that the Verſe, (in which it is chiefly compos'd) is *heroick*. From the Beginning of the Book, to the third Chapter, *he ſays*, it is *Proſe*; but from *Job*'s Words, *Let the Day periſh, wherein I was born*, &c. Chap. iii. 3. unto theſe Words, *Wherefore I abhor myſelf, and repent in Duſt and Aſhes*, Chap. xlii. 6. the Verſes are *Hexameter*, conſiſting of *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, like the *Greek* Verſes of *Homer*, and the *Latin* of *Virgil*. *Marianus Victorius*, in his Note upon this Paſſage of St *Jerom*, ſays, that he has examin'd the Book of *Job*, and finds St *Jerom*'s Obſervation to be true. Only we muſt obſerve, that the ſeveral Sentences, directing us to the ſeveral Speakers, (ſuch as theſe, *Moreover the Lord anſwer'd* Job, *and ſaid*, Chap. xl. 1. Elihu *alſo proceeded, and ſaid*, Chap. xxxvi. 1. Elihu *ſpake moreover and ſaid*, Chap. xxxv. 1, &c.) are in *Proſe*, and not in *Verſe*. St *Jerom* makes this farther Remark, that the Verſes in the Book of *Job* do not always conſiſt of *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, but that other Feet do frequently occur inſtead of them; that we often meet in them a Word of four Syllables, inſtead of a *Dactyl* and *Spondee*; and that the Meaſure of the Verſes frequently differs in the Number of the Syllables of the ſeveral Feet; but allowing two ſhort Syllables to be equal to one long one, the Sums of the Meaſure of the Verſes are always the ſame. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 9.

3.

A. M. 2276, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1728, &c.

and, in order to make the Subject more moving, introduc'd a Set of *Perſons* ſpeaking *alternately*, and always in *Character*. But tho' this was certainly the Mode of Writing then in Vogue, yet how there came ſo much of the *Arabian* and *Syrian Dialect* to creep into a Book, that was compos'd at a Time, when the *Hebrew* Tongue was in its very Height of Perfection, we cannot conceive; nor can we be perſuaded, but that, in reading the whole, we taſte an Antiquity ſuperior to that of *David* or *Solomon*'s Time. And yet, this notwithſtanding, (*d*) ſome have endeavour'd to bring down the Author of the Book of *Job* to the Times of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, and ſuppoſe the Book to have been written for the Conſolation of the Captives in Diſtreſs. But, if we ſuppoſe it written for the Sake of the *Jews*, is it not ſtrange, that, in a Diſcourſe of ſuch a Kind, there ſhou'd not be one ſingle Word of the Law of *Moſes*, nor ſo much as one diſtant Alluſion to any Rite or Ceremony of it, or to any of the Form of Idolatry, for which the *Jews* ſuffer'd in the Time of their Captivity? The *Jews*, I ſay, certainly ſuffer'd for their Iniquity; but the Example of *Job* is the Example of an innocent Man, ſuffering for no Demerit of his own. Now apply this to the *Jews* in their Captivity, and the Book contradicts all the Prophets before, and at the Time of their Captivity, and ſeems to be calculated, as it were, to harden the *Jews* in their Sufferings, and to reproach the Providence of God for bringing them upon them. Without troubling ourſelves therefore to examine, whether the Conjectures of thoſe, (*e*) who carry the Date of this Book even lower than the Captivity, and impute it (*f*) to *Ezra*, that *ready Scribe in the Law of* Moſes, as he is ſtil'd, have any good Foundation to ſupport them, we may ſit down contented with what is the common, and, as far as I can ſee, as probable an Opinion as any, *viz.* That (*g*) *Moſes* (as ſoon as God put it in his Heart to *viſit his People*) either while he continu'd in *Egypt*, or while he liv'd in Exile in *Midian*, either tranſlated this Book from *Arabick* (in which ſome ſuppoſe it was originally) or wrote it entirely by a divine Inſpiration, for the Support and Conſolation of his Country-men, the *Jews*, groaning under the Preſſure of the *Egyptian* Bondage; that, by a proper Example, he might repreſent the Deſign of Providence in afflicting them, and, at the ſame Time, give them Aſſurance of a Releaſe and Reſtoration in due Time.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

THIS is what moſt of the *Jews*, and ſeveral *Chriſtian* Writers have affirm'd, and believ'd, concerning the Book of *Job*: But the Author from whom I have compil'd a great Part of this *Diſſertation*, has, by ſeveral Arguments, hardly ſurmountable, gone a great Way to deſtroy the receiv'd Opinion, and left nothing to depend on but this, —— That the Writer of this Book was a *Jew*, and aſſiſted therein by the Spirit of God; that it has always been eſteem'd of *canonical* Authority; is fraught with excellent Inſtructions; and, above all, is ſingularly adapted to adminiſter Comfort in the Day of Adverſity. Not to quit therefore this Subject, without an Exhortation to this Purpoſe, (*h*) *Ye have heard of the Patience of* Job, ſays the Apoſtle, *and have ſeen the End of the Lord*: And therefore, (*i*) when we find our Spirits begin to flag under the Senſe of any Affliction, or bodily Pain; when our Patience begins to be tir'd with Sufferings, which are greater than we can bear, and our Truſt in God to be ſhaken, becauſe he pours down his Judgments upon us; let us enliven our fainting Courage, by ſetting before us ſuch noble Patterns as this; and let us be aſham'd to ſink under our Burthens, in their Weight far diſproportionate to thoſe, which a Man, made of

A practical Inference from Job's *Example.*

the

(*d*) Biſhop *Sherlock*'s Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, Diſſertation II. (*e*) *Warburton*'s Divine Legation, Vol. III. lib. vi. & Sentimens de quelques Theol. de Hol. p. 183, &c. (*f*) Ezra vii. 6. (*g*) *Spanheim*'s Life of *Job*, c. 13. (*h*) James v. 11. (*i*) Biſhop *Smalridge*'s Sermon of Truſt in God.

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the ſame Fleſh and Blood, as we are, and ſupported by no other Helps, than are afforded us, without murmuring againſt God, without leſſening his Confidence in him, without impeaching his Juſtice, and without deſponding of his Goodneſs, both patiently endur'd, and triumphantly overcame.

From Gen. xxxvii. to the End.

CHAP. V.

The Sufferings of the Iſraelites, *and the Means of their Deliverance out of* Egypt.

The History.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1571, &c.

A Revolution in Egypt *occaſions the Oppreſſion of the* Iſraelites.

NOT long after the Death of *Joſeph*, there happen'd a *Revolution* in *Egypt*, and a *new King*, who had no Knowledge of the great Services, which *Joſeph* had done the Crown, perceiving the vaſt Increaſe of the *Iſraelites*, began to fear, that, in caſe of an Invaſion, they poſſibly might ſide with the Enemy, and depoſe him; and therefore he call'd a Council, wherein it was reſolv'd, not only to * impoſe heavy Taxes upon the People, but to confine them likewiſe to the hard Labour of bearing Burthens, and digging Clay, and making Bricks, and † building ſtrong Cities for the King; thereby to impoveriſh their Spirits, as well as wear out, and infeeble their Bodies.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

THIS

* The original Words, *Sare Moſſim*, which we tranſlate *Taſk-maſters*, do properly ſignify *Tax-gatherers*, and the *Burthens* are afterwards mention'd, as diſtinct Things, under another Name: So that the Reſolution in *Council* was, both to lay heavy Tributes upon them, to impoveriſh, and heavy Burthens, to weaken them. *Philo*, in his Life of *Moſes*, tells us, that they were made to carry Burthens above their Strength, and to work Night and Day; that they were forc'd, at the ſame Time, to be Workers and Servers both; that they were employ'd in Brick-making, Digging, and Building; and that if any of them dropp'd down dead under their Burthens, they were not ſuffer'd to be buried. *Joſephus*, in his *Jewiſh Antiquities*, [l. 2. c. 9.] tells us, in like Manner, that they were compell'd to learn ſeveral laborious Trades, to build Walls round Cities, to dig Trenches and Ditches, to drain Rivers into Channels, and caſt up Dikes and Banks to prevent Inundations. And not only ſo, but that they were likewiſe put upon the Erection of fantaſtical *Pyramids*, which were vaſt Piles of Building, rais'd by the Kings of *Egypt*, in Teſtimony of their Splendor and Magnificence, and to be the Repoſitories of their Bodies, when dead. Thus, by three ſeveral Ways the *Egyptians* endeavour'd to bring the *Iſraelites* under: By exacting a Tribute of them, to leſſen their Wealth; by laying heavy Burthens upon them, to weaken their Bodies; and by preventing, by this Means, as they imagin'd, their generating and increaſing.

† The two Cities here mention'd, *viz. Pithon* and *Raamſes*, are ſaid, in our Tranſlation, to be *Treaſure-Cities*, but not Places, where the King repoſited his Riches, but rather his Grain or Corn; for ſuch Repoſitories ſeem to have been much in uſe among the *Egyptians*, ever ſince the firſt Introduction of them by *Joſeph*. Conſidering however the Name and Situation of theſe two Cities, that *Pithon*, according to Sir *John Marſham*, was the ſame with *Peluſium*, the moſt antient fortify'd Place in *Egypt*, call'd by *Ezekiel*, Chap. xxx. 15. *the Strength of* Egypt, and by *Suidas*, long after him, Κλεῖς τῆ Αἰγύπτ, *the Key of* Egypt, as being the Inlet from *Syria*; and that *Raamſes*, in all Probability, was a Frontier-town, which lay in the Entrance of *Egypt* from *Arabia*, or ſome of the neighbouring Countries; it ſeems hardly conſiſtent with good Policy to have Granaries, or Store-Cities in any other, than the *inland* Parts of a Country: And therefore, as theſe were ſituated in the *Out-Parts* of *Egypt*, 'tis much more likely, that they were *fortify'd Places*, ſurrounded with Walls, and Towers, and deep Ditches, which wou'd coſt the *Hebrews* an infinite deal of Labour in building, than that they were *Repoſitories*, either for Corn, or Treaſure. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

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THIS Reſolution of Council was ſoon put in Execution, and Taſk-maſters accordingly ſet over the People, who ſhould keep them to Drudgery, and uſe them with Cruelty, and do all they could, in ſhort, to make their Lives miſerable, but ſuch was the Goodneſs of God to them, that the more they were oppreſs'd, the † more they multiplied; inſomuch, that the King, finding that this Expedient would not do, ſent for two of the moſt eminent of their Midwives, whoſe Names were *Shiphrah* and *Puah*, and gave them ſtrict Charge, that, whenever they were call'd to do their Office to any *Hebrew* Woman, they ſhou'd privately ſtrangle the Child, * if it was a *Male*, and leave only the † *Females* alive. But they, abhorring ſuch a cruel and impious Practice, had no Regard to the King's Command, but ſav'd Male and Female alike; and when the King ſent for them, and reprimanded them for their Diſobedience, they had this Anſwer in Readineſs; —— † That the *Hebrew* Women, being of a much ſtronger Conſtitution than the *Egyptian*, were generally deliver'd before they came. From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

THIS was a Piece of Service not unacceptable to God, but to *Pharaoh* it ſeem'd no more than a mere Evaſion; and therefore, reſolving upon a more effectual Method to extirpate the *Hebrews*, he publiſh'd an *Edict*, wherein he commanded all their *Male* Children to be thrown into the

† Commentators obſerve, that, in this Paſſage of Scripture, where *Moſes* deſcribes the vaſt Increaſe of the *Iſraelites*, he employs a great Variety of Words, in expreſſing it; and, becauſe the Words, he makes uſe of, are *ſix* in all, ſome of the *Hebrew* Expoſitors have thence concluded, that the Women brought forth ſix Children at a Birth. *Ariſtotle* indeed, in his *Hiſtory of Animals*, (l. 7. c. 4.) tells us, that the Country of *Egypt*, where the *Hebrew* Women bred ſo plentifully, was ſo ſtrangely *prolifick*, that ſome of their Women, at four Times, brought *twenty* Children: But, without having recourſe to ſuch prodigious Births, as happen'd but ſeldom, we need but ſuppoſe, that the *Iſraelites*, both Men and Women, were very fruitful; that they began ſoon, and continu'd long in begetting; and then there will be no Impoſſibility for 70 Males, in the Compaſs of 215 Years, to have multiply'd to the Number ſpecify'd, even at the Rate of one Child every Year. For, according to *Simler*'s Computation, 70 Perſons, if they beget a Child every Year, will, in 30 Years Time, have above 2000 Children; of which, admit that one third Part only did come to *procreate*, in 30 Years more, they will amount to 9000. The third Part of them will, in 30 Years more, be multiply'd to 45,000; and, according to this Calculation, in 210 Years, the whole Amount will be at leaſt, 2,760,000. So that, if there was any Thing miraculous, or extraordinary in all this, it was, that they ſhou'd be able to multiply at that Rate, notwithſtanding their hard Labour, and cruel Bondage. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

* *Joſephus* tells us, that there was a certain *Scribe* (as they call'd him) a Man of great Credit for his Predictions, who told the King, that there was a *Hebrew* Child to be born about that Time, who wou'd be a Scourge to the *Egyptians*, and advance the Glory of his own Nation, and, if he liv'd to grow up, wou'd be a Man eminent for Virtue and Courage, and make his Name famous to Poſterity; and that, by the Counſel and Inſtigation of this *Scribe* it was, that *Pharaoh* gave the Midwives Orders to put all the *Hebrew* Male Children to Death. *Jewiſh* Antiquities, l. 2. c. 9.

† For this Diſtinction in his Barbarity the King might have ſeveral Reaſons. As, 1. To have deſtroy'd the Females with the Males had been an unneceſſary Provocation and Cruelty, becauſe there was no Fear of the *Women's joining to the King's Enemies, and fighting againſt him.* 2. The Daughters of *Iſrael* exceeded very much their own Women in Beauty, and all Advantages of Perſon; and therefore their Project might be, to have them preſerv'd for the Gratification of their Luſt. *Philo* tells us, that they were preſerv'd to be marry'd to the Slaves of the *Egyptian* Lords and Gentry, that the Children deſcended from them might be Slaves even by Birth. But ſuppoſe they were marry'd to Freemen, they cou'd have no Children, but ſuch as wou'd be half *Egyptians*, and in Time be wholly ingrafted into that Nation. But 3. Admitting they marry'd not at all, yet as the Female Sex, among the *Hebrews*, made a very conſiderable Figure in *Egypt* for their Senſe and Knowledge, the Care of their Families, and Application to Buſineſs, and for their Skill and Dexterity in many Accompliſhments, that were much to be valu'd for the Uſe and Ornament of Life, ſuch as the Diſtaff and the Loom, Dying, Painting, Embroidering, &c. ſuch Women as theſe wou'd make excellent Servants and Domeſticks for the *Egyptian* Ladies, who had no Reliſh of ſpending their Time any other Way, than in Idleneſs and Pleaſure. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum.*

† It is generally ſuppos'd that the Midwives, upon this Occaſion, told a Lye; but there is no Reaſon for ſuch a Suppoſition, tho' poſſibly they might conceal ſome Part of the Truth, which is not unlawful, but highly commendable, when it is to preſerve the Innocent; for many of the *Hebrew* Women might be ſuch, as are here deſcrib'd, tho' not every one of them. The Anſwer of the Midwives therefore is ſo far from being a ſneaking Lye, to ſave their Lives, that it is a bold Confeſſion of their Faith and Piety, to the Hazard of them, *viz.* that they ſaw ſo plain an Evidence of the wonderful Hand of God, in that extraordinary Vigour in the Travail of the Women, that, do what *Pharaoh* wou'd, they durſt not, wou'd not, ſtrive againſt it, becauſe they wou'd *not ſtrive againſt God.* *Lightfoot*'s Sermon, on 2 *Sam.* xix. 29.

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the *River*; and that they might be more ſubject to the Inſpection of his *Searchers*, * he *built them Houſes*, and oblig'd them to live in ſettled Habitations.

The Birth of Moſes and his Education.

Some Years before this Edict, *Amram*, who was of the Houſe of *Levi*, had marry'd a Woman, nam'd † *Jochebed*, of the ſame Tribe, and by her had a Daughter, whoſe Name was *Miriam*, and, four Years after that, a Son, whom they call'd *Aaron*; and, in the Time of this cruel *Perſecution*, his Wife was again deliver'd of a fine, lovely Boy, whom ſhe was very deſirous to preſerve. For three Months therefore ſhe * kept him conceal'd; but fearing at length a Diſcovery, ſhe reſolv'd to commit him to the Providence of God: And, accordingly having made a little Baſket, or Boat of *Ruſhes*, ſhe plaiſter'd it within and without with Bitumen or Pitch, to make it keep out the Water. Into *this* ſhe put the poor Infant; and, leaving it among the Flags, by the Bank of the River, ſhe plac'd his Siſter, at a proper Diſtance, to obſerve the *Event*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

As good Luck wou'd have it, *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, attended with her Maids of Honour, in a ſhort Time after, came to the

* The *making the Midwives Houſes*, is, by moſt Interpreters, aſcrib'd to God, and the Thing is ſuppos'd to have been done in a *metaphorical* Senſe, *i. e.* God gave them a numerous Offſpring or Family, and a very laſting Succeſſion or Poſterity. For there are five Things, *ſay they*, which go to compleat the Greatneſs or Eminence of a Family, as ſuch; its Largeneſs, its Wealth, its Honours, its Power, and its Duration. And therefore, ſince the Midwives hazarded their own Lives to ſave thoſe of the *Hebrew* Children, and to preſerve the *Iſraelites* a numerous Progeny and Poſterity, the God of *Iſrael*, in Return, not only made their own Lives long and proſperous, but gave them very numerous Families, and an enduring Poſterity, in whom they might be ſaid to live after Death, even from Generation to Generation. But all this is a very forc'd Conſtruction, and what the original Words will by no Means bear. We ſhou'd therefore rather think, that theſe Houſes were built not for the *Midwives*, but the *Iſraelites*, and that it was not *God*, but *Pharaoh*, who built them. The Caſe ſeems to be this: —— *Pharaoh* had charg'd the Midwives to kill the Male Children, that were born of the *Hebrew* Women; the Midwives fear'd God, and omitted to do what the King had commanded them, pretending, in Excuſe for their Omiſſion, that the *Hebrew* Women were generally deliver'd before they cou'd get to them. *Pharaoh* hereupon, reſolving to prevent their Increaſe, gave Charge to his People to have all the Male Children of the *Hebrews* thrown into the River; but his Command cou'd not be ſtrictly executed, whilſt the *Iſraelites* liv'd up and down in the Fields in Tents, which was their antient and cuſtomary Way of living; for they wou'd ſhift here and there, and lodge the Women in Child-bed out of the Way, to ſave their Children. *Pharaoh* therefore *built them Houſes*, and oblig'd them to a more ſettled Habitation; that the People, whom he had ſet over them, might know where to find every Family, and to take an Account of all the Children, that ſhou'd be born. So that this was a very cunning Contrivance of *Pharaoh*, in order to have his Charge more ſtrictly and effectually executed, than it cou'd otherwiſe have been done; and was a *Particular* too remarkable not to be inſerted in *Moſes*'s Account of this Affair. The only ſeeming Difficulty is, to reconcile the Words in the Text to what has been here advanc'd; but this will be none at all, if the Words be rightly tranſlated, and the Verſes rightly diſtinguiſh'd, in this Manner. Exod. i. 20. *And God dealt well with the Midwives, and the People multiplied, and waxed very mighty, and this happened* (or was ſo, or came to paſs) *becauſe the Midwives feared God.* Ver. 21, 22. *And* Pharaoh *built them* (i. e. the *Iſraelites*) *Houſes, and charged all his People, ſaying, every Son, that is born, ye ſhall caſt into the River, and every Daughter ye ſhall ſave alive.* *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 7.

† *Jochebed* was not only of the ſame Tribe, but own *Aunt* likewiſe to *Amram*. For tho' the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and (after them) many learned Expoſitors, both *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*, have thought that ſhe was no more than his Uncle *Kohath*'s Daughter, and conſequently his *Couſin-german*, becauſe the Marriage of an Aunt was afterwards forbidden in the *Levitical* Law; yet the plain Matter of Fact is repugnant to all this. In *Exod.* vi. 18. it is ſaid expreſsly, that *Kohath*, the Father of *Amram*, was the Son of *Levi*. In Numb. xxvi. 59. it is ſaid, that *Jochebed* was *Levi*'s Daughter, and born in *Egypt*; and here again in *Exod.* vi. 20. it is ſaid, that *Amram took him* Jochebed, *his Father's Siſter, to Wife*: And therefore, without ſubverting the natural Senſe of theſe Texts, we cannot but conclude, that the *Nephew* marry'd his *Aunt*. For the Prohibitions, made upon the Degrees of Conſanguinity, do not flow from the *Law of Nature*, but only oblige by Virtue of the Command of God; and therefore, before this Command took Place, Relations of a nearer Affinity were allow'd to be join'd together. Nor can the ſuppos'd Difference of their Age be any Argument to the contrary, ſince *Levi* might have her, when he was an hundred Years old, and ſhe conſequently be very little, if any at all, older than her *Nephew*. *Saurin*'s Diſſertation 43.

* *Joſephus* tells us this Story —— That *Amram*, finding his Wife with Child, and being ſollicitous about the King's Edict, pray'd earneſtly to God to put an End to that dreadful Perſecution; and that God appear'd to him, and told him, that he wou'd in due Time free his People from it, and that the Son, who ſhortly wou'd be born unto him, ſhou'd prove the happy Inſtrument of their glorious Deliverance, and eternize his own Name thereby. —— That this made him conceal him as long as he cou'd, but fearing a Diſcovery, he reſolv'd to truſt him to the Care of Providence, arguing in this Manner: —— That if the Child cou'd be conceal'd (as it was very difficult to do it, and hazardous to attempt it) they muſt be in Danger every Moment, but, as to the Power and Veracity of God, he did not doubt of it, but was aſſur'd, that whatever he had promis'd he wou'd certainly make good; and with this Truſt and Perſuaſion he was reſolv'd to expoſe him. *Jewiſh* Antiquities, l. 2. c. 9.

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the River, to bathe herſelf; and ſpying the Baſket at ſome Diſtance, ſhe order'd one of the Company to go, and fetch it out; which when ſhe had uncover'd, the ſurprizing Beauty of the Infant, weeping, and making its *little Moan*, ſo mov'd her Heart with Compaſſion, that ſhe immediately declar'd her Intention to have it brought up, notwithſtanding ſhe perceiv'd it was certainly one of thoſe Children, whom her Father, in his *Edict*, had order'd to be drown'd.

BY this Time *Miriam*, the Child's Siſter, had convey'd herſelf into the Company; and, † hearing the Princeſs enquire for a Nurſe, offer'd her Service to go and fetch one out of the Neighbourhood; which when ſhe was order'd to do, ſhe haſten'd to her Mother, who came with all Speed, and took the Child from the *Princeſs*, who promis'd to ſee her well paid for her Care in nurſing it. From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

WHEN the Child was of an Age fit to be wean'd, his* Mother carry'd him to Court, to ſhew him to the *Princeſs*; who * ſoon grew ſo fond of him, that ſhe adopted him for her *own*, and, in Remembrance of his being *taken out of the River*, gave him the † *Egyptian* Name of *Moſes*. But his Father and Mother, † who brought him up in his Infancy, had taken Care to inſtruct him in ſuch Things, as related to the Religion and Hiſtory of his Anceſtors; and therefore, when he arriv'd to Maturity, he

† The Princeſs is call'd, by *Joſephus*, *Thermuthis*; by *Artaphanes*, as he is cited by *Euſebius*, [Præp. l. 9. c. 4.] *Mercis*; and, in the *Alexandrian* Chronicle, *Myrrina*. But *Joſephus* adds farther, that *Thermuthis* having ſent for ſeveral *wet* Nurſes, one after another, the Child turn'd its Head ſcornfully from their Breaſts, and wou'd not ſuck: Whereupon *Miriam* told the Princeſs, that, if the Nurſe and the Child were of different Nations, her Milk wou'd never agree with it, but that if an *Hebrew* Woman was fetch'd, he wou'd probably take the Breaſt from her; and that upon this, ſhe was bid to go for one, and immediately brought her own, and the Child's Mother, whom he fell a ſucking very greedily, to the Admiration of all the By-ſtanders, lib. ii. cap. 9.

* And well might the *Princeſs* be fond of the Child, who (according to *Joſephus*) had Charms enough to engage any one's Affections. "For, as he grew up, he ſhew'd a Pregnancy of Underſtanding much above thoſe of his "Years, and did every Thing with ſuch a Grace, as gave the World to underſtand, what they might in Time ex-"pect from him. After three Years of Age, he was ſuch a Miracle of a Child for Beauty and Comelineſs of Stature, "that People wou'd ſtop, and ſtand gazing on him, with Delight and Admiration, wherever they ſaw him, and "his Carriage and Behaviour was ſo very obliging, that he won upon the moſt moroſe and unſociable Sort of Men. "*Thermuthis* herſelf (*continues our Author*) being as much delighted with him as any, wanting Iſſue of her own, and "having reſolv'd to adopt him for her Son, brought him one Day to her Father, and, in Merriment, told him, "that ſhe came to preſent him with a Succeſſor, in Caſe he wanted one. The King receiv'd him with an affectionate "Tenderneſs, and, to gratify his Daughter, took off his Crown, and plac'd it upon the Child's Head; but ſo far "was he from being pleas'd with it, that he threw it upon the Ground, and trampled upon it with his Feet. "This Action was look'd upon as an ill Omen to the King and his Government, inſomuch that the *Scribe*, we "mention'd before, being then in the Company, cry'd out to have the Child kill'd: *For, this is the Child*, ſays he "to the King, *which I foretold your Majeſty wou'd be the Deſtruction of* Egypt, *and he hath now confirm'd the Prophecy, "by the Affront, he hath put upon your Government, in treading the Crown under his Feet. In ſhort, this is he, by whoſe "Death alone you may promiſe yourſelf to be ſecure. For, take him but out of the Way, the* Hebrews *ſhall have nothing "more to hope for, and the* Egyptians *nothing more to fear.* This Speech gave ſome Uneaſineſs to *Thermuthis*, and "therefore ſhe immediately took the Child away, without any Oppoſition from the King, whoſe Heart God had "diſpos'd not to take any Notice of what the *Scribe* had ſaid." Lib. ii. ibid.

† Both *Philo*, *Joſephus*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, will have the Word *Moſes* to be deriv'd from the *Egyptian Mo*, which, according to them, ſignifies *Water*, and *Iſes*, or *Yſes*, which means *preſerv'd*, as much as to ſay, *ſav'd from the Waters*, or *preſerv'd from drowning*. 'Tis very likely indeed, that the Princeſs ſhou'd give the Child a Name from no other Language, than her own; but then it is to be conſider'd, that the *Hebrew* Word *Moſhah* (from whence the Name naturally flows, and to which the Princeſs herſelf owns that ſhe alludes) might have the ſame Signification in her Tongue, that it has in the *Hebrew*, where it always ſignifies a *drawing out of the Water*, 2 Sam. xxii. 17. Pſal. xviii. 16. and Iſa. xliii. 2. It cannot be doubted indeed, but that *Moſes* had another Name given him by his own Parents at the Time of his *Circumciſion*, but what that Name was, we have no Certainty, nor can we tell, from what Authority it is, that *Clemens* informs us, that it was *Joachim*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Beſides the Education which his own Parents gave him, *Philo* acquaints us, that, from his *Egyptian* Maſters, he was taught *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, *Phyſick*, *Muſick*, and *Hieroglyphicks*, otherwiſe call'd *enigmatical* Philoſophy; that from the *Chaldeans* he learnt Aſtronomy; from the *Aſſyrians* their Character, or Manner of Writing; and from the *Grecians* all their liberal Arts and Sciences. But that was not a Time for the *Egyptians*, who excell'd the reſt of the World in all Sorts of Learning, to ſend for Maſters from *Greece*, which rather ſtood in need of *Egyptian* Teachers; but, to *be learned in all the Wiſdom of the* Egyptians (as St *Stephen* aſſerts of *Moſes*, Acts vii. 22.) was to have the beſt and moſt liberal Education, that the whole World cou'd at that Time afford.

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he left the Court, and, coming to live among his Brethren, was himſelf an *Eye-witneſs*, at what a mercileſs Rate the *Egyptian* Taſk-maſters treated them.

The Occaſion of his leaving Egypt.

This rais'd his Reſentment and Indignation to ſuch a Degree, that, ſeeing, one Day, an *Egyptian* abuſe an *Hebrew* in a very groſs Manner, he ſtepp'd in to his Aſſiſtance, and, perceiving Nobody near, ſlew the *Egyptian*, and bury'd his Body in the Sand.

The next Day, as he walk'd out again, he found two *Hebrews* in Conteſt with one another; whereupon he admoniſh'd them to conſider that they were Brethren, and wou'd have decided the Quarrel between them: But he, who was the Aggreſſor, rejected his Arbitration with Contempt, and upbraided him with the Murther of the *Egyptian* the Day before. This gave *Moſes* ſome uneaſy Apprehenſions, that, as the Thing was now blown, it might not be long, before it reach'd *Pharaoh*'s Ear, and endanger his Life; ſo that he thought it the † beſt Way to leave *Egypt*, and to ſecure himſelf by flying into the Country of *Midian*, beyond the *Red-Sea*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

His Retreat to Midian, *and living with* Jethro.

In the Plains of *Midian*, there is a *Well* common to all the Natives of the Place: Here it was, that *Moſes* had ſtopp'd to refreſh himſelf, when ſeven of the Daughters of *Jethro*, † the chief Man of the Country,

† *Joſephus*, who has given us ſeveral Particulars of *Moſes*'s Life, which, in Modeſty perhaps, he might not think proper to record of himſelf, has aſſign'd a farther Reaſon for his leaving *Egypt*, of which it may not be improper, in this Place, to give the Reader this ſhort *Abſtract*. "When *Moſes* was grown to Man's Eſtate, he had an Opportunity "offer'd him of ſhewing his Courage and Conduct. The *Ethiopians*, who inhabited the upper Land on the South "Side of *Egypt*, had made many dreadful Incurſions, plunder'd and ravag'd all the neighbouring Parts of the Country, "beat the *Egyptian* Army in a ſet Battle, and were become ſo elated with their Succeſs, that they began to march "towards the *Capital* of *Egypt*. In this Diſtreſs, the *Egyptians* had recourſe to the Oracle, which anſwer'd, that "they ſhou'd make choice of an *Hebrew* for their General. As none was more promiſing than *Moſes*, the King "deſir'd his Daughter to conſent, that he ſhou'd go, and head his Army; but ſhe, after having firſt expoſtulated "with her Father, how mean a Thing it was for the *Egyptians* to implore the Aſſiſtance of a Man, whoſe Death they "had been complotting, wou'd not agree to it, until ſhe had obtain'd a ſolemn Promiſe upon Oath, that no Practices "or Attempts ſhou'd be made upon his Life. When *Moſes*, by the Princeſs's Perſuaſion, had at laſt accepted the "*Commiſſion*, he made it his firſt Care to come up with the Enemy, before they were aware of him; and, to this "Purpoſe, inſtead of marching up the *Nile*, as the Cuſtom was before, he choſe to croſs the Country, tho' the "Paſſage was very dangerous, by reaſon of the poiſonous *flying* Serpents, which infeſted thoſe Parts; but for this he "had a new Expedient. The Bird *Ibis*, tho' very friendly to every other Creature, is a mortal Enemy to all Ser-"pents; and therefore having got a ſufficient Number of theſe, he carry'd them along with him in Cages, and, as "ſoon as he came into any dangerous Places, he let them looſe upon the Serpents, and, by their Means and Protec-"tion, proceeding without any Harm or Moleſtation, he enter'd the Enemies Country, took ſeveral of their Cities, "and oblig'd them at laſt to retreat into *Saba*, the *Metropolis* of *Ethiopia*. *Moſes* ſat down before it: But, as it was "ſituate in an *Iſland*, with ſtrong Fortifications about it, in all Probability it wou'd have coſt him a longer Time to "*carry* it, had not *Tharbis*, the King of *Ethiopia*'s Daughter, who had the Fortune once to ſee him from the Walls "behaving himſelf with the utmoſt Gallantry, fallen in Love with him. Whereupon ſhe ſent privately to let him "know, that the City ſhou'd be ſurrender'd to him, upon Condition, that he wou'd marry her immediately after. "*Moſes* agreed to the Propoſal; and, having taken Poſſeſſion of the Place, and of the Princeſs, return'd with his "victorious Army to *Egypt*. Here, inſtead of reaping the Fruits of his great Atchievements, the *Egyptians* accus'd "him of Murder to the King, who, having already taken ſome *Umbrage* at his Valour and great Reputation, was "reſolv'd to rid himſelf of him: But *Moſes*, having ſome Suſpicion of it, made his Eſcape, and, not daring to go "by the common Roads, for fear of being ſtopp'd by the King's Guards, was forc'd to paſs through a great Deſart "to reach the Land of *Midian*."

† The Word *Cohen* ſignifies indifferently either *Prieſt* or *Prince*, and accordingly, in theſe early Ages, both theſe Offices were frequently united in one and the ſame Perſon. It ſeems however, that *Jethro* was ſcarce a Prince in that Country, for then, one wou'd think, that the Shepherds wou'd not have dar'd to have been ſo inſolent to his Daughters; and yet, if he was a *Prieſt*, it is made a Matter of ſome Conteſt between two famous *Rabbins* whether he was an *Idolator*, or a Worſhipper of the true God. *Aben Ezra* is of Opinion, that as he was deſcended from *Midian*, the Son of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, in all Probability, he profeſs'd the true Religion; nor can he ſuppoſe that *Moſes* wou'd have marry'd his Daughter, had he been bred up in a falſe one: Whereas *Moſes*, 'tis plain, not only owns his Alliance with his Family, but, upon his Arrival in the Camp of *Iſrael*, invites him to offer Sacrifices to the Lord, (Exod. xviii. 11, 12.) as one, who ador'd the ſame God with the *Iſraelites*. *Kimhi* however, on the other Hand, affirms, that, at firſt, he was an idolatrous Prieſt, but afterwards, when he came to *Moſes* in the Wil-derneſs, and was particularly inform'd of all thoſe great and wonderful Things, which God had wrought in *Egypt*, for the Deliverance of the *Hebrews*, he became a Convert to the Worſhip of the true God; and, for this he produces a Paſſage in the ſame Chapter, Ver. 11. *Now I know that the Lord is greater than all Gods; for, in the Thing wherein*

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Country, came to draw Water for their Flocks; but when they had fill'd their Troughs, a Parcel of rude Shepherds, being minded to ſerve their own Turn firſt, ſeiz'd on their Water, and frighten'd the Damſels away: Which *Moſes* perceiving, went to their Aſſiſtance, and, forcing the Shepherds to retire, drew the young Virgins more Water, and gave it to their Flocks.

HEREUPON taking their Leaves they made haſte home; and, while their Father was wondering at their ſpeedy Return, they inform'd him how civil a certain Stranger had been, both in watering their Flocks, and protecting them from the Inſults of the *Ruſticks*; which made *Jethro* ſend, and invite him to his Houſe, and treat him in a Manner ſuitable to the Civility he had ſhewn to his Daughters; inſomuch that *Moſes*, after he had tarry'd there ſome Time, was ſo pleas'd with his courteous Reception, that he expreſs'd a Willingneſs to take up his Abode with him, † and become his *Shepherd*. This Propoſal *Jethro* very readily embrac'd; and, to attach him the more to his Intereſt, gave him his † Daughter *Zipporah* in Marriage, by whom he had two Sons, whereof the elder he nam'd *Gerſhom*, which ſignifies a *Stranger*, alluding to his own Condition in that Country; and the younger *Eliezer*, importing *God my Help*, in grateful Acknowledgment of God's having deliver'd him from the Hands of *Pharaoh*, who ſought his Life.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

WHILE *Moſes* liv'd in the Family of *Jethro*, the King, who was upon the *Egyptian* Throne, when he left the Country, died; but his Succeſſor, who was no leſs a Tyrant, and Oppreſſor of the *Iſraelites*, laid ſuch heavy Burthens upon them, as made their Lives extremely miſerable, till at length, their Complaints reach'd Heaven; and, as the Time of their Deliverance grew near, God, remembring the Covenant, which he had made with their Forefathers, began to look upon them with an Eye of Pity and Compaſſion.

God's appearing to him in the burning Buſh.

MOSES was to be his Inſtrument in bringing about their Deliverance: And therefore, while he was feeding his Father-in-law's Flock, and, as they wander'd in their feeding, follow'd them as far into the *Deſert* as † Mount *Horeb*, he ſaw a Buſh

they dealt proudly, he was above them. But, beſides this, there is a farther Difficulty in relation to this *Jethro*. In Exod. iii. 1. he is expreſsly call'd the *Father-in-law* of *Moſes*, and yet the Father of the young Women, whom *Moſes* defended at the Well, and whereof he certainly marry'd one, is ſaid to be *Reuel*, Chap. ii. 18. and not *Jethro*: Either therefore this *Reuel* muſt be their Grandfather, who, being Head of the Family, might, in a larger Senſe, be call'd *Father*, as we find Inſtances of the like Nature, in Gen. xxxi. 43. 2 Kings xiii. 14, &c. or (as others will have it) this *Reuel*, or *Jethro*, was one and the ſame Perſon under different Denominations. Upon Suppoſition therefore, that he was deſcended from the Family of *Cuſh*, it is imagin'd, that, while he continu'd in *Idumæa*, his Name might be *Reuel*, but, upon his Removal into *Midian*, to avoid the Wars and Tumults in his own Country, he came to be call'd *Jethro*, as being the only *Remainder* (for ſo the Word ſignifies) of the *Cuſhites* in that Country. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* and *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, l. 3. c. 4.

† It can hardly be ſuppos'd, but that a Perſon of *Moſes*'s Education, wou'd, in the Space of 40 Years, which he abode in *Midian*, find ſome other Employment for himſelf, than keeping Sheep; and therefore ſome have imagin'd, that, in this Time, he wrote the Book of *Job* (as we mention'd before) to comfort the *Iſraelites*, by the Example of his admirable Patience, under their heavy Oppreſſion in *Egypt*, and the Book of *Geneſis* likewiſe, that they might the better underſtand what Promiſes had been made to their Anceſtors, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and that the Time for their Accompliſhment was approaching. Nor can we ſuppoſe, but that the ſeveral Arts and Sciences, which he had been taught in his Youth, he took Care, in this Place of happy Retirement, to cultivate and improve. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† It may be made a ſtanding Obſervation, that *divine* Authors do not relate all the Paſſages of a Story, (as other Authors delight to do) but ſuch only, as are moſt *material*. We may therefore ſuppoſe, that a great many Things interven'd between *Moſes*'s Entrance into *Jethro*'s Family, and his Marriage to his Daughter; eſpecially conſidering, that his Children were ſo young, at the Time of his Return into *Egypt*. The Obſervation of *Philo*, however, is not altogether to be neglected, *viz. That Men of a great Genius quickly ſhew themſelves, and are not made known by Length of Time:* And therefore he thinks, "That *Jethro*, being firſt ſtruck with Admiration of his goodly Aſpect, and then "of his wiſe Diſcourſe, immediately gave him the moſt beautiful of all his Daughters to be his Wife, not ſtaying to "enquire of any Body, who he was, becauſe his own moſt excellent Qualities ſufficiently recommended him to his Affection." De Vitâ *Moſis*, l. 1.

† *Horeb* is a Mountain in *Arabia Petræa*, at ſo ſmall a Diſtance from Mount *Sinai*, that they ſeem to be no more than two Tops belonging to the ſame Mountain. *Sinai* lies to the *Eaſt*, and *Horeb* to the *Weſt*; but we find them frequently

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a Buſh on Fire, and, as he thought, flaming for a conſiderable while, but (what occaſion'd his Aſtoniſhment) not in the leaſt damag'd or conſum'd. This rais'd his Curioſity to go a little nearer, and ſee, if he cou'd diſcover the Cauſe of it; but, as he was approaching, † he heard a Voice out of the Buſh, calling unto him, and ordering him to * pull off his Shoes, becauſe the *Ground*, whereon he ſtood, *was holy*. *Moſes* obey'd; and while the Voice went on to declare itſelf the God, who had, all along, been kind to his Anceſtors, and had now, with Compaſſion, ſeen the Afflictions of his Brethren, and was come down to deliver them from their Oppreſſors, he fell down upon the Ground, and cover'd his Face with his Garment, as being unable to ſuſtain the Refulgency of the *divine Preſence*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

MOSES, by this Time, had entirely laid aſide all Thoughts of reſcuing his Brethren, the *Iſraelites*, from their Thraldom; nor had he any Opinion of his own Abilities, if he ſhould make the Attempt, to ſucceed in ſo difficult an Undertaking: And therefore, when God propos'd the Thing to him, and open'd the whole Manner and Method, in which he wou'd have it executed, he began to excuſe himſelf, by urging

And encouraging him, tho' very reluctant, *to undertake the Deliverance of the* Iſraelites.

frequently in Scripture us'd promiſcuouſly. For, whereas the Author to the *Hebrews* ſeveral Times aſſerts, that God gave his Law to the *Iſraelites* at *Horeb*, tho' other Places expreſsly ſay, that it was at *Sinai*, this is eaſily agreed, by obſerving, that they both made but, as it were, one Mountain with two Tops, whereof that of *Sinai* is much the higher, tho' that of *Horeb* exceeds it in Fruitfulneſs and Pleaſure. It is not for that Reaſon however, no nor yet for its vaſt Height, that it obtain'd the Title of the *Mount of God*. *Joſephus* indeed tells us (l. 2. c. 12.) that the People of the Country had a Tradition, that God, in a more particular Manner, *dwelt there*, and that therefore, in Reverence to the Place, they always declin'd feeding their Flocks upon it: But the true Reaſon of its being ſo call'd is, that, in After-Ages, it became famous for ſundry Events, and, at this Time, receiv'd its Name by way of *Anticipation*. For here it was, 1. That God appear'd to *Moſes* in the Buſh; 2. That he manifeſted his Glory at the Delivery of the Law; 3. That *Moſes*, with his Rod, brought Water out of the Rock; 4. That, by lifting up his Hands, he made *Joſhua* prevail againſt the *Amalekites*; 5. That here he faſted twice forty Days and forty Nights; 6. That from hence, he brought the two Tables of the Law; and 7. that here *Eliſah* was vouchſaf'd a noble Viſion; with ſome others of the like Nature. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7. and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

† In the Text it is ſaid, that *the Angel of the Lord appear'd unto him in a Flame of Fire out of the midſt of the Buſh*, Exod. iii. 2. But whether it was a created Angel, ſpeaking in the *Perſon* of God, or *God* himſelf, or (as the moſt receiv'd Opinion is) *Chriſt*, the Son of God, has been Matter of ſome Controverſy among the Learned. Thoſe, who ſuppoſe it no more than an Angel, ſeem to imply, that it would be a Diminution of the Majeſty of God to appear upon every Occaſion, eſpecially when he has ſuch a Number of *celeſtial Miniſters*, who may do the Buſineſs as well. But conſidering, that God is preſent every where, the *Notification* of his Preſence, by ſome outward Sign, in one determinate Place (which is all we mean by his *Appearance*) is, in our Conception, leſs laborious (if any Thing laborious cou'd be conceiv'd of God) than a Delegation of Angels, upon every turn, from Heaven, and ſeems, in the main, to *illuſtrate*, rather than *debaſe*, the Glory of his Nature and Exiſtence. But however this be, 'tis plain, that the Angel, here ſpoken of, was no created Being, from the whole Context, and eſpecially from his ſaying, *I am the Lord God, the Jehovah*, &c. ſince this is not the Language of *Angels*, who are always known to expreſs themſelves in ſuch humble Terms, as theſe, *I am ſent from God*, *I am thy Fellow-Servant*, &c. 'Tis a vain Pretence to ſay, that an Angel, as God's *Ambaſſador*, may ſpeak in God's Name and Perſon; for what Ambaſſador of any Prince ever yet ſaid, *I am the King?* Since therefore no Angel, without the Guilt of Blaſphemy, cou'd aſſume theſe Titles; and ſince neither *God the Father*, nor the Holy Ghoſt, are ever call'd by the Name of an *Angel*, i. e. a *Meſſenger*, or Perſon ſent, whereas God the Son is call'd by the Prophet *Malachi*, Chap. iii. 1. *the Angel of the Covenant*, it hence ſeems to follow, that this *Angel of the Lord* was God the Son, who might very properly be call'd an *Angel*, becauſe, *in the Fulneſs of Time*, he was ſent into the World, in our Fleſh, as a Meſſenger from God, and might therefore make theſe his *temporary Apparitions*, Preſages, and Forerunners, as it were, of his more ſolemn *Miſſion*. *Pool*'s Annotations.

* *Juſtin Martyr* (in his ſecond Apology) is of Opinion, that the Cuſtom of *putting off the Shoes*, both among the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, before they began to officiate in holy Things, took its Riſe from this Precept given to *Moſes*; but our learned Mr *Mede* ſeems to be of a different Opinion, *viz.* that *Moſes* did not give the firſt Occaſion to this *Rite*, but that it was deriv'd from the Patriarchs before him, and tranſmitted to future Ages from that antient general Tradition. It is certain that *Pythagoras*, who took his *Inſtitutes* chiefly from the *Egyptians*, delivers it as a Rule in his *Rubrick*; Θύειν χρὴ ἀνυπόδητον, καὶ πρὸς ἱερὰ προσιέναι, i. e. *he, who ſacrifices, ſhould put off his Shoes, and ſo approach to the holy Ordinance*; and therefore God, in compliance to an antient Cuſtom, then in Practice among the *Egyptians*, might ſpeak to *Moſes*, who was a Perſon well acquainted with their *Ceremonies*, to *decalceate*, as very well knowing, that it wou'd be a Means to create in him a greater Reverence to the divine Preſence, and a more awful Attention to what he was going to ſay. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

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urging his Meaneneſs and Inſufficiency to take upon him the Character of a divine *Ambaſſador*. This Difficulty God endeavour'd to remove, by aſſuring him, that he wou'd be with him, and aſſiſt him in every Step he took; that he wou'd enable him to accompliſh the Thing, though never ſo perplex'd and arduous; and, for a Token of his Veracity herein, that, within a ſmall Compaſs of Time, he ſhou'd ſee that very People, who now were in Slavery, ſet free, and worſhipping him on that very Mountain.

MOSES, ſtill unwilling to undertake the Thing, deſir'd to know what he was to ſay to the People, and by what Name he was to call the Perſon, who ſent him upon this Meſſage: To which Requeſt, God was pleas'd to reply, —— That he, who ſent him, was an *eternal, independent, ſelf-exiſtent* Being, † the God of *Abraham, Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, by which Name he glory'd to be call'd; and therefore he requir'd him, firſt to aſſemble the *Elders* of *Iſrael* together, and acquaint them with his *Deſign*, and then to go directly to the King, and demand of him a Diſmiſſion of the *Iſraelites*, at leaſt for three Days Journey into the Wilderneſs, in order to ſacrifice to their God; which, though at the firſt he knew he wou'd be far from granting, yet, in the End, wou'd be glad to conſent to, when he ſhou'd ſee the divine Power exerted upon ſundry Occaſions, and ſo many Miracles wrought before his Eyes, as wou'd compel him to let them go.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

SUCH a ſolemn Aſſurance as this, from the Mouth of God himſelf, was enough, one wou'd think, to have gain'd a ready Compliance; but *Moſes* ſtill demurs to the Thing, and makes it an Objection, that the People, when he came to them, might poſſibly queſtion his *Credentials*: And therefore, to obviate this, God promiſes to enable him to work Miracles for their Conviction. And, for a Specimen of this, when he bad him throw the Rod, that was in his Hand, upon the Ground, it inſtantly became a Serpent terrible to behold, but, when he order'd him to take it up, it reſum'd its former Shape; when he put his Hand into his Boſom, * upon pulling it out, it was all over *leprous*, but, upon putting it in, and pulling it out again, it became as *clean* as before; and, (as if this

† God, no doubt, was the God of *Noah*, and of all the holy Patriarchs, who liv'd before *theſe three* were born; but for a peculiar Reaſon he is call'd their God, becauſe of his Covenant, and the Promiſe made to each of them, that the *bleſſed Seed* ſhou'd ſpring from their Loins, in Oppoſition to the Pretenſions of other neighbouring People, who (as the learned Dr *Allix* obſerves) were their *Rivals* in that Hope. And ſo the Words will denote, as much as if he had ſaid, the *God of* Abraham, and not of *Lot*, as the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* pretended; the God of *Iſaac*, and not of *Iſhmael*, as his Poſterity pretended; and the *God of* Jacob, and not of *Eſau*, as the *Edomites* boaſted. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* It is no improbable Conjecture, that, as God commanded *Moſes* to *work all his Wonders before* Pharaoh, this Miracle of the *Leproſy* gave occaſion to the fabulous Story, which was invented in After-Ages, *viz. That* Moſes *was a Leper, and the* Iſraelites *a ſcabby Race, whom the* Egyptians *were forc'd to drive out of their Country, for fear of the Infection.* This Defamation is firſt met with in *Manetho*'s *Egyptian* Hiſtory; from *Manetho* it deſcended to *Apion*, the *Greek* Hiſtorian; and from him *Juſtin* and *Tacitus*, two noted *Roman* Authors, undoubtedly took it. But, as *Manetho* might not, at firſt, maliciouſly deviſe it out of his own Head, ſo thoſe Writers, from whom he compil'd his Hiſtory, might derive it from this Paſſage of *Moſes*'s appearing with a leprous Hand before *Pharaoh*, which was preſently nois'd about the Country, without the other Part of his being immediately cur'd. For (according to the Argument of *Joſephus*) "there needs no other Proof of his being no *Leper*, than what ariſes from his own Words, "*viz.* that no Lepers ſhou'd be admitted into any Towns or Villages, but live apart, in a diſtinct Habit, by themſelves; that whoever touch'd a Leper, or lodg'd under the ſame Roof with him, ſhou'd be reputed unclean; and "that, whoever ſhou'd come to be cur'd of that Diſeaſe, ſhou'd paſs through certain Purifications, waſh himſelf "with Fountain-Water, ſhave off all his Hair, and offer ſuch and ſuch Sacrifices, before he ſhou'd be receiv'd into the "holy City. Now, if *Moſes*, *ſays he*, had been afflicted with this Diſtemper himſelf, 'tis incongruous to think, that "he wou'd ever have been ſo ſevere upon others for it." The Leproſy indeed was a Diſtemper, in a Manner, peculiar to the *Egyptians*.

Eſt *Elephas* morbus, qui propter flumina *Nili*
Gignitur *Ægypto* in mediâ, neque præterea uſquam.

as both *Lucretius* (l. 6.) and *Plutarch* tells us: And, if it was ſo in *Moſes*'s Time, he may be preſum'd to have made Laws more ſtrict againſt it, with an Intention to excite the People's Carefulneſs to avoid a Diſtemper, which they had already ſeen ſo much of, but had now (together with the other Calamities of their Bondage) happily eſcap'd. For

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this were not enough) to gain him a further Credit among the People, he gave him a *ſtanding* Power to convert *Water* into *Blood*, whenever there was Occaſion.

But the Promiſe of all this miraculous Power would not prevail with *Moſes* to accept of this *Office*. He alledg'd, in Excuſe, his Want of Eloquence, and ‖ the natural Impediment he had in his Speech. But this Defect likewiſe God promiſes to ſupply in an extraordinary Manner, and, as he was the great Author of human Nature, to give him all the Faculties, that were neceſſary for the Buſineſs, he put him upon. So that, driven from all his Subterfuges, *Moſes* was at laſt compell'd to declare downright, that he had no Inclination to the Office, and therefore deſir'd of God to let him alone, and find out ſome other, that was fitter for his Purpoſe.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

So blunt a Refuſal was not ſo pleaſing to God, and might have been reſented with Indignation; but, inſtead of that, he reſum'd the Objection, and told *Moſes*, that as to his Defect of Utterance, his Brother *Aaron* (who wou'd be fond of the Office, and was already ſet out from home to meet him) wou'd be ſufficiently capable of ſupplying. To him therefore he bid him impart the whole Affair, and to make uſe of him as his *Orator*, but to reſerve the chief Conduct of it to himſelf, and not to forget † to take along with him his Rod, wherewith he wou'd enable him to work all Miracles.

Moſes *returning to* Egypt, *is met by his Brother* Aaron.

By theſe Perſuaſions, and Demonſtrations of a miraculous Power to aſſiſt him, *Moſes*, at laſt, was prevail'd on to accept the Commiſſion, and, accordingly, went to his Father-in-law, and, † without telling

that the People, at this Time, were in good Health, is evident from the long Journey they undertook, and which, on all Hands is agreed they did perform: And that they were not expell'd by the *Egyptians*, but went away from them ſore againſt their Will, their Purſuit of them to the *Red-Sea*, and loſing all their Lives with a Purpoſe of retaking them (Facts that are atteſted by ſeveral *Heathen* Authors) are an abundant Demonſtration. *Joſeph.* contra *Apion*. *Plutarch*'s Quæſt. Nat. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. II. Exercit. 4. and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‖ *Moſes* here tells us of himſelf, that he was *ſlow* of *Speech*, which moſt interpret to be a *Stammerer*, or *Stutterer*; and yet St *Stephen* (Acts vii. 22.) declares of him, that *he was mighty in Words, as well as Deeds*; but this admits of an eaſy Reconciliation, if we do but ſuppoſe, that the Senſe of what he ſpake was great and weighty, though his Pronunciation was not anſwerable to it. As God however tells him, Exod. iv. 11. that he it was, who *made the Mouth*, and cou'd, conſequently, give to any Man what Faculties he thought convenient, or remove any Impediment he might have, it ſeems not improbable, that, either by Uſe and Exerciſe, or elſe by God's immediate Cure of his Defect, *Moſes* had acquir'd a better Facility in delivering his Mind, ſince we find him making ſeveral Speeches to the People, eſpecially that excellent Diſcourſe before his Death, in the Beginning of *Deuteronomy*; as he has likewiſe (where his Song occurs towards the latter End) given an ample Demonſtration, that he wanted not *eloquent* Words, when he pleas'd to employ them. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Wonderful are the Stories, which the *Hebrew* Doctors tell us of this *Rod*, viz. That it originally grew in Paradiſe, was brought away by *Adam*, from him paſs'd to *Noah*, and ſo, through a Succeſſion of Patriarchs, till it came to be tranſplanted into *Jethro*'s Garden, and there took Root again, God knows how; that it was call'd *Zaphir*, (whence *Ziphorah* his Daughter had her Name) and had the *Tetrogrammaton* written upon it; that, when *Ziphorah* fell in Love with *Moſes*, her Father conſented that ſhe ſhou'd have him, if he cou'd pluck up this *Zaphir*-Rod, and, at the ſame Time, publiſh'd a Proclamation, that whoever did it firſt, ſhou'd marry his Daughter; that hereupon ſeveral luſty young Men came, and tried their Strength in vain, but that *Moſes*, by being acquainted with the true Pronunciation of the Name of God, in Virtue thereof, did it with Eaſe, and ſo not only obtain'd his Daughter, but this Rod into the Bargain, with which he wrought afterwards, all his Wonders in *Egypt*. But how fictitious ſoever all this may be, 'tis certain, that in *Exod.* iv. 20. this Staff is call'd the *Rod of God*, and that partly, becauſe it was appropriated to God's ſpecial Service, to be the Inſtrument of all his glorious Works; and, partly to ſhew, that whatever was done by that Rod, was not done by any Virtue in *it*, or in the Hand of *Moſes*, but merely by the Power of God, who was pleas'd, for the greater Confuſion of his Enemies, to uſe ſo mean an Inſtrument. Nor is it an improbable Conjecture, that the *Wands*, which great Miniſters are wont to carry in their Hands, in Token of their Power and Office, were originally deriv'd from this of *Moſes*. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7. and *Pool*'s Annotations.

† He was, both in Juſtice, and Decency, oblig'd to acquaint his *Father-in-law* with his Intention to leave *Midian*, and go into *Egypt*, becauſe he had bound himſelf by an Oath to live with him, and was reſolv'd now to take his Wife and Children, as being well aſſur'd of a ſpeedy Return. But he thought fit to conceal from him the Errand, upon which God ſent him, leſt he ſhou'd endeavour to hinder, or diſcourage him from ſo difficult and dangerous an Enterprize. So that *Moſes*, in this Inſtance, has given us a rare Example of *Piety* and *Prudence*, in that he took care to avoid all Occaſions and Temptations to Diſobedience to the divine Commands; as well as of a *ſingular Modeſty* and

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ling him the Occaſion, requeſted Leave to go, and viſit his Brethren, who were in *Egypt*. His Father-in-law readily conſented to it; ſo that taking his Wife and Children along with him, he was proceeding in his Journey, when (to his great Surprize) an Angel appear'd to him in the *Inn* where he lodg'd, and, with a ſtern Countenance, and flaming Sword in his Hand, threaten'd to kill him, becauſe, by the Perſuaſions of his Wife, or his own Indulgence, he had neglected to circumciſe his younger Son; which, when his Wife perceiv'd, ſhe immediately took a Knife, made of a ſharp * Flint, and therewith circumciſing the Child, pronounc'd over him the uſual Form of *Admiſſion* into the Pale of the *Church*; which, when ſhe had done, the angry *Viſion* diſappear'd, and gave Signs, that God was appeas'd.

WHILE *Moſes* was on his Way to *Egypt*, *Aaron*, by a divine Revelation, was inform'd thereof, and order'd to go, and meet him in the Wilderneſs. Not far from the Mount of *Horeb* they met: And, after mutual Embraces and Endearments, *Moſes* began to open unto him the Purport of his *Commiſſion*, the Inſtructions he had receiv'd from God, and the miraculous Works, he was empower'd to ſhew: And thus proceeding to *Egypt* the two Brothers call'd an Aſſembly of the *chief Elders* of the People, wherein *Aaron* declar'd to them the Meſſage, which God had ſent by *Moſes*, while *Moſes* (to confirm the Truth of his divine Miſſion) wrought the ſeveral Miracles, which God had appointed him, before their Eyes; inſomuch that they were all fully convinc'd that he was a true Prophet, come from the God of their Fathers, who had, at length, commiſerated their Afflictions, and ſent now to deliver them from the Bondage: And, with this Perſuaſion, they kneel'd down upon their Knees, and worſhipp'd God.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

NOT many Days after, *Moſes* and *Aaron* went to Court, and, having obtain'd Admiſſion to the King, requeſted of him, that he wou'd give the *Iſraelites* Leave to go three Days Journey into the Wilderneſs, in order to perform a ſolemn Service to the Lord their God. But *Pharaoh* was ſo far from complying with their Requeſt, that, knowing no Being ſuperior to himſelf, he *profanely* queſtion'd the Exiſtence of their God; or, if there was ſuch a Thing, he cou'd not ſee why they might not ſerve him in *Egypt*, as well as elſewhere, and therefore he poſitively refus'd to let them go.

They apply to the King, but to no Effect.

THE Truth is, he ſuſpected that they had a Deſign of revolting from his Service, and had been laying *Schemes* to get out of his Dominions. This to him was an Argument, that they had too much Leiſure; and, an effectual Way to check their indulging themſelves in ſuch Contrivances, was to take care to leave them fewer vacant Hours; and therefore he order'd greater Taſks, and more Work to be laid upon them. † He reprimanded *Moſes* and *Aaron* for going among the People, and interrupting

Humility, in that ſuch glorious and familiar Converſe with God, and the high Commiſſion, with which he had honour'd him, made him neither forget the Civility and Duty, which he ow'd to his Father, nor break out into any publick and vain-glorious *Oſtentations* of ſuch a Privilege. *Pool*'s Annotations.

* Whether it was requir'd, that the Inſtrument, made uſe of in the Circumciſion of Children, was to be of *Stone* or *Flint*, and whether the *Hebrews* never us'd any other, is a Queſtion very learnedly diſcuſs'd by *Pererius*, in his Diſputation on this Place. That the *Heathens* perform'd ſuch Sort of Abſciſions with ſharp Flints or Stones, is evident from ſeveral Authors; and though *Pererius* determines againſt the conſtant Uſe of the *Flint* among the *Hebrews* in Circumciſion, and againſt its being preſcrib'd, or injoin'd in the Inſtitution, yet there is great Reaſon to preſume, that this Operation was never done with any other Kind of Inſtrument, before that of *Joſhua*'s circumciſing the *Iſraelites* in the *Wilderneſs*. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† The Words of *Pharaoh* are, *Why do ye*, Moſes *and* Aaron, *let the People from their Works? Get ye to your Burthens:* Which Words ſeem to be directed, not ſo much to the *Elders of* Iſrael, who might poſſibly go along with them, as to *Moſes* and *Aaron* themſelves; and ſo the Senſe of the Reproof will be, "So far am I from granting the Li-" berty, which you deſire for the People, that, as a juſt Puniſhment upon you, for your ſeditious Attempt, I com-" mand you alſo to go with the reſt, to take your Share in their Burthens, and to perform the Taſk, which ſhall be " requir'd of you." And that ſo cruel a *Tyrant* did not proceed farther againſt them, muſt be aſcrib'd to the mighty Power of God, who governs the Spirits, and reſtrains the Hands of the greateſt Kings, when he pleaſes. This ſeems

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interrupting them in their Employments. He gave their Taſk-maſters charge, not to allow them any more * Straw, and yet to exact the ſame Tale of Bricks from them without Abatement.

THIS Charge, the Taſk-maſters, who were *Egyptians*, communicated to their *Under Officers*, who were *Hebrews:* And, when the People (who being forc'd, for Want of Straw, to wander all the Country over to pick up Stubble) had not Time to make as many Bricks, as were exacted, theſe *Hebrew* Officers were call'd to an Account, and beaten. They, however, not well knowing from whence this unreaſonable Severity proceeded, whether from the Royal Edict, or the Rigour of the Taſk-maſters, addreſs'd the King himſelf, and laid their Grievances before him in the moſt humble Manner. But ſo far were they from receiving any Redreſs, that the Anſwer return'd them was, " That the " King wou'd have his Edict executed, " be it never ſo ſevere; and wou'd exact " from them their full Number of Bricks, " though he was reſolv'd to allow them no " Straw."

THIS Anſwer was enough to run them to the utmoſt Deſpair: And therefore, as they return'd from the King, meeting *Moſes* and *Aaron*, they diſcharg'd their Grief and Anger (though very unjuſtly) upon them; telling them, " That they " had taken care to infuſe an Odium into " the King againſt them, and given him a " plauſible Handle to deſtroy them, which " they wiſh'd in God might fall upon their own Heads." Theſe bitter Expreſſions afflicted *Moſes* to that Degree, that he expoſtulated the Matter with God, for ſuffering *Pharaoh* to be ſo exaſperated againſt his People, and for having not in the leaſt mitigated their Afflictions, ſince the Time, that he firſt went to him.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

The Murmurings of the People, and Moſes's *Uneaſineſs thereupon.*

HIS Concern for the Oppreſſion of his Brethren made him certainly forget the Promiſe, which God had given him, and the Perverſeneſs of *Pharaoh*, which he had foretold him: But, notwithſtanding this, God was pleas'd to give him freſh Aſſurances, that now the Time was come, wherein he wou'd manifeſt his Almighty Power, and exert the full Force of the || Name, which he had taken upon himſelf, in

to be a better Account, than what ſome of the *Jewiſh* Fictions give us of it, *viz.* that when *Moſes* and *Aaron* came into *Pharaoh*'s Preſence, they were rais'd to a taller Stature, than they had before; had a Splendor in their Countenances, like that of the Sun; and appear'd with ſuch Majeſty, as quite ſtruck him with Terror and Aſtoniſhment. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* What the Uſe of Straw was in making Bricks, is variouſly conjectur'd. Some think it was of no other Uſe, than to heat the *Kilns*, wherein they were burnt; others, who will have it that they were never burnt at all, imagine, that it ſerv'd only to cover them from the too intenſe Heat of the Sun, and that they might be bak'd gradually; but, as it is evident that they were burnt in *Kilns*, the moſt probable Opinion is, that Straw was mix'd with the Clay, to make them more ſolid: For, according to a Paſſage in *Lucilius*, mention'd by *Nonius Marcellus*, Straw was antiently employ'd to this Purpoſe.

Nam laterem qui ducit, habet nil amplius unquam,
Quam commune lutum è paleis, cœnumque aceratum. Sat. I. ix.

|| The Words of God, upon this Occaſion, are, ——— *I appear'd unto* Abraham, *unto* Iſaac, *and unto* Jacob, *by the Name of* EL-SHADDAI, *the Almighty God; but, by my Name* JEHOVAH *was I not known to them*, Exod. vi. 3. But how can this be, when, long before *Moſes*'s Time, God is ſo frequently call'd by that Name? For, did not the Sons of *Seth call themſelves by the Name of Jehovah*, Gen. iv. 26? Did not *Abraham ſwear, and lift up his Hands to Jehovah*, Gen. xiv. 22? Did not he call the Place, where he went to offer *Iſaac, Jehovah-jireh*, Gen. xxii. 14? Did not the Lord ſay unto him, *I am the God* Jehovah, *that brought thee out of* Ur *of the* Chaldees, *Gen.* xv. 7? And when in a Viſion, *Jacob* ſaw him ſtand before him, did not he ſay, *I am* Jehovah, *the God of* Abraham, *thy Father, and the God of* Iſaac, Gen. xxviii. 13? Theſe Paſſages make it impoſſible for God not to be known to the Patriarchs under that Name: And therefore ſeveral learned Writers upon this Text have deprehended a Fault in our Tranſlation, and wou'd have the latter Part of the Verſe to be taken *interrogatively*, thus, *By my Name* Jehovah *was I not known unto them?* If we take the Sentence interrogatively, *ſay they*, every one will ſee, that it plainly intimates, that the Lord *had* reveal'd himſelf unto them by his Name, which is agreeable to the Scripture Account of the Patriarchs Knowledge and Worſhip of him; but to take the Words without the *Interrogation*, and ſuppoſe them to intend, that the *Lord*, who appear'd to *Abraham, Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, was *not known to them by his Name Jehovah*, cannot be reconcil'd to ſome very expreſs Paſſages in the Book of *Geneſis*; unleſs we can ſuppoſe, that, as *Geneſis* was not written, when God reveal'd this his Name to *Moſes*, *Moſes* makes uſe of it by way of *Anticipation*, becauſe, at the Time when he wrote, the *Jews* commonly us'd it, tho' in the Days when the Patriarchs, whoſe Lives he was giving ſome Account

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in the Deliverance of his People from their Bondage, and in the Performance of their Promiſes made to their Forefathers, by giving them the Land, the rich and plentiful Land of *Canaan*, in Poſſeſſion. With this God appointed *Moſes* to acquaint the Children of *Iſrael*, and to promiſe them moreover, that he wou'd make them his peculiar People, and take them under his immediate Protection; ſo that, in the Event, they ſhou'd plainly ſee, that their Deliverance, and Admiſſion to the Inheritance, he had ſpoken of, was effected by that God, who is always faithful to his Promiſes. But, tho' *Moſes* fail'd not to carry theſe Tidings to the People, yet ſuch was their Affliction of Mind, upon the Increaſe of their Servitude, that they gave little or no Attention to him.

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He is order'd again to apply to the King, and the Reſult of it.

GOD however, purſuing the Ends of his Providence, commanded *Moſes* to go again to the King, and demand the Releaſe of his People; and, when he endeavour'd to decline the Office, upon Pretence of the † Impediment in his Speech, which he might poſſibly think was the Reaſon why his own Countrymen did not hearken unto him; and how then cou'd he expect that *Pharaoh* ſhou'd do it, in a Matter ſo much to his Loſs? God, to remove this Objection, told him, —— † That there was no Occaſion for himſelf to ſpeak unto *Pharaoh*, ſeeing he

of, liv'd, it was a Thing utterly unknown. There is another Way, however, of expounding theſe Words, if, by the Name *Jehovah*, we underſtand not the *Letters* or *Syllables*, but what is properly the Import of it, *viz.* not only God's eternal Exiſtence, but his omnipotent Power likewiſe, and unchangeable Truth, which *give Being* (as we may ſay) to his Promiſes by the actual Performance of them. That this is the Senſe of the Word *Jehovah*, is apparent from ſeveral Paſſages in this very Book of *Exodus*. Thus, Chap. vii. 5. *And the* Egyptians *ſhall know that I am* Jehovah, *when I ſtretch forth my Hand upon* Egypt; and again, Ver. 17. *Thou ſhalt know that I am* Jehovah; *for behold, I will ſtrike with the Rod, that is in thine Hand, upon the Rivers, and they ſhall be turn'd into Blood:* So that the Meaning of the whole Paſſage will fairly be, —— "That, tho' God gave *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, ſuch "Demonſtrations of his Power, as cou'd not but convince them, that he wou'd certainly perform his Promiſes; yet "they did not live to ſee the Accompliſhment of them, which he was now going to ſet before the *Iſraelites*. They "believ'd in theſe Things, but they did not *experimentally* know them. They had Dreams and Viſions indeed, but "*Moſes* was the firſt that wrought Miracles and Prodigies. By theſe he made the Name of the Lord *known* unto the "World:" And therefore *Maimonides* well concludes from this Place, that the *Prophetick* Spirit of *Moſes* was more excellent, than that which had been upon any before his Time. *Pool*'s Annotations, *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries, and *More Nevoch*. Part ii. Cap. 35.

† The Phraſe in the Text is, *uncircumcis'd in Lips*; for as, among the *Jews*, *Circumciſion* of any Part denoted its *Perfection*, ſo *Uncircumciſion* was ſet to ſignify its *Defectiveneſs*, or Ineptitude to the Purpoſes, for which it was deſign'd. Thus the Prophet ſays of the *Jews*, that *their Ear was uncircumcis'd*, and adds the Explanation of it, becauſe *they cannot hearken*, Jer. vi. 10. Again he tells us, that *the Houſe of* Iſrael *were uncircumcis'd in the Heart*, i. e. wou'd not underſtand, and learn their Duty, *Jer.* ix. 26. And, in like Manner, here *uncircumcis'd Lips* muſt mean a Perſon that was a bad Speaker, and wanted Eloquence; and what might poſſibly induce *Moſes* to make uſe of this *Metaphor*, rather than any other, might be the Conſideration of his having ſo lately neglected to circumciſe his Son. Some are of Opinion, that the Word *Circumciſion* carries in it an Idea of ſomething *ſuperfluous* in the Part, and that therefore *Moſes*'s Tongue might be either too long, or too big for his Mouth, and that this might occaſion either an *Inelegance*, or Heſitation in his Speech: But the more probable Opinion is, that he was what we call *Tongue-tied*, which his Parents, either in their Fright might not perceive, or, in the general Hurry and Deſtruction of the Children, might not dare to ſend for a proper Perſon to remedy, until it was too late. However this be, 'tis certain, that as *Circumciſion* was the firſt and greateſt *Sacrament* among the *Jews*, ſo *Uncircumciſion* was eſteem'd by them the greateſt Scandal and Diſgrace; and therefore *Moſes* perhaps thought it ſome Diſparagement to him, that he was not able himſelf to deliver his Mind, in an handſome Manner, to *Pharaoh*, and therefore made mention of this again, to engage the divine Majeſty to *circumciſe his Lips* (as they term it) *i. e.* to remove this Impediment in his Speech, as we have ſome Reaſon to believe that he did. *Pererius*, *Patrick*'s, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† God, to ſilence the Objection, which *Moſes* had more than once made, of his Defectiveneſs in Speech, tells him, *I have made thee a God to* Pharaoh, *and* Aaron *ſhall be thy Prophet*, Exod. vii. 1. by which he does not only mean that he had inveſted him with an Authority to require of *Pharaoh* an Obedience to his Commands, and upon his Refuſal, to inflict ſuch Puniſhments on him, as none but God cou'd inflict; but that, in executing the Commiſſion, he was putting him upon, there was no Occaſion for him to ſpeak to *Pharaoh* himſelf. *That* he had appointed *Aaron* to do; and therefore he might keep himſelf upon the Reſerve, and *Pharaoh* at an awful Diſtance, juſt as God delivers his Oracles to the People by the Mediation of his Prophets. Only there is one Objection againſt the Paſſage itſelf, which ſome imagine cannot be *genuine*, becauſe *Moſes* makes uſe of the Word *Nabi*, for a *Prophet*, which, in his Days, muſt have been expreſs'd by another: For ſo, in 1 *Sam.* ix. 9. it is ſaid, *that he, who was now call'd* Nabi, *a Prophet, was before that Time call'd* Roeh, *a Seer*; which ſeems to imply, that *Nabi* was not a Word in Uſe till *Samuel*'s Days. But this is very far from *Samuel*'s Meaning, whoſe plain Senſe is this, —— That he, who fore-

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he had conſtituted *Aaron* to be his *Interpreter*; that he muſt not be diſcourag'd at ſome few Repulſes; that *Pharaoh*, he knew, was a Man of ſo obſtinate a Temper, that the more he was puniſh'd, the leſs he wou'd relent, but that the leſs he relented, the more wou'd his Wonders be ſhewn on him and his People; that, to this Purpoſe, he had inveſted him with the Power of working Miracles, which wou'd make him juſtly terrible; and that therefore, when they came into *Pharaoh*'s Preſence, and he demanded a Proof of the Truth of his Miſſion, he ſhou'd direct *Aaron* to caſt his Rod upon the Ground, and it ſhou'd immediately become a Serpent.

The Miracles, which the Magicians cou'd imitate.

With theſe Inſtructions *Moſes* and *Aaron* came again to the King, and repeated the Demand of his diſmiſſing the *Iſraelites*: Whereupon, when the King deſir'd them to ſhew him ſome Miracle, thereby to induce him to believe, that the God, whom they ſpoke ſo much of, had really ſent for them, *Aaron* threw down his Rod, which was inſtantly chang'd into a Serpent; but, (to confront this Miracle) the King ſent for the *Magicians* and *Sorcerers* of *Egypt*, and order'd them to try, if, by their *magical Arts*, they cou'd cauſe the like Tranſmutation. They attempted, and ſucceeded: They chang'd their Rods into Serpents, as the other had done, but with this remarkable Difference, that *Aaron*'s Rod ſwallow'd up all the Rods of the *Magicians*, which was enough to have convinc'd the proud Monarch of the ſuperior Power of the God of *Iſrael*, had not his Heart been ſo averſe to the Thoughts of parting with the *Hebrews*, that he did not let this Circumſtance make any due Impreſſion upon his Mind.

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Some Time after this, *Moſes* and *Aaron* put themſelves in the Way of *Pharaoh*, as he was walking out to the * River *Nile*, and, urging again the Demand, they had made for the Departure of their Brethren, as

told Things to come, or diſcover'd Secrets, was antiently call'd a *Seer*, not a *Prophet*, for a Prophet heretofore ſignify'd only an Interpreter of the divine Will; but that now (in *Samuel*'s Days) they began to apply the Word *Nabi*, or *Prophet*, to thoſe, who cou'd reveal any Secret, or foreſee Things to come. *Pool*'s Annotations, *Le Clerc*'s, and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

* The River *Nile* has its Fountain-Head in the Upper *Ethiophia*, and proceeds from two Springs, about twenty Paces diſtant from one another, and each of the Bigneſs of a Cart-Wheel. About three Days Journey from the Fountain-Head, the River grows wide, and deep enough to carry a Veſſel; and, having receiv'd another River into its Boſom, it purſues its Courſe *weſt-ward* for above 25 or 30 Leagues from its Head, and then, winding about to the *Eaſt*, it falls into a great Lake, which is probably that of *Zaire*. At its coming out of this Lake it makes ſeveral Windings towards the *South*, waters the Country of *Alata*, and from thence precipitates itſelf, between Rocks of 14 Fathom high, with a terrible Noiſe, and raiſes ſuch thick Vapours, that, at a Diſtance, they may be taken for real Clouds. After having water'd ſeveral Provinces to the *Eaſt*, it continues its Courſe ſo far into the Kingdom of *Goiam*, that it comes within a Day's Journey of its firſt Source, and thence takes a Tour round about, and runs towards *Phezelo* and *Ombareo*. Here it winds about again, and having, from *Eaſt* to *North*, croſs'd ſeveral Kingdoms and Provinces, it comes into *Egypt* at the *Cataracts*, which are vaſt Falls of Water, which it makes from ſteep Rocks of no leſs than an hundred Foot high. From the Top of theſe Rocks the Water falls with ſuch Violence, that it makes a Kind of *Arch*, under which one may paſs without being wet, and with ſuch an hideous Noiſe, as may be heard full *three* Leagues off. At the Bottom of theſe Rocks, it returns to its uſual gentle Pace, with which it flows through the Plains of *Egypt*, in a Channel, about a League broad, tho' modern Travellers ſay much leſs. When it comes below *Memphis*, about eighty Miles from *Grand Cairo*, it is divided into two Arms, which make a Kind of *Triangle*, having the *Mediterranean-Sea* for its Baſe, and, by Reaſon of its Figure, is by the *Greeks* call'd *Delta*. Theſe two Arms were formerly divided into *five* ſmall ones; and from thence came the common Phraſe of *Septemplicis oſtia Nili*; but they are now ſo choak'd up with Sand, that they are ſcarce diſcernable. This is the only River in *Egypt*, and contains all the Water the Inhabitants have to drink, which made the *turning it into Blood* an heavy Judgment upon the People. The Overflowing of the River (which moſt impute to the great Rains, which fall, and melt the Snow in the Mountains of *Ethiophia*) is the Cauſe of all the Plenty and Fruitfulneſs of the whole Country: And therefore *Plutarch*, and ſeveral others tell us, that nothing was had in ſo much Veneration among the *Egyptians*; that they ador'd, and invocated it, as the greateſt of Gods, not only under the Name of *Oſiris*, but of *Orus* and *Jupiter* likewiſe, and inſtituted in its Honour the moſt ſolemn of their Feaſts; and therefore their Conjecture, who think that *Pharaoh* went to pay his Morning Devotions to the River *Nile*, is much more plauſible, than that of the *Chaldee Paraphraſt*, *viz.* that he went to obſerve *Divination upon the Water, as a Magician*, when, in all Probability, his Buſineſs was no more, than to bathe himſelf, as the Cuſtom among the *Egyptians* was to do almoſt every Day. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, *Wells*'s and *Moll*'s Geographies, and *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology. l. 3. c. 4.

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as a farther Sign that God had really ſent them, upon *Aaron*'s ſtretching out his Hand, and touching the Waters of the River with his Rod, all the Waters of the Land of *Egypt* were turn'd into Blood, and continu'd ſo for ſeven Days; ſo that * the Fiſh died, and the Inhabitants had no Water to drink, but were forc'd to dig, in new Places, for ſome to allay their Thirſt. But *Pharaoh*, finding that his *Magicians* did turn Water into Blood likewiſe, and ſuppoſing the Thing, on both Sides, to be equally perform'd by *magical Skill*, was not convinc'd by the Miracle, and ſo refus'd to let the *Iſraelites* depart.

WHEN the ſeven Days were expir'd, *Moſes* and *Aaron* came again unto him, requiring the Diſmiſſion of the People, and withal aſſuring him, that, if he did not grant their Requeſt, they ſhou'd bring a Plague of † Frogs upon all the Land, and when the King ſeem'd to ſet them at Defiance, *Moſes* order'd *Aaron* to ſtretch his Rod again over the Waters; upon doing of which there came up Abundance of Frogs, ſo as *to cover the whole Land of* Egypt, and to ſwarm in their Houſes, their Chambers, their Beds, and the very Places, where their Victuals were dreſs'd: But here it alſo happen'd, that the *Magicians* likewiſe perform'd the ſame, ſo that *Pharaoh* was not much influenc'd by this Miracle. Only, as his *Magicians* cou'd not remove the Frogs, he was forc'd to apply himſelf to *Moſes* for Relief, who, upon his Addreſs to God, had them all deſtroy'd the next Day, according to the Time that he had prefix'd; but, when they were gather'd into Heaps, their Number was ſo great, that, before they cou'd well be diſpos'd of, they infected the Air, and made the *whole Land ſtink*.

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THERE were ſeveral other Miracles wrought by *Moſes* and *Aaron* in the like Manner. The Swarms of † *Lice*, which the *Magicians* cou'd not imitate; the *Murrain*, or Mortality among their Cattle, wherein the *Iſraelites* were exempted; † the

And thoſe, which they cou'd not.

* *Diodorus Siculus*, in his Deſcription of *Egypt* (l. 1. p. 32.) informs us, that the River *Nile* abounded with all Manner of Fiſh, though later Travellers tell us, that there are not, at preſent, many in it; whether this may be attributed to the Muddineſs of its Water, or to the *Havock*, which the *Crocodiles*, and other Monſters of this River may be ſuppos'd to make in it. But, whether *antient* or *modern* Geographers are right in this Particular, 'tis certain that this Putrefaction of the Water, and ſlaying the Fiſh, was a very heavy Judgment upon the *Egyptians*, who abſtain'd from the eating of moſt Animals, whoſe Liquor was generally Water, and whoſe conſtant Food, was the Fruits of the Earth, and the Fiſh of this River. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. 2.

† The River *Nile* naturally produces Frogs; but ſo great an Abundance, appearing on a ſudden, filling the Country, and leaving the Rivers and Fields, to go into the Cities and Houſes, was really miraculous. How they got into the Cities and Houſes, is not ſo hard a Matter to conceive: For, if expert Generals, according to both *antient* and *modern* Hiſtory, have ſometimes ſurpris'd an Enemy, by entering Cities through the *Common-ſewers*, with much leſs Difficulty might the *Frogs*, *theſe Armies of the divine Vengeance*, find a Conveyance into the Cities, which ſtood all upon the Banks of the *River*, by Aqueducts and ſubterraneous Communications; and, being got into the Cities, they might find Apertures in the Walls of the Houſes, which the Inhabitants never perceiv'd before. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† Some wou'd have the Word *Cinnim*, which we render *Lice*, to ſignify *Gnats*. The *Septuagint* call them Κνίπες; but what Kind of Creatures theſe were is not ſo certainly known. Others wou'd have them to be a new *Species* of Animals, call'd *analogically* by an *old* Name; or, if they were *Lice*, that they were ſuch as had Wings, and cruelly ſtung and ulcerated the *Egyptians*. But upon the Suppoſition, that they were no worſe, than common *Lice*, this was Plague enough to the *Egyptians*, who affected *Neatneſs* to ſuch a Degree, that they bath'd themſelves every Day, and ſome of them frequently ſhav'd their Bodies all over, for fear of ſuch Vermin. Thoſe who pretend that theſe *Lice* were a new *Species*, make this a Reaſon, why the *Magicians* cou'd not counterfeit this Miracle, becauſe, tho' they cou'd eaſily provide the Serpents, the Blood, and the Frogs, yet this Sort of Animal was now no where to be had; and therefore, as the *Organs* of Sight are more liable to be impos'd upon, than thoſe of *Feeling*, the Magicians might impoſe upon the King, and the other Spectators, with *fantaſtical Blood* and *Frogs*, but *viſionary Lice* cou'd not vex and torment the Body: So that now it was Time for the *Enchanters* to deſiſt, and to own their Inability to *mimick Moſes* any farther. But ſuppoſing, that what the Magicians did, in the three former Miracles, was not Illuſion and Impoſition upon the Senſes, but *Reality*, the true Reaſon, why they cou'd proceed no farther, was, that God Almighty had laid his Reſtraint and Prohibition upon the evil Spirits, who had hitherto been ſubſervient to them, that they might not aſſiſt them any longer. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in *Locum*.

† The Word *Arob*, which we render *Fly* in general, is, by the *Septuagint*, call'd Κυνομυία, i. e. *Dog-fly*, from its biting; for it faſtens its Teeth ſo deep in the Fleſh, and ſticks ſo very cloſe, that it oftentimes makes Cattle run mad;

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the Plague of *Flies*; † the *Boils* inflicted upon the *Magicians* themſelves; the terrible *Thunder* and *Lightening*, † *Rain*, and *Hail*, which deſtroy'd the Fruits of the Earth; the Plague of the † *Locuſts*, or *Graſhoppers*, which devour'd what eſcap'd from the *Hail*; and that of thick † *Darkneſs*, which cover'd all *Egypt* for three Days, while

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mad; and the Congruity of this Plague ſeems to be greater, becauſe one of the *Egyptian* Deities, which they call'd *Anubis*, bore the Head of a Dog. The Pſalmiſt indeed tells us, that *God ſent divers ſorts of Flies among them, which devour'd them*, Pſal. lxxviii. 45. So that, according to him, it was not one particular Kind, but *all Sorts* of Flies mingled together in one prodigious Swarm or Conflux. Some tranſlate it a *Mixture of Beaſts*, which they ſuppoſe went into *Egypt* to infeſt and deſtroy the Country; but this is not ſo probable a Conſtruction, becauſe the Puniſhments, hitherto inflicted, were nauſeous and troubleſome, rather than mortal; though this Plague of infinite Numbers of ſmall Tormentors is ſo great a one, that God calls it his Army, *Joel* ii. 25; and that the *Greeks* thought fit (as *Pliny*, l. 10. c. 28. tells us) to have a God to deliver them from it, under the Stile of *Myiagros*, or *Myiodes*, even as *Belzebub* ſignifies the *Lord* or *God* of Flies. *Bochart*, *Hier.* Pt. II.

† The *Hebrew* Word *Shechin*, properly ſignifies an *Inflammation*, which firſt makes a Tumour or Boil (as we tranſlate it) and thence turns into a grievous Ulcer. Dr *Lightfoot* indeed obſerves, that, in the Book of *Job*, Chap. ii. 7, 8. where the ſame Word occurs, it ſignifies only a *burning Itch*, or an *inflam'd Scab*; an intolerable dry Itch, which *Job* cou'd not ſcratch off with his Nails, and was therefore forc'd to make uſe of a *Potſherd*: But then he confeſſes that this *Shechin*, here ſpoken of, was more *rancorous* than that, having Blains and Ulcers, that broke out with it, which *Job*'s had not. So that the *Egyptians*, according to this, muſt have been vex'd with a treble Puniſhment at once (a Puniſhment fitly calculated for the Mortification of a delicate and voluptuous People) aking Boils, nauſeous Ulcers, and a burning Itch: And to this that Commination of *Moſes* to the People, in caſe they prov'd diſobedient, does, without all Peradventure, allude: *The Lord will ſmite thee with the Botch of* Egypt, *and with the Emrods, and with the Scab, and with the Itch, whereof thou canſt not be heal'd.* Deut. xxviii. 27.

† This Infection was the more terrible in *Egypt*, becauſe, according to the Account of *Herodotus*, (l. 3. c. 10.) a very rare Thing it was, to ſee any *Rain*, and much more any *Hail* in that Climate: And, accordingly, he mentions it as a Kind of Prodigy, that, in the Reign of *Pſalmmenitus*, there happen'd to be a Shower, in *Thebes*, which was never known before in the Memory of Man, nor ever after, to the Age wherein our Author wrote. The Pſalmiſt has given us a very *poetick* Deſcription of this Judgment: *He deſtroy'd the Vines with Hail, and the Sycamore-Trees with Froſt: He gave up the Cattle alſo to the Hail, and their Flocks to hot Thunder-Bolts*, Pſal. lxxviii. 47, 48. And from the Plain Account of *Moſes*, where he mixes *Thunder*, *Hail*, and *Fire together*, Exod. ix. 23. the Obſervation is obvious, that here were no leſs than three of the Elements in Confederacy againſt *Pharaoh*'s Obſtinacy; *the Air* in the Thunder; *the Water* in the Hail; and *the Fire*, in the Lightening, all jointly demonſtrating, and proclaiming, that the *God of Iſrael* was the God of *Nature*.

† This is the Creature, which we properly call the *Graſhopper*; and wonderful is the Account, which ſeveral Authors give of them. *Thevenot*, in his Travels tells us, "That in that Part of *Scythia*, which the *Coſſacks* now inhabit, there are infinite Numbers of them, (eſpecially in dry Seaſons) which the *North-Eaſt* Wind brings over from "*Tartary*, *Circaſſia*, and *Mingrelia*, which are ſeldom or never free from them; that they fly in the Air all compact "together, like a vaſt Cloud, ſometimes 15 or 18 Miles long, and about 10 or 12 Miles broad, ſo that they quite "darken the Sky, and make the brighteſt Day obſcure; and that wherever they light, they devour all the Corn "in leſs than two Hours Time, and frequently make a Famine in the Country. Theſe Inſects, *ſays he*, live not "above ſix Months; and when they are dead, the Stench of them ſo corrupts and infects the Air, that it very often "breeds dreadful Peſtilences." God (as we hinted before) calls the *Locuſt*, *the Canker-worm, Caterpillar, and the Palmer-worm, his great Army, which he ſends* amongſt a wicked and rebellious People, *Joel* ii. 25. And how proper the Expreſſion is, in Relation to the *Locuſt* in particular, will appear from the Account which *Aldrovandus* and *Fincelius* give us of theſe Animals, *viz.* "That, in the Year of the Lord 852, an infinite Number of them was ſeen "to fly over twenty Miles in *Germany* in one Day, in the Manner of a *form'd Army*, divided in ſeveral *Squadrons*, "and having their *Quarters* apart, when they reſted; that the *Captains* march'd a Day's Journey before the reſt, "and choſe the moſt opportune Places for their *Camp*; that they never remov'd 'till Sun-riſing, at which Time "they went away in as much *Order*, as an Army of Men cou'd do; that, at laſt, having done great Miſchief, where-"ever they paſs'd (after Prayers made to God) they were driv'n, by a violent Wind, into the *Belgick* Ocean, and "there drown'd; but that, being caſt by the Sea, upon the Shore, they cover'd 140 Acres of Land, and caus'd a "great Peſtilence in the Country:" Which is enough to ſhew how dreadful a Puniſhment this was, eſpecially conſidering, that theſe *Locuſts* were ſuch, *as were never known before*, and yet the ordinary *Locuſt* (as *Ariſtotle* and *Pliny* have deſcrib'd it) was an Animal ſo fierce and formidable, that one ſingle one wou'd kill a Serpent, by taking it faſt by the Jaws, and biting it to Death. *Ariſt.* Hiſt. Animal. l. 5. c. 23. *Pliny*'s Nat. Hiſt. l. 11. c. 9. and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† The *Septuagint*, and moſt Tranſlations render it, *a Darkneſs, which might be felt*, i. e. conſiſting of black Vapours and Exhalations, ſo condens'd, that they might be perceiv'd by the Organs of Touch. But, ſome Commentators think, that this is carrying the Senſe too far; ſince, in ſuch a Medium as this, Mankind cou'd not live an Hour, much leſs for the Space of three Days, as the *Egyptians* are ſaid to have done: And therefore they imagine, that inſtead *of a Darkneſs that may be felt*, the *Hebrew* Phraſe may ſignify a Darkneſs, wherein Men went *groping* and *feeling* about for every Thing, they wanted. And in this Senſe the Author of the Life of *Moſes* certainly takes it;

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY BOMBAY BRANCH

Plate VIII.

THE PASSOVER OF THE JEWS

To the right Reverend Father in God *BENJAMIN* Lord Bishop of *SALISBURY* this plate is most humbly inscrib'd by his Lordships most Dutiful & Obedient Son and Servant Tho.s Stackhouse

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1571, &c.

Hereupon the King begins to relent.

while the Land of *Goſhen*, (where the *Iſraelites* liv'd) was enlighten'd as uſual. All theſe Miracles, perform'd by the Word of *Moſes*, did not a little perplex the King. He found, that all the Power and Learning of the *Magicians* cou'd not equalize them. Upon attempting one of them, they themſelves confeſs'd, that it was done by *the Finger of God*; and, in the Caſe of another, they were equally Sufferers in the common Calamity: So that the King's Heart was, ſeveral Times, almoſt overcome. He offer'd the *Iſraelites* Leave to perform their religious Offices to their God, provided they wou'd do it in *Egypt*; but their Religion, (*as* Moſes *told him*) was ſo very different from the *Egyptian*, that were they to do what God requir'd of them in *Egypt*, the Inhabitants wou'd * riſe up againſt them, and ſtone them. The King, after this, offer'd that they might go out of the Kingdom, provided *adult* Perſons wou'd only go, and leave their Children behind, as Pledges for their Return; but to this *Moſes* peremptorily replied, that none ſhou'd be left behind, the Young and the Old ſhou'd go together; which enrag'd *Pharaoh* ſo, that, with ſome ſevere Menaces, he order'd him to depart from his Preſence. However, as he found the Plagues increaſe upon him, he came to a farther Conceſſion, and was willing that the People ſhou'd go, but only that their Flocks, and their Herds ſhou'd be ſtay'd, as rightly ſuppoſing, that this might be a Means to accelerate their Return: But *Moſes* poſitively inſiſted that all their Subſtance ſhou'd be taken with them, and *not one Hoof be left behind*; whereupon *Pharaoh* grew ſo exceeding angry, that he charg'd him to be gone his Preſence, and never attempt to ſee him more, for, that if he did, he wou'd certainly put him to death.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

MOSES however, by the divine Command, went once more to *Pharaoh*, with the ſevereſt Meſſage, he had ever brought him, and repreſented to him, that, at Mid-night, God wou'd ſtrike dead the Firſt-born of every Family throughout all the Land of *Egypt*, and that thereupon there ſhou'd be ſuch a Dread, and Terror among the *Egyptians*, that they wou'd come to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive Manner, and beg of him to lead the People out of the Land, and after that, *ſaid he*, I *ſhall go*; which put *Pharaoh* into ſuch a Rage, that *Moſes*, having no Intention to incenſe and provoke him farther, turn'd away, and left him.

Moſes's *laſt Meſſage to him.*

FOUR Days before this, God had inſtructed *Moſes* and *Aaron* to direct the People to prepare the *Paſſover*, which was to be a *Feaſt* in Commemoration of their Departure out of *Egypt*; becauſe the Night before they left it, the deſtroying Angel, who ſlew the Firſt-born of the *Egyptians*, *paſs'd over* the Houſes of the *Iſraelites*, without doing them any Harm, they being mark'd with the Blood of the Lamb, which was kill'd the Evening before. And the Injunction, which *Moſes* gave the People, was

The Inſtitution of the Paſſover.

" For, in this Darkneſs, *ſays he*, they, who were in Bed, durſt not get up, and ſuch, as their natural Occaſions " compell'd to get up, went feeling about by the Walls, or any other Thing, they cou'd lay hold on, as if they " had been blind." What it was, that occaſion'd this *Darkneſs*; whether it was in the *Air*, or in their *Eyes*; whether it was a Suſpenſion of *Light* from the Sun in that Country, or a black and thick Vapour, which totally intercepted it; there is Reaſon to think, that the Deſcription, which the Author of *the Book of Wiſdom* gives us of their inward Terrors, and Conſternation, is not altogether conjectural, *viz.* That *they were* not only *Priſoners of Darkneſs, and fetter'd with the Bonds of a long Night, but were horribly aſtoniſh'd* likewiſe, *and troubled with ſtrange Apparitions*: For, while over them *was ſpread an heavy Night, they were to themſelves more grievous than Darkneſs*, Wiſd. xvii. 2, 3, 21. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Philo*'s Life of *Moſes*.

* The Words in the Text are, *Lo, ſhall we ſacrifice the Abominations of the* Egyptians *before their Eyes, and ſhall they not ſtone us?* Exod. viii. 26. Where the *Interrogation*, having in it the full Force of an *Affirmation*, makes the Senſe of the Words to be this: " If we ſhou'd offer thoſe Creatures, which the *Egyptians* worſhip for Gods, as " the Ox, and the Sheep, they doubtleſs will be affronted to ſee us ſacrifice their Gods to our God." For, that the *Egyptians* did look upon ſeveral Animals with a ſacred Veneration, is evident from that known Paſſage in the Satyriſt.

——— lanatis Animalibus abſtinet omnis
Menſa: Nefas illic Fœtum jugulare Capellæ. *Juven.* Sat. 15.

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was to this Effect; — That † every Family of *Iſrael* (or, if the Family was too little, two neighbouring Families joining together) ſhou'd on the *Tenth* Day of the Month, take a Lamb or a Kid, and ſhut it up until the *fourteenth* Day, and then kill it; that the Lamb was to be a *Male*, not above a Year old, and without any manner of *Blemiſh*; that when they kill'd it, they ſhou'd catch its Blood in a Veſſel, and with a Bunch of *Hyſſop* dipp'd in it, ſprinkle the *Lintel* and *Side-poſts* of the outer Door, and ſo not ſtir out of the Houſe until next Morning; that in the mean Time, they were to eat the Lamb or Kid, (dreſs'd whole, and without breaking a Bone of it) neither *raw*, nor *ſodden*, but *roaſted*, with *unleaven'd* Bread, and bitter Herbs; that if there was more than they cou'd diſpenſe with, no Stranger was to eat of it, and therefore they were to burn it; and, laſtly, that the Poſture, in which they were to eat it, was to be in a Hurry, with their Cloathes on, and their Staves in their Hands, as if they were juſt upon the Point of going.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

And the Occaſion of the Iſraelites *leaving* Egypt *in haſte.*

When every Thing was thus in Readineſs for their Departure, God, in the Middle of the Night, by his deſtroying Angel, † ſlew the Firſt-born of every Houſe

† Some learned Men are of Opinion, that God, in the Inſtitution of the *Paſſover*, had reſpect to thoſe impious Rites, which either then did prevail, or, in a ſhort Time, were to prevail among the *Egyptians*, and other Nations, where the *Iſraelites* were to dwell. Thus they tell us, "That God appointed a Lamb to be ſlain, and eaten, and the "Month *Niſan* or *March*, to be the particular Time of eating it, in Contempt of the *Egyptians*, who, at that Time, "when the Sun firſt enter'd into *Aries*, began their ſolemn Worſhip and Adoration of this Creature, and that "celeſtial Sign; that he forbad the People to eat the Fleſh of the *Paſchal* Lamb *raw*, or *ſodden*, to *break its Bones*, "or *leave* any Fragments of it, becauſe, in the profane Feaſts of *Bacchus*, it was a Cuſtom to eat the raw Fleſh of "the Victims, which they offer'd to that God, and to break all their Bones; and, in the Adoration of the Ὧραι, "whom the *Egyptians*, and, from them, the *Athenians*, reputed *Goddeſſes*, they boil'd all their Sacrifices, and carry'd "conſtantly ſome Part of them home, as a good Preſervative againſt Misfortunes." But there is no need, one wou'd think, for ſuch *elaborate* Explications, when, conſidering the Situation the *Iſraelites* were in, ſorely oppreſs'd by the *Egyptians*, and ſhortly to be releas'd, and ſent away with all Speed, the *Nature* and *Quality* of the *Paſchal* Sacrifice, as well as the *Manner* of *dreſſing*, and Manner of *eating* it, may perfectly be accounted for. Thus it was to be *a Male*, becauſe a more excellent Species than the Female; *without Blemiſh*, to render it acceptable to God; *under a Year old*, otherwiſe it cou'd not properly be call'd a *Lamb*; and *ſet apart from the reſt of the Flock*, that it might be in Readineſs, when the People came in haſte to offer it. *Roaſted it was to be, and not boil'd*, becauſe roaſting was the ſpeedier Way of dreſſing it; but *roaſted thoroughly*, becauſe the whole was to be eaten; and *the whole was to be eaten*, that none might be left for the *Egyptians* to profane. It was to be eaten *ſtanding, and in haſte*, and with other Circumſtances of Men every Moment expecting to begin their Journey; *with bitter Herbs*, to put them in Mind of their cruel Servitude; *and unleaven'd Bread*, in Memory of their Deliverance from it, ſo ſuddenly, that they had not even Time to leaven their Bread for their Journey; which is all that the *Iſraelites* underſtood, and all perhaps that God, at that Time, intended they ſhou'd underſtand, by the Directions, which he gave them concerning this remarkable *Ordinance*. *Spencer* de Rit. Heb. Tom. I. l. 2. c. 4.

† The Word *Bekor* ſignifies ſometimes a Perſon of ſome *Eminence* or *Excellence*, as well as the *Firſt-born*: And therefore it may not be an unreaſonable Suppoſition, that, where a Family had no *Firſt-born*, the *principal*, or moſt eminent Perſon, was ſmitten with Death: Which is certainly better, than to imagine, with ſome, both *Jew* and *Chriſtian* Interpreters, that the Words of *Moſes* are only applicable to an Houſe that had a *Firſt-born*, or with St *Auſtin*, that Providence did ſo order it at this Time, that every Houſe had a *Firſt-born*. Since this however is the concluding Judgment, which God ſent upon the *Egyptians*, it may not be improper here to enquire a little how long *Moſes* was in working all theſe Miracles. According to Archbiſhop *Uſher* then, (who has included them all within the Space of one Month) we may ſuppoſe, that, about the 18th Day of the *ſixth* Month, was ſent the Plague of the *Waters turn'd into Blood*, which ended *ſeven* Days after. On the 25th came the *ſecond* Plague of *Frogs*, which was remov'd the Day following, and on the 27th, that of the *Lice*. About the 28th *Moſes* threaten'd the *fourth* Plague of *Flies*, and inflicted them on the 29th. On the 1ſt of the next Month, (which was afterwards made the *firſt* Month of the Year) he foretold the *fifth* Plague of the *Murrain*, and inflicted it the next; and on the 3d, the *ſixth* Plague of *Boils*, which fell upon the Magicians themſelves. About the 4th Day, he foretold the *ſeventh* Plague of *Thunder* and *Hail*, and on the 5th inflicted it. On the 7th, he threaten'd the *eighth* Plague of *Locuſts*, and, having ſent them the Day following, remov'd them on the *ninth*. On the 10th he inſtituted the Feaſt of the *Paſſover*, and brought upon *Egypt* the *ninth* Plague of *Darkneſs*, which laſted for *three* Days; and on the 14th, he foretold the *Tenth*, viz. the Deſtruction of all their *Firſt-born*, which came to paſs the Night following. This ſeems to be a reaſonable Period of Time; and the *gradual* Increaſe of theſe Judgments is ſomewhat remarkable. The *four* firſt Plagues were *loathſome*, rather than *fatal*, to the *Egyptians*; but after that of the *Flies*, came the *Murrain*, which chiefly ſpent its Rage upon the Cattle: The *Boils* and *Blanes* reach'd both Man and Beaſt, though there was ſtill a Reſerve for Life. The *Hail* and *Locuſts* extended, in a great Meaſure, even to Life itſelf; the firſt by an *immediate* Stroke, and both conſequently by deſtroying

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Houſe in *Egypt*, from the Prince, who ſat on the Throne, to the meaneſt Slave; but, among the *Iſraelites*, none was hurt, becauſe the bloody Mark, upon the Door-poſts, was a Token for the Angel not to ſtrike there. At Midnight there was a ſudden Out-cry and Confuſion among the *Egyptians*: The dying Groans of their Children awoke them; and, when they perceiv'd that in every Family, without Exception, the *Firſt-born*, both of Man and Beaſt, were dead, they came immediately to *Moſes* in a great Fright and Terror, and deſir'd him to get the People together, and to take their Flocks, and their Herds, and all that belong'd to them, and be gone, becauſe they cou'd not tell, where ſuch dreadful Judgments wou'd end. *Moſes* had before-hand, according to God's Order, directed the *Iſraelites* to borrow of the *Egyptians* Silver and Gold Veſſels to a great Value; and God had, at this Time, diſpos'd the Hearts of the *Egyptians* to lend them every Thing they aſk'd for. The Truth is, they were in a Manner frighted out of their Wits, and ſo urgent were they to have the *Iſraelites* gone, that they wou'd not let them ſtay, ſo much as to bake their Bread, but oblig'd them to take the Dough, raw as it was, along with them, and bake it, as well as they cou'd, upon the Road: From whence it came to be a Law, that, during the whole eight Days of the Paſſover, no other Bread, than what was unleaven'd, was to be eaten.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

The OBJECTION.

" THE Services, which *Joſeph* did " the Crown of *Egypt*, were ſo " many, and ſo very remarkable, that " one can hardly imagine, that a *Nation*, " who ow'd their Lives to him, (*a*) as " they themſelves confeſs, or a *King*, who " was indebted to him for ſo large an " Augmentation of his Revenue, ſhou'd " ever loſe the Remembrance of ſo able a " *Miniſter*. But allowing this to be a " *Frailty* in human Nature, that we are " unmindful oftentimes of our beſt *Bene-* " *factors*; yet, what Reaſon cou'd there " be, why the *Egyptians* ſhou'd, all on a " ſudden, take it in their Heads to treat " the *Iſraelites* ſo inhumanly, a Company " of poor harmleſs Shepherds, who cou'd " give no Moleſtation to any Government: " Or, if it be in the Nature of Man to be " *cruel*, why ſhou'd a God of infinite " *Mercy* and *Compaſſion* ſuffer *his own* " People, for whom he profeſs'd ſo par- " ticular a Regard, to undergo ſo long, " and ſo ſevere a Servitude, when we " read of no Sins, and Provocations extra- " ordinary on their Parts to excite him to " it?

" To repel Violence, and vindicate the " Oppreſs'd, are certainly Acts of great " Generoſity; but, even this may not be " done, to any high Degree, without a " proper Authority: And therefore, " when we find *Moſes* killing an *Egyp-* " *tian*, becauſe he mal-treated an *Hebrew* " Brother, we cannot but think, that he " tranſcended his Commiſſion; that he " acted the Part of a *Magiſtrate*, when " he was but a *private* Man, and was " therefore guilty of wilful *Murther*, as " himſelf ſeems to have been conſcious, " by burying the dead Body in the " Sand.

" BY all that appears in *Moſes*'s Wri- " tings, he ſeems to have had a compe-

the Fruits of the Earth. That of *Darkneſs* added Conſternation to their Minds, and Laſhes to their Conſciences; and when all this wou'd not reclaim, at length came the deciſive Blow; firſt the *Exciſion* of the *Firſt-born*, and then the *drowning* of the incorrigible Tyrant and all his Hoſt; *great and marvellous are thy Works, O Lord, God Almighty! juſt and true are thy Ways, thou King of Saints!* Rev. xv. 3.

(*a*) Gen. xlvii. 25.

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" tent Knowledge in Matters of Religion; and yet it may justly raise our " Wonder, how he came, at the Age of " Fourscore, to be so ignorant of the " very *Name of God*, as to enquire of him " by what Title he was to distinguish " him, when he carried his Message to " the *Israelites*; nor does the Title, or " Definition of *I am that I am*, which " he makes God give of himself, and " seems to carry in it a *Reproof* to *Moses*'s " Question, convey, in the least, any " *positive* or *distinct* Idea of what the " Divine Nature is.

" Great and hazardous Actions " indeed are not to be enterpriz'd without " mature Thought and Deliberation; but " when *Moses* was assur'd of the Divine " Appearance, and that it was God, in " Reality, who was then speaking to him, " it savours of Perverseness and Obstinacy, " rather than any Humility or Diffidence " of himself, to frame so many idle Ex- " cuses, in order to evade a Service, which " God was so desirous to employ him " in.

" The Sign however, which God gave " *Moses* of the Certainty of his Success, " *viz.* That on the Mountain, where " they then were, the *Israelites*, when " releas'd, shou'd come and *worship him*, " was not so very *satisfactory*; because it " referr'd him to an *Event* a long while " *posterior* to his *Mission*. Nor was his " Mission itself so very *pleasing* to God, " one wou'd think, when the very next " News we have of him, is, that *he* " *meets Moses* in the *Inn*, and threatens " to *slay him*, which put the whole Fa- " mily into a sad Flutter, and made the " *good Woman*, to save her Husband's " Life, *circumcise* her Son, though she " scolded all the while, and call'd him *a* " *bloody Husband*.

" The Truth is, *Moses*, in this Part " of his History, has not so well con- " sulted the Honour and Veracity of the " God, from whom he speaks. When " he comes to *Pharaoh*, he requests only " the Grant of *three Days Journey into* " *the Wilderness*, in order to offer Sacrifi- " ces to God; and yet it is apparent, that, " from the very first, he was meditating a " total Escape. When he speaks to the " People, to give them Consolation under " their Afflictions, he promises them a " *Land flowing with Milk and Honey*, " which denotes all Manner of plenteous " Provision; and yet, it is notorious, " that, not only *Strabo* has made it *a* " *stony and barren* Country, but all modern " *Geographers* and *Travellers* have likewise " given it a Character, that does not tend " at all to its Advantage.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

" The Conception which we have of " God, is, that he is a *Being* of infi- " nite Goodness, Justice, and Wisdom, " who can do no cruel, no unrighteous, " no weak, or self-repugnant Action; can " neither be the Author or Abettor of " any Wickedness in us; nor the Cause " or Promoter of any Matter, that de- " rogates from his own Glory and Great- " ness: And yet, when we read of his " *hardening* Pharaoh's *Heart*, we must al- " low it to be an Inconsistency with his " *Goodness*; of his ordering the *Israe-* " *lites* to *spoil the Egyptians*, an Infrac- " tion upon his *Justice*; and of his per- " mitting the *Magicians* to do the like " Miracles with his Servant *Moses*, a " Diminution of his own *Power*, and, " in some Measure, a cancelling his own " *Credentials:* For how shall we know " that Miracles are true, and really " wrought by the Finger of *God*, when " God himself impowers evil Spirits, either " to work exactly the same, or to *mi-* " *mick* them in so artful a Manner, " that the most curious and attentive Eye " shall not be able to discern the Dif- " ference?

" Though, therefore, we can give " no Reason, why *Moses* shou'd be so very " *complaisant* to *Pharaoh*, as to give him " Notice of the Time, when he intended " to inflict, or remove a *Plague*; yet " we can assign a very good one, why " *Pharaoh* shou'd send for the *Magicians* " and *Sorcerers* to confront *Moses:* Nor

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" is it a bad Apology for his Noncom-
" pliance with God's Command to releaſe
" his People, that he ſaw ſome of the
" ſelf-ſame Miracles, as pretended to be
" *divine*, very dexterouſly done, either
" by the *Faſcination* of ſome evil Spirit,
" or by the mere Power and Force of
" *Magick*."

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing the Revolution, *which happen'd in* Egypt.

To account, in ſome Meaſure, for the Occaſion of the Sufferings of the *Iſraelites* in the Land of *Egypt*, we muſt obſerve, that, in the fifth Year of *Concharis*, (whom *Joſephus*, from *Manetho*, calls *Timeus*, and who, according to *Syncellus*, was the twenty-fifth King of the Land of *Tanis*, or *Lower Egypt*;) there came a numerous Army of *unknown* People, and invaded *Egypt* on a ſudden. They over-ran both the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*; burn'd the Cities, kill'd the Inhabitants, and, having, in a little Time, ſubdu'd all before them, made one of their Leaders, whoſe Name was *Salatis*, their King; who, as ſoon as he was ſettled on the Throne, laid the Land under *Tribute*, made its antient Inhabitants his *Slaves*, and gave the Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates to his own People. Who this *Salatis* and his Followers (who call'd themſelves *Paſtors* or *Shepherds*) were, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to diſcover. The moſt probable Conjecture is, that they were ſome of the *Horites*, whom the Children of *Eſau* drove out of *Seir*, (a Country, which lay to the *Eaſt* and *South* of the *Dead-Sea*) becauſe the *Horites* were a People, who liv'd by Paſturage, and happen'd to be expell'd their own Country much about this Time. *Egypt* indeed was a very flouriſhing Kingdom, but ſo far from being famous for War, that we read of none of their Exploits of this Kind from the Time of their firſt Eſtabliſhment, to this very Day. They conſum'd their Time in Eaſe, and Wealth, and Luxury; and therefore the *Horites* (if they were the *Horites*) might eaſily conquer them, and gain themſelves a Settlement in their Kingdom, even as the *Arcadians* did in *Thrace*, and the *Pelaſgi*, and afterwards the *Trojans*, in *Italy*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

HOWEVER this be, the Government of *Egypt* being by this Means ſubverted, the Protection and Happineſs, which the *Iſraelites* enjoy'd, periſh'd with it. This *new King*, as the Scripture calls him, knew nothing of *Joſeph*, nor did he regard any Eſtabliſhment, which he had made. He had forc'd his Way into *Egypt* with his Sword, and ſettled his People by Conqueſt, in ſuch a Manner, and upon ſuch Terms, as he thought fit: Only, as the *Hebrews* were a great and increaſing People, inhabiting thoſe Parts which he moſt ſuſpected, and fearing leſt, if any Invaſion ſhou'd happen from the *Eaſt*, or any Inſurrection among the antient Inhabitants, they poſſibly might join with them, and ſo endanger his new Acquiſition, he thought it a Point of good *Policy* to uſe all proper Means to keep them effectually under.

And why God ſuffer'd the Iſraelites *to be* diſtreſs'd.

ONE of the great *Myſteries* in the Diſpenſations of Providence, is, God's making Choice of the Children of *Iſrael* for his peculiar People, when it is ſo manifeſt (as *Moſes* roundly tells them) that they were a *ſtiff-necked* Nation, and (*b*) *had been rebellious from the very firſt Day that he knew them.* (*c*) *God will be gracious to whom he will be gracious, and will ſhew Mercy to whom he will ſhew Mercy:* But, upon Suppoſition that the Children of *Iſrael* did not behave ſo well, during their Abode in *Egypt*, that they neglected the Worſhip of the true God, and comply'd too much with the *idolatrous* Cuſtoms of the Country; this will afford us Reaſon enough, why God might ſuffer their Sorrows to be multiply'd, *and their Enemies to ride over their Backs.* (*d*) *He does not*, indeed, *afflict willingly, nor grieve the Children of Men*; and therefore, we may preſume, that this ſevere Chaſtiſement of his *Rod* was to make them ſmart for ſome great and *national* Defection; was to remind them of their ſad Degeneracy from the Virtue of their Anceſtors; and ſo (in the Phraſe of the *Prophet*) (*e*) *to look*

(*b*) Deut. ix. 24. (*c*) Exod. xxxiii. 19. (*d*) Lam. iii. 33. (*e*) Iſa. li. 1, 2.

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look unto the Rock, whence they were hewn, and to the Hole of the Pit, whence they were digged; to look unto Abraham *their Father, and unto* Sarah *that bare them.*

But even putting the Caſe, that they had not been thus culpable; yet, ſince *(f) whom the Lord loveth he chaſteneth, and ſcourgeth every Son whom he receiveth*, who can ſay, but that God might juſtly permit ſuch Calamities to befal a People, whom he had *adopted* for his own, the more to exerciſe their Virtue, and Patience, and Reſignation to the Divine Will; (*g*) the more to keep up a Diſtinction between them and the *Egyptians*, which a friendly Uſage might have deſtroy'd; the more to prepare, and make them willing to leave *Egypt*, whenever God ſhou'd ſend them an Order to depart; and the more to heighten the *Reliſh* of their future Deliverance, and to make them more thankful, more obedient to him, and his Injunctions, upon every Remembrance of that *Houſe of Bondage*, wherein they had ſuffer'd ſo much, and been ſo long detain'd?

Moſes's Truth as an Hiſtorian.

Of all the Writers of the *Hiſtories of their own Times*, there is none to be compar'd to *Moſes* in this Regard, that he reveals his own Faults and Blemiſhes, which he might have eaſily conceal'd, and conceals many Things, recorded in other Authors, which might have redounded to his own immortal Honour. He might have conceal'd the near *Conſanguinity* between his *Father* and *Mother*, which, in After-Ages, made Marriages unlawful, though then perhaps it might be diſpens'd with. He might have conceal'd his *Murther* of the *Egyptian*, and, for Fear of Apprehenſion, his *Eſcape* into *Midian*. He might have conceal'd his *Averſion* to the Office of reſcuing his Brethren from their Bondage; the many frivolous Excuſes he made, and the flat Denial, he gave God at laſt, 'till God was in a Manner forc'd to obtrude it upon him. He might have conceal'd his Neglect in not circumciſing his Son, which drew God's angry Reſentment againſt him, ſo that he *met him*, and wou'd have *ſlain him*. He might have conceal'd ſome peeviſh Remonſtrances, he made to God, when *Pharaoh* prov'd obſtinate, and refus'd to comply. Above all, he might have conceal'd the whole Story of the *Magicians*, their working three Miracles equally with him, and every other Circumſtance, that ſeem'd to eclipſe his Glory: But, inſtead of this, we may obſerve, that, as he makes a large Chaſm, in his Life, from his Childhood to his being *Forty* Years old, and from *Forty* to *Fourſcore*; ſo he has left us nothing of the incomparable *Beauty* and *Comelineſs* of his Perſon; nothing of the Excellency of his natural *Parts*, and Politeneſs of his Education; nothing of his *Ethiopian* Expedition, the Conqueſts he made there, and the Poſts of Honour, which he held in the *Egyptian Court*; nothing, indeed, of all the Tranſactions of the preceding Part of his Life, but what the Author to the *Hebrews* has taken Care to tranſmit, *viz.* (*h*) *that when he came to Years, he refus'd to be call'd the Son of* Pharaoh's *Daughter, chuſing rather to ſuffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleaſures of Sin for a Seaſon.* So that here we have a ſignal Evidence of the Truth and Honeſty of our Hiſtorian, that in the Paſſages of his own Life, he conceals ſuch, as an Impoſtor wou'd be fond to emblazon, and diſcovers others, which any Man of Art and Deſign wou'd be careful to conceal; though even ſome of theſe Paſſages, which, at firſt Sight, may ſeem to deſerve ſome Blame, upon a farther Enquiry, may be found to be excuſable at leaſt, if not to be juſtify'd.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

The Murder of the Egyptian *juſtify'd.*

Whoever was the Author of the Book of *Job*, it is certain, that he was a Writer of great Antiquity, and yet he makes it a Part of the Character of that righteous Man, that he (*i*) *delivered the Poor, when he cried, and the Fatherleſs, and him that had no Helper; that he brake the Jaws of the Wicked, and plucked the Spoil*

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(*f*) Heb. xii. 6. (*g*) Sherlock, *on Providence.* (*h*) Heb. xi. 24, 25. (*i*) Job xxix. 12, 17.

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Spoil out of his Teeth. If this may be thought to relate to *Job*, as a publick *Magiſtrate* only, there is a Direction in the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, which ſeems to be of a more general Concernment; (*k*) *If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto Death, and thoſe that are ready to be ſlain; If thou ſayeſt, behold, we knew it not; doth not he, that pondereth the Heart, conſider it? And he, that keepeth thy Soul, doth not he know it? And ſhall not he render to every Man according to his Works?* If this be thought again not to affect *Moſes* at all, as being at this Time, an Inhabitant of *Egypt*; there was in *Egypt* likewiſe a Law, (*l*) which perhaps, at this Time, was in Force, and obligatory upon all, *viz.* "That, whoever ſaw his Fellow-Creature, "either kill'd by another, or violently "aſſaulted, and did not either apprehend "the Murtherer, or reſcue the Oppreſs'd "if he cou'd, or, if he cou'd not, made "not an Information thereof to the *Magi-* "*ſtrate*, himſelf ſhou'd be put to death." Now the Hiſtory tells us, that, (*m*) *when* Moſes *went out unto his Brethren, he looked on their Burthens, and ſpied an* Egyptian *ſmiting an* Hebrew. So that, it is but ſuppoſing, that this *Egyptian* was one of the *Taſk-Maſters* (as the *Burthens* here mention'd ſeem to denote) who ſo barbarouſly treated the *Hebrews*, and was now going to beat one of them to death; and, according to the Law of the Land (which ſeems indeed to be the Law *of all Nations*) then in being, he was oblig'd to interpoſe; and if, upon his Interpoſition, the *Egyptian* turn'd upon him, and aſſaulted him briſkly, (which is no hard Matter to imagine) he was oblig'd, in his own Defence, to ſlay him.

(*n*) To complain to the Magiſtrate in this Caſe, and implore the Aſſiſtance of the Law, was to no Manner of Purpoſe. The whole Civil Power was lodg'd in ſuch Hands, as had ſecret Inſtructions from Court to vex and ill-treat the *Iſraelites*; and when Matters were come to this *Criſis*, that Oppreſſion rul'd, and the Government was turn'd into a mere *Latrociny*, private Force, upon any proper Occaſion, muſt be deem'd lawful in all, but in *Moſes* much more ſo, ſince he was either mov'd and animated thereunto by a divine Impulſe, or inveſted, before it happen'd, (as (*o*) St *Stephen*'s Comment upon the Place gives us Reaſon to think he was ſo inveſted) with the Title, and Office of *Deliverer of the People of God.* From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

THAT the *Names* both of *Perſons* and *Things* were of the greateſt Importance to be rightly underſtood, in order to attain the trueſt Knowledge, that cou'd be had, of their *Natures*, was the Opinion both of *Jews* and *Heathens*; and ſome of the earlieſt Writers of the *Chriſtian Church* have ſpeculated upon this Subject, with ſo much philoſophical Subtlety, as to build thereon many fooliſh Fancies, and ridiculous Errors. It cannot be deny'd indeed, but that God, in giving ſome Names, that are recorded in Scripture, had reſpect to the Nature and Circumſtances of the Perſons, to whom they belong'd; and that in Imitation of him, Men endeavour'd, even from the Beginning, to give Names as expreſſive of the Properties of the Things nam'd, as human Wiſdom cou'd direct them: And therefore, without troubling ourſelves with what the Ancients have offer'd concerning the *Science* of Names, we may from hence deduce the true Reaſon, why *Moſes* deſir'd to be inform'd, at this Time more eſpecially, what the Name of God was. *Why* Moſes *deſir'd to* know *God's* Name.

IF we conſider the ſmall Advances, which Philoſophy had made, we cannot imagine, that Men, at this Time, had a ſufficient Knowledge of the Works of the *Creation*, to be able thereby to demonſtrate the *Attributes* of God; nor cou'd they, by Speculation, form proper and juſt Notions of his *Nature*. Some of them indeed, the Philoſophers of that Age, though themſelves wiſe enough to attempt theſe Subjects; but what was the Succeſs?

(*k*) Prov. xxiv. 11, 12. *Clerc*'s Commentary in Locum. (*l*) Diodorus Siculus, l. 1. p. 69. (*o*) Acts vii. 25. (*m*) Exod. ii. 11, (*n*) *Le*

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1571, &c.

(*p*) *Profeſſing themſelves to be wiſe, they became Fools, and changed the Glory of the incorruptible God.* After they had ſpeculated never ſo long on any Element, the *Fire*, *Air*, or *Water*, the Convex of the Firmament, the Circle of the Stars, or the Lights of Heaven, not forming true Notions of their Natures, they were either delighted with their *Beauty*, or aſtoniſh'd with their *Power*, and ſo framing very *high*, but *falſe* Eſtimates of them, they loſt the Knowledge of the Work-Maſter, and took the Parts of his Workmanſhip to be God.

MOSES, indeed, might be a Man of excellent Parts; but we carry our Compliment too far, if we think him not liable to have fallen into theſe, or perhaps more dangerous Errors, had he endeavour'd to form his Notions of God, either from the *Egyptian*, or any other Learning, that was then extant in the World. *Faith*, or a Belief of what God had reveal'd, was the only Principle, upon which he cou'd hope rightly to *know God*; and this was the *Principle*, which *Moſes* here deſires to go upon. For, as the *Revelation*, which God had hitherto made of himſelf, was but ſhort and imperfect; ſo *Moſes*, by deſiring to know God's Name, deſir'd that he might have ſome Revelation of his Nature and Attributes vouchſaf'd him; for, that the *Name* of God does frequently ſignify the Divine Nature and Attributes, is evident from ſeveral Paſſages in Scripture.

WHEN *Moſes* deſir'd to ſee God's Glory, he obtain'd, that the *Name* of the Lord ſhou'd be proclaim'd before him, and the Proclamation was; (*q*) *The Lord, the Lord God, merciful, and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in Goodneſs and Truth, keeping Mercy for Thouſands, forgiving Iniquity, Tranſgreſſion, and Sin.* And, in like Manner, *Iſaiah*, propheſying what the Meſſiah ſhou'd be, declares his *Name* to be (*r*) *Wonderful, Counſellor, the mighty God, the Everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace.* In both theſe Places, and many more, that might be produc'd to the ſame Purpoſe, the *Name* denotes the *Nature* of God; and therefore the Deſign of *Moſes*, in aſking God's Name, was to obtain an Information of the Divine Attributes, in order to carry a Report of them to his Brethren. And indeed, conſidering that *Moſes* was the firſt, that ever carry'd a Meſſage from God to Man, it was natural for the *Iſraelites* to aſk him by what *Name*, or peculiar *Attribute*, he had made himſelf known unto him, ſo as to authorize him to ſpeak to them, in ſuch a Manner, as no Man before had ever done; which Queſtion he cou'd not pretend to anſwer, unleſs God, by Revelation, thought fit to enable him, and therefore he deſir'd to be confirm'd (as far as the Divine Goodneſs wou'd be pleas'd to diſcover) what *Name* he wou'd be call'd by, as knowing very well, that, by obtaining *this*, he might form proper Notions of his Nature and Perfections.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

AND, accordingly, we may obſerve, that this great Appellation, which God is here pleas'd to give of himſelf, expreſſes his incomprehenſible Nature, in ſuch open and proper Characters, that St *Hilary* (as he tells us of himſelf) lighting on theſe Words, before he was a *Chriſtian*, and as he was muſing about God and Religion, was ſtruck with Admiration, becauſe he cou'd think of Nothing ſo proper and eſſential to God, as *to be*. God himſelf, however, chuſes to expreſs the Word in the *future* Tenſe, on Purpoſe, (as ſome imagine) to ſhew, that he is the only Being, that can truly ſay, *I ſhall, or will be, what I am*; for as much as all other Beings derive their Exiſtence from him, and may be depriv'd of that Exiſtence, whenever he pleaſes.

The Propriety and Meaning of God's Name.

WHAT Knowledge the wiſeſt of the *Heathen* World might have of this *incommunicable* Name of God, without the Help of Revelation, is a Matter of great Uncertainty. It is more than probable, that *Plato*'s Definition of a God, *viz. A Being, that* IS *always, and had no Beginning*, was borrow'd from theſe Words of *Moſes*:

(*p*) Rom. i. 22, 23. (*q*) Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. (*r*) Iſa. ix. 6.

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Moſes: But, there is a Paſſage in *Plutarch*, which mentions an Inſcription in the Temple of *Delphos*, conſiſting of theſe Letters E I, a Contraction, as ſome imagine of EIMI, *I am*, which (according to the Opinion of (*s*) a great Judge in thoſe Days) was one of the moſt perfect Names and Titles of the Deity, ſeeing it imported, that, "tho' our Being is uncertain, precarious, temporary, and ſubject to change, ſo that no Man can ſay of himſelf, in a ſtrict and abſolute Senſe, *I am*; yet we may, with great Propriety, give the Deity this Appellation, becauſe God is independent, immutable, eternal, always, and every-where the ſame;" for (*t*) *I am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the Ending, the Firſt and the Laſt, ſaith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.*

Why Moſes *was ſo backward to go into* Egypt *to reſcue his Brethren.*

BUT all this wou'd not work upon *Moſes* to undertake the Office, to which God call'd him; and yet, when we come to conſider his Caſe, we cannot altogether accuſe him of Perverſeneſs or Obſtinacy. About forty Years before, he had felt ſome extraordinary Motion in himſelf, and, as he was then in the Fervour of his Youth, he took it for a certain Indication, that God intended to make uſe of him as an Inſtrument for his People's Deliverance; but then he was a far greater Man, than now. The Princeſs, (if alive) who had adopted him for her Son, ſupported his Intereſt at Court; or, if dead, had, in all Probability, left him a Fortune ſufficient to procure himſelf one. But now, Age had made him cool and conſiderate. The Loſs of his Patroneſs had quaſh'd all aſpiring Thoughts. A long Habitude had perfectly reconcil'd him to an obſcure Courſe of Life: And therefore, as one loth to be rouz'd from his Solitude, (*u*) *who am I*, ſays he, *that I ſhou'd go unto* Pharaoh, *and that I ſhou'd bring forth the Children of* Iſrael *out of* Egypt?

HE had already experimentally known the Ingratitude and Diſingenuity of the *Hebrews*: (*x*) *When he ſuppoſed they wou'd have underſtood, that God, by his Hand, wou'd have delivered them*, he voluntarily offer'd his Service; but their Rejection of him, when in the Height of his Power, upon ſo great an Alteration in his Circumſtances, took away all Hopes of Succeſs in ſo difficult an Enterprize. So that the principal Error, which *Moſes* incurr'd upon this Occaſion, was no more than a Diſtemper incident to the Generality of Mankind, *viz.* the meaſuring of God by himſelf, and judging of Events, from the Probabilities or Improbabilities of *ſecond Cauſes.* From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

BUT there is another Reaſon, not to be diſſembled, which might poſſibly deter *Moſes* from returning into *Egypt*, and that was the Blood of the Man, for which he had fled into *Midian*, and his certain Knowledge of the Laws of that Land, *viz.* (*y*) that "whoever kill'd another, "whether he was bond, or free, was not "to eſcape with his own Life." Juſt before God appear'd to him in the Buſh, and had this Diſcourſe with him, we read, that (*z*) *the King of* Egypt *died*, that King, to wit, in whoſe Reign he had ſlain the *Egyptian*, and who ſought to apprehend him, that he might put him to death: But, as *Moſes* kept no Manner of Correſpondence with *Egypt*, the News of this King's Death might not have reach'd his Ears, or if it had, he might reaſonably think, that ſome ſurviving Relation of the ſlain Man might enter a Proceſs againſt him for the Murther. So that here he fell into a Paſſion, which is hardly ſeparable from human Nature, *viz.* the Love of Life, and Dread of Puniſhment; and which in him was the more excuſable, becauſe God, as yet, had not clear'd his Mind from the Fear and Suſpicion it lay under.

IT muſt not be deny'd then, but that there were ſome Tokens of human Frailty in *Moſes's laſt Refuſal* of the Commiſſion, which was offer'd him; but then there

(*s*) *Ammonius.* (*t*) Rev. i. 8, 11. (*u*) Exod. iii. 11. (*x*) Acts vii. 25. (*y*) Diodorus Siculus, l. 1. p. 70. (*z*) Exod. ii. 23.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1571, &c.

there is this to ſay in Excuſe, that the moſt excellent Perſons are the leaſt forward to embrace the Offers of great Preferment. For if no Authority (according (*a*) to *Plato*) is deſign'd for the Benefit of him that governs, but of thoſe that are govern'd; no wiſe and conſiderate Man will voluntarily take upon him the Government of a People, but muſt either be hir'd, or compell'd to it: And therefore *Moſes*, conſidering the great Weight of the Employment, out of a due Senſe of his own Infirmities, declin'd it as long as he cou'd. And tho' Mention is made in Scripture of the (*b*) *Lord's being angry with him*, yet this Anger cou'd amount to no more, than ſuch a Diſpleaſure, as a Father conceives at his Child, when, notwithſtanding all that can be ſaid and done, to create in him a juſt Confidence, he ſtill continues baſhful and diffident of himſelf.

The Significance *of the* Sign *which God gives to* Moſes.

It may be thought perhaps by ſome a farther Excuſe for *Moſes's Backwardneſs*, or, at leaſt, no great *Encouragement* to his Undertaking, that God makes the *Sign*, wherewith he wou'd ſeem to ratify his Promiſe, of a Date ſo ſubſequent to his Commiſſion. (*c*) *I will certainly be with thee, and this ſhall be a Token unto thee, that I have ſent thee: When thou haſt brought forth the People out of* Egypt, *ye ſhall ſerve God upon this Mountain.* For how can a future Event ſerve for a Sign of the Accompliſhments of a preſent Promiſe? The common Solution of this Difficulty is —— That God deſign'd this for a Token to *Moſes*, in order to root out of his Heart all Remains of *Infidelity*, which might perhaps be found in him, even after he had delivered the *Iſraelites* out of Bondage; but this is a Senſe by no Means allowable. For how can we ſuppoſe, that, after God had brought out his People with *an high Hand, and a ſtretch'd-out Arm*; by making himſelf juſtly terrible to *Pharaoh* and all his Court; by turning Rivers of Water into Blood; by changing the Day into Night; by ſlaying all the Firſt-born in *Egypt*, and by cauſing the King and his whole Army, to be ſwallow'd up in the ſame Waves of the Sea, which (*d*) *were a Wall on the Right-hand and on the Left*, and open'd a Way for his own People to paſs: How can we ſuppoſe, I ſay, that this *faithful Servant* of his ſhou'd have the leaſt Doubt, whether this mighty Deliverance was to be aſcrib'd to *Providence* or *Chance?* Or, if there was any farther Occaſion for *Tokens*, why ſhou'd a *ſmaller*, than any of the foregoing, be propos'd? Or, when propos'd, why ſhou'd it be preſum'd ſufficient to produce an Effect, which others, much more conſiderable, were found incompetent to do?

Exod. Form i. to Chap. xiii.

To evade theſe Queſtions, ſome of the *Jewiſh* Doctors have devis'd a new Partition of the Words; and, when God ſays to *Moſes*, *this ſhall be a Token to thee*, they think he means it of the *Buſh*, from whence he ſpake, all *on Flames without conſuming*, which was, queſtionleſs, Token enough, *that God had ſent him*; and thereupon they make the ſubſequent Words the Beginning of a freſh Sentence, and declarative of a farther Purpoſe, for which God wou'd *bring forth his People out of* Egypt, even that, from that Mountain, he might give them a Law, which was to be the Rule and Directory of their Religious *Worſhip* and *Service*. But there is no Neceſſity for this Subterfuge, when the Difficulty may be fairly reſolv'd, by diſtinguiſhing the Promiſes of God into two Kinds; thoſe, that depend on certain Conditions, and thoſe that have no Conditions at all.

To be the Meſſenger of the *former* Kind of Promiſes is exerciſing a glorious Miniſtry, but then it is a Miniſtry attended with Danger. He, upon whom God confers it, may live in perpetual Fear of promiſing ſomething without Effect; becauſe they, to whom the Promiſe is made, may forfeit it by not performing the requiſite Condition: But Nothing can diſcourage the Man, to whom God has given a Com-

(*a*) De Repub. l. 1. (*b*) Exod. iv. 14. (*c*) Exod. iii. 12. (*d*) Exod. xiv. 22.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1571, &c.

a Commiſſion of the *latter* Kind, becauſe the Infallibility of the Event ſupports him againſt all the Obſtacles, that can poſſibly ariſe.

NOW to apply this to the Caſe in Hand. When God promiſes *Moſes* a Deliverance of his People, *Moſes* might fear, that their Impiety, or Unbelief, might be a Bar, and Obſtruction to their Deliverance; and therefore, God, in order to cure him of this Fear, endeavours to make him ſenſible, that the Promiſe, he now gives him, was not *indefinite* and *general*, like thoſe which depended on certain *Conditions*; but that it was one of thoſe, whoſe Accompliſhment was decreed in the divine *Councils*, independent on any Event, or any Condition; and therefore he not only *promiſes*, but *foretels*, and particulariſes the niceſt and minuteſt Circumſtances. He not only acquaints him, that his People ſhall be deliver'd, but he deſcribes to him the exact Place, where, after they found themſelves ſet at Liberty, they were to pay their Homage to their Deliverer: And this *Detail* is the Token, that God gives him of the Certainty of the Event.

To illuſtrate this by a parallel Inſtance. When the Armies of *Sennacherib* beſieg'd *Jeruſalem*, *Hezekiah* began to fear that they wou'd take it: To ſecure him againſt that Fear, *Iſaiah* promiſes him an approaching Deliverance. *Hezekiah* is afraid, leſt the Sins of the People ſhou'd ſtand between him, and the divine Goodneſs: To ſecure him againſt this Apprehenſion likewiſe, and to convince him, that the Reſolution, God had taken to deliver his People, was *irreſpective* and *infallible*; (*e*) *this ſhall be a Sign to thee*, ſays he, *ye ſhall eat this Year ſuch Things, as grow of themſelves, and in the ſecond Year, which ſpringeth of the ſame, and in the third Year ſow ye, and reap, and plant Vineyards, and eat the Fruit thereof.* To return to *Moſes*.

HAD this Promiſe indeed been the only Sign, which God had given him, it might have adminiſter'd ſome Umbrage of *Suſpicion*; but when it was attended with ſeveral other *Signs and mighty Wonders*, it cou'd not but be of great uſe for the Confirmation of his *Faith* in his preſent Undertaking, ſince he knew it was as certain, as if it had already been effected, becauſe it proceeded from the Mouth of the *Almighty*, whoſe Promiſes, when abſolute and unconditional, are always *Yea and Amen*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

I KNOW of few Paſſages, more difficult to be underſtood, than that which contains the Adventure of *Moſes*'s Family in the Inn, *(f) where the Lord met him, and ſought to kill him, until* Zipporah *took a ſharp Stone, and cut off the Fore-Skin of her Son, and caſt it at his Feet, and ſaid, ſurely a bloody Huſband art thou to me.* *Zipporah* is commonly repreſented as a *perverſe* and *froward* Woman, who look'd upon *Circumciſion* as a *cruel* and unneceſſary Ordinance, and therefore prevail'd with her Huſband, (who perhaps might be too indulgent to her in the Caſe of her younger Son) to omit it. But it ought to be conſider'd, that, as ſhe was a *Midianitiſh* Woman, and deſcended from *Abraham* by his Wife *Keturah*, ſhe cou'd not have any Averſion to the Rite of *Circumciſion*, in which ſhe acquieſc'd, in the Caſe of her *elder* Son *Gerſhom*, and in which ſhe was ſo expert, that, upon her Huſband's Incapacity, ſhe herſelf perform'd the Operation upon the *Younger*.

Moſes cenſur'd for neglecting to circumciſe his Son.

THE *Midianites* might perhaps, in this Reſpect, imitate their Neighbours the *Iſhmaelites*, who did not circumciſe their Children, until they were thirteen Years of Age; and, for this Reaſon, ſome have imagin'd, that *Moſes*'s Son had not, as yet, undergone the Operation: But *Moſes* knew very well, that there was a *Limitation* of Time in the Inſtitution of the Ordinance, and therefore the more probable Reaſon for this Omiſſion ſeems to be, that they were now upon their Journey, when *Zipporah* was brought to-bed, and that therefore they might think,

(*e*) 2 Kings xix. 29.

(*f*) Exod. iv. 24, 25.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1571, &c.

that the Danger of the Wound to the Infant might excuſe the deferring of his Circumciſion, as it excus'd the *Iſraelites afterwards* in the Wilderneſs.

But, as it does not appear that *Moſes* lay under any Neceſſity of taking his Family, eſpecially his Wife with Child, along with him; ſo this Omiſſion of circumciſing his Son might be imputed to him as a greater Fault than ordinary, becauſe he may be ſuppos'd to have underſtood the Will of God, concerning this *Rite*, more perfectly, than any other Man; and was, but juſt before, reminded of the Benefit of that *Covenant*, whereof this Ordinance was a Seal, and ſome Part of which he was going *now* to take Poſſeſſion of.

But how abſurd wou'd it have been, for *Moſes* to be made a *Law-giver* to others, when himſelf liv'd in an open Violation of God's Laws? Or to be appointed a chief Ruler and Inſtructor of the *Iſraelites*, to whom he was to inculcate the Obligation of this Ordinance, and on whom he was to inflict *Pains* and *Penalties* for their Neglect of it, when himſelf was guilty of the ſame Sin? Nor was this Omiſſion only a great Sin in itſelf, but a great *Scandal* likewiſe to the *Iſraelites*, who, by his Example, might very likely be led into the ſame Miſcarriage, and be tempted to ſuſpect the *Call* of a Perſon, who ſhew'd ſuch a viſible Contempt of God's Law. As *Moſes* therefore was a *publick* Perſon, and juſt inveſted with a *Commiſſion* from God, his Diſobedience to a known Law, was more enormous, his Example might have done more Miſchief, and therefore God's Severity againſt him, either in afflicting him with ſome ſudden *Sickneſs*, or affrightening him with ſome terrible *Apparition*, was neceſſary to remind him of his Duty. And, accordingly, whatever the Means was, we find, that it brought to his Wife's Remembrance the Neglect of their not having circumcis'd the Child; but we injure her Character, if we think, that the Words, which ſhe is made to utter upon this Occaſion, were any angry *Taunt*, or Exprobation to her Huſband, ſince, (according to the Expoſition (*g*) of a very learned Writer upon the Text) they are not directed to him, but to her Son; and are not the Effect of any angry Reſentment, but a *ſolemn* Form of Speech, made uſe of at the Time of any Child's *Circumciſion*. From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

His Wife's Conduct *ſet right.*

Several of the *Jewiſh* Doctors tell us, that it was a Cuſtom of the *Hebrew* Women to call their Children, when they were circumcis'd, by the Name of *Chatan*, i. e. *Spouſe*, as if they were now *eſpouſed to God*; and to this Cuſtom the *Apoſtle* perhaps might allude, when he tells his *Corinthians*, (*h*) *I am jealous over you with an holy Jealouſy; for I have eſpouſed you to one Huſband, that I may preſent you as a chaſte Virgin to Chriſt.* However this be, (*i*) *Zipporah*, who was an *Arabian* Woman, might the rather make uſe of this *Term*, and apply it to her Son, becauſe the *Arabians* (whoſe Language has a great Affinity to the *Hebrew*, and who themſelves, as Deſcendants from *Abraham*, did, all along, uſe the Rite of *Circumciſion*) make the Word *Chatan* ſignify to *circumciſe*, and *Chiten*, *Circumciſion* (as manifeſtly appears in their *Tranſlation* of the *New Teſtament*); which can no otherwiſe be accounted for, than from this Cuſtom of calling a Child *Chatan*, when he is *circumcis'd*, even as we, becauſe a Child in Baptiſm is made a *Chriſtian*, uſe the Word *chriſten* for to *baptize*.

If *Zipporah*'s Words then were directed, not to her Huſband, but the Child whom ſhe had juſt now circumcis'd, their proper Meaning muſt be, *I, by this Circumciſion, pronounce thee to be a Member of the Church:* For the Child, on the Day of his Circumciſion, (ſays *Aben Ezra* upon this Text) was us'd to be call'd *Chatan, becauſe he was then firſt join'd to the People of God, and, as it were, eſpous'd unto God.* And if this be the Senſe of the Matter, *Zipporah* was ſo far from expreſſing any angry Reſentment, or giving her Huſband any opprobrious Language upon this Occaſion

(*g*) *Mede*'s Diſcourſe 14. (*h*) 2 Cor. xi. 2. (*i*) *Mede*'s l. i. Diſcourſe 14.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1571, &c.

ſion, that ſhe only did the Office of circumciſing her Son, when ſhe perceiv'd that the Delay of it had given Offence to God, and, in doing that Office, pronounc'd the Words over him, which us'd to be pronounc'd, whenever that *Ceremony* was duly perform'd.

THIS is an Interpretation, which, not only the *Septuagint*, and *Chaldee* Paraphraſt ſeem to countenance; but what moſt modern Maſters of *Jewiſh* Learning have approv'd. And, as it ſeems to clear the Character of *Zipporah*, ſo may it receive ſome farther Confirmation from the ſubſequent Behaviour of the *Angel*, who, as ſoon as he ſaw the Ceremony perform'd, and heard the ſolemn Form pronounc'd over the Child, (*k*) *let* Moſes *go, and did not ſlay him*; whereas had the Operation been done in the Manner, that ſome pretend, *grudgingly*, and of *Neceſſity*, with inward Regret, and Words of Reproach to her Huſband, this (one wou'd think) wou'd have incens'd the Angel, either to have continu'd the Puniſhment (be it what it will) upon *Moſes*, or rather to have transferr'd it to his Wife, who, upon this Suppoſition, ſeems moſt juſtly to have deſerv'd it.

UPON the whole therefore it appears, that the Words of *Zipporah* were addreſs'd to her Son, and not her Huſband, and were the uſual Form of Admiſſion into the *Jewiſh* Church; that it was at the Child's Feet that ſhe laid the Foreſkin, and not threw it at her Huſband in Anger, when ſhe ſpake the Words above-mention'd; and that, in this whole Affair, there was neither any Squabble between *Moſes* and his Wife, nor any indecent Behaviour, or opprobrious Language us'd by her.

No Fallacy in Moſes's Demand.

IT cannot be deny'd indeed, but that God, from the very firſt Day, that he appointed *Moſes* to go to *Pharaoh*, intended to deliver his People from their Captivity, and, when once they were departed out of *Egypt*, that they ſhou'd never return again; and yet they are directed to demand only to go *three Days Journey into the Wilderneſs*. This was not the *whole* of what was intended; but *Moſes* lay under no Obligation to let ſo bitter an Enemy, as *Pharaoh*, into his whole Deſign. It is ſufficient to abſolve him from any Imputation of *Diſingenuity*, that he acted according to the Inſtructions, which God gave him; (*l*) and God certainly was not oblig'd to acquaint *Pharaoh* with all his Mind, but only ſo far as he thought proper: And, for wiſe and good Reaſons, he thought proper to make the Demand no higher at firſt, than *three Days Journey into the Wilderneſs*, that, by his Denial of ſo modeſt a Requeſt, he might make his Tyranny more manifeſt, and the divine Vengeance upon him more juſt and remarkable.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

The Fruitfulneſs *of the Land of* Paleſtine.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd again, that the Expreſſion of *flowing with Milk and Honey*, when apply'd to any Country, like that of King *Solomon's making Silver to be in* Jeruſalem *like Stones* (*m*), is *hyperbolical*. It denotes very rich Paſtures and Grounds, which ſhou'd feed Cattle yielding Abudance of Milk, and which ſhou'd produce great Plenty of Flowers and Plants, for the Bees to make Honey. It repreſents indeed a general Fruitfulneſs all the Country over; for which *Paleſtine* (according to the Account of Writers of no mean Character) was certainly once famous, however it came into *Strabo*'s Head to diſparage it. For (to mention an Author or two of ſome Note) *Ariſtæus*, who was *there* to bring the *Seventy Interpreters* into *Egypt*, tells us, that immenſe and prodigious was the Produce and Plenty, it afforded of Trees, Fruits, Paſture, Cattle, Honey, beſides the Spicery, Gold, and precious Stones, imported from *Arabia*. (*n*) *Joſephus* deſcribes the Country, as it was in his Time, *i. e.* in the Time of our *Saviour* and his *Apoſtles*, as moſt remarkably fruitful and pleaſant, and abounding in the very choiceſt Productions of the Earth. *Bochart*, much later, and ſince the Country has been inhabited by the *Turks*, liv'd in it for

(*k*) Exod. iv. 26. (*l*) *Pool*'s Annotations in Locum. (*m*) 1 Kings x. 27. (*n*) Antiq. l. 5. and *Fuller*'s *Piſgah*-ſight of *Paleſtine*.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1571, &c.

for the Space of ten Years, and, as he was particularly curious and diligent in informing himſelf in every Thing, ſpeaks the greateſt Things imaginable of the Richneſs of its Soil, and the Choiceneſs of its Products: And (to name no more) our own Countryman, Mr *Sandys*, who in the Beginning of the laſt Century travell'd through it, gives it the Character of *a Land adorn'd with beautiful Mountains, and luxurious Vallies; the Rocks producing excellent Waters, and no Part empty of Delight, or Profit:* And certainly thoſe, who either were *Natives*, or have ſojourn'd a long Time in a Country, may be ſuppos'd to have a more perfect Knowledge of it, than a *Foreigner*, who liv'd at a Diſtance, as *Strabo* did.

The Truth is, if we conſider of what a ſmall Compaſs the Land of *Canaan* is, and yet what a prodigious Number of Inhabitants (both before, and after the *Iſraelites* became Maſters of it) it maintain'd, we muſt conclude, it cou'd not but deſerve the Character, which the Authors above-cited have given us of it; and the Barrenneſs and Poverty of its Soil, which ſome *modern* Travellers ſeem to complain of, muſt be imputed either to its Want of Tillage and Cultivation, (which the *Turks*, its preſent Inhabitants, are utterly ignorant of) or to the particular *Judgment* of God, who, for the *Wickedneſs* of any Nation, has frequently perform'd, what he threaten'd to the *Jews* of old; (*o*) *I will break the Pride of your Power, and I will make your Heaven as Iron, and your Earth as Braſs, and your Strength ſhall be ſpent in vain; for your Land ſhall not yield her Increaſe, neither ſhall the Trees of the Land yield their Fruits.*

The hardening Pharaoh's *Heart not from* God.

Several Things are ſaid in Scripture to be done by God, which are only *permitted* by him to come to paſs in their ordinary Courſe and Procedure: And thus God may be ſaid to *harden* Pharaoh's *Heart*, only becauſe he did not interpoſe, but ſuffer'd him to be carry'd, by the Bent of his own Paſſions, to that inflexible Obſtinacy, which prov'd his Ruin. That *Moſes*, to whom God us'd theſe Expreſſions concerning *Pharaoh*, underſtood them in this Senſe, is evident from many Parts of his Behaviour to him, and eſpecially from his earneſtly intreating him to be perſuaded, and to let the People go. (*p*) Had *Moſes* known, or ever thought, that God had doom'd *Pharaoh* to unavoidable *Ruin*, it had been an unwarrantable Preſumption in him to have perſuaded him to have avoided it: But that *Moſes*, with all poſſible Application, endeavour'd to make an Impreſſion upon *Pharaoh* for his Good, is manifeſt from this Paſſage, (*q*) *glory over me*, i. e. do me the Honour to believe me, *when I ſhall intreat for thee, and for thy Servants*; wherein he makes an earneſt Addreſs to *Pharaoh*, to induce him to be perſuaded to part with the People, which he certainly never wou'd have done, had he been ſatisfy'd that God himſelf had prevented his Compliance, on Purpoſe to bring him to Ruin.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

It is farther to be obſerv'd therefore, that, not only in the *Hebrew*, but in moſt other Languages, *the Occaſion* of an Action, and what in itſelf has no Power to produce it, is very often put for the *efficient Cauſe* thereof. Thus in the Caſe before us: (*r*) God ſends *Moſes* to *Pharaoh*, and *Moſes*, in his Preſence, does ſuch miraculous Works, as wou'd have had an Effect upon any other: But becauſe he ſaw ſome of the Miracles imitated by the *Magicians*; becauſe the Plagues, which God ſent, came gradually upon him, and, by the Interceſſion of *Moſes*, were conſtantly remov'd; he thence took *occaſion*, inſtead of being *ſoften'd* by this *Alternative* of Mercy and Judgment, to become more *ſullen* and *obdurate*. When *Pharaoh* (as the Text tells us) *ſaw that the Rain, and the Hail, and the Thunder ceas'd, he ſinned yet more, and hardened his Heart.*

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(*o*) Levit. xxvi. 19, 20. (*p*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 9. (*q*) Exod. viii. 9. (*r*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1571, &c.

The Mercy of God, which ſhou'd have led him to Repentance, had a contrary Effect upon him, and made him more *obſtinate*: " (*s*) For an harden'd Heart (as " one expreſſes it) is neither cut by Com- " punction, nor ſoften'd by any Senſe " of Pity. It is neither mov'd by In- " treaties, nor yields to Threatnings, " nor feels the Smart of Scourges. It " is ungrateful to Benefactors, treacherous " to Counſels, ſullen under Judgments, " fearleſs in Dangers, forgetful of Things " paſt, negligent of Things preſent, and " improvident for the future;" All which bad Qualities ſeem to have concenter'd in *Pharaoh*. For, whatever might have contributed to his *Obduration* at firſt, it is plain, that, in the Event, even when the *Magicians* own'd a divine Power in what they ſaw done, and were quite confounded, when they felt themſelves ſmitten with the Boils, and might thereupon very likely perſuade him to ſurrender; he is ſo far from relenting, that he does not ſo much as aſk a Remove of the Plague. It was therefore entirely agreeable to the Rules of *divine* Juſtice, when Nothing wou'd reclaim this wicked King; when even That, which wrought upon the Miniſters of *Satan*, made no Impreſſion upon him, to let his Crime become his Puniſhment, and to leave him to *eat the bitter Fruit of his own Ways, and to be fill'd with his own Devices*.

That the Hebrews, *at their Departure, did not rob the* Egyptians.

THE *Iſraelites*, we own, did carry out of the Land of their Captivity ſeveral Things of great Value, which they had from the *Egyptians:* But then we are to conſider, that the Word, which our Tranſlators render *borrow*, does more properly ſignify *to aſk of one*; and what they render *to lend*, is as literally *to give*. For the Caſe ſtood thus between the two Nations. (*t*) The *Egyptians* had been thoroughly terrify'd with what had paſſed, and eſpecially with the laſt terrible Plague upon their *Firſt-born*, and were now willing to give the *Hebrews* any Thing, or every Thing, only to get quit of them. They therefore brib'd them to be gone, and courted them with *Preſents*, ſo very *profuſely*, as even to impoveriſh themſelves: But for this the *Iſraelites* were not at all culpable, becauſe they only accepted of what the others gave them, and what was freely given, they doubtleſs had a Right to detain.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

BUT ſuppoſe that the *ſtrict* Senſe of the Word was, that they really did *borrow* many valuable Things of the *Egyptians*; yet it is a Truth allow'd on all Hands, that God, who is the ſupreme *Lord* of all Things, may, when he pleaſes, and in what Manner he pleaſes, *tranſfer* the Rights of Men from one to another. Conſidering then, that God was now become the King of the *Iſraelites*, in a proper and peculiar Manner; and conſidering farther, what inſufferable Wrongs the King and People of *Egypt* had done to this People of God, who were now become his peculiar Subjects, and *Proprietary Lieges*; this Act of *ſpoiling the Egyptians* (even in the harſheſt Senſe of the Word) was, according to *the Laws of Nations*, more juſtifiable, than Royal Grants of *Letters of Mart*, or other ſuch like Remedies, as Kings are accuſtom'd to make uſe of againſt other *Powers*, that have wrong'd their Subjects, or ſuffer'd them to be wrong'd by thoſe, that are under their Command, without making a proper Reſtitution. In ſhort, whatever the *Hebrews* took from the *Egyptians*, they took, and poſſeſs'd it by the *Law of Repriſals*, i. e. by Virtue of a ſpecial Warrant from the Lord himſelf, who was now become, not their *God* only, but their peculiar *King*.

* THAT ſome Compenſation was due, in ſtrict Juſtice, from the *Egyptians* to the *Hebrews*, for the great Services they had

(*s*) Vide *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*t*) Scripture vindicated, Part II.

* In the *Gemarah* of the *Sanhedrim*, there is told a memorable Story concerning this Tranſaction. In the Time of *Alexander the Great*, the *Egyptians* brought an Action againſt the *Iſraelites*, deſiring that they might have the Land of *Canaan*, in Satisfaction for all they had borrow'd of them, when they went out of *Egypt*. To this *Gibean Ben Koſam*,

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had done them, is what can hardly be deny'd: But ſuppoſing this *Borrowing* and *Lending* between them had been without any ſuch Regard, yet, if the *Iſraelites* acquir'd a Right to theſe Things afterwards, there was then no Obligation for their making any Reſtitution. Now, that they acquir'd ſuch a Right is manifeſt from the *Egyptians* purſuing them in an *hoſtile Manner*, and with a Purpoſe to deſtroy them, after they had given them free Liberty to depart; by which Hoſtility and Perfidiouſneſs they plainly forfeited their Right to what they had only lent before. For this *hoſtile* Attempt (which wou'd have warranted the *Iſraelites* to have fallen upon the *Egyptians, and ſpoil'd them* of their Goods) did certainly warrant them to keep them, when they had them; ſo that now they became the *rightful* Poſſeſſors of what they had only upon Loan, and cou'd not have detain'd, without Fraud and Injuſtice, before.

Thus, in what View ſoever we contemplate this Fact, whether it be a voluntary *Donation*, made by the *Egyptians*; or an Act of *Repriſal*, made by the *Hebrews*; or a Deed of *Forfeiture*, which the former incurr'd by an unjuſt Invaſion upon the latter; the *Hebrews* will be found not ſo culpable, as ſome wou'd make them: Nor can we ſee, where the pretended ill Tendency of ſuch a *Precedent* can be, ſince it is allow'd on all Hands, that it is, in no Caſe, to be follow'd, unleſs it be evidently commanded by the ſame *divine* Authority.

Miracles indeed, we own, are the *Seals* and *Atteſtations* of God, to evidence the Truth of any Thing, that he is deſirous the World ſhou'd believe; but if *Magicians*, by the Aſſiſtance of evil Spirits, have Power to impoſe upon our Senſes, or to work ſuch Wonders, as ſeem altogether *miraculous*, we are left under a great Uncertainty how to determine our Judgments in this Caſe: And therefore, to give a full Solution to this Part of the Objection, we ſhall firſt premiſe ſomething concerning the Nature of *Magick*, and how far its Power may extend towards the Operation of Miracles; thence proceed to enquire who the particular *Magicians* were, who pretended to oppoſe *Moſes*, and upon what Account it was, that *Pharaoh* ſent for them; thence to conſider whether the Miracles, they *ſeemingly* wrought, were *real* or *fictitious*, or if *real*, why God permitted them to perform them; and thence to examine, whether this Permiſſion tended any Way to prejudice the *Evidence* of *Moſes's Miſſion* from God, or rather not to confirm it, ſeeing the Difference between them and *Moſes*, in this Conteſt of working Miracles, was ſo viſible and conſpicuous.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

Of the ſeveral Kinds of Magick.

Those, who have profeſſedly treated of the *Magick Art*, have generally divided it into three Kinds, *natural*, *artificial*, and *diabolical*. (*u*) The firſt of theſe is no other, than *natural Philoſophy*, but highly improv'd and advanc'd, whereby the Perſon, that is well ſkill'd in the Power and Operation of *natural Bodies*, is able to produce many wonderful Effects, miſtaken by the Illiterate for *diabolical* Performances, even tho' they lie perfectly within the *Verge* of *Nature*. *Artificial* Magick is what we call *Legerdemain*, or Slight of Hand, whoſe Effects are far from being what they ſeem. They are Deceptions and Impoſtures, the very Tricks of *Jugglers*

Koſam, who was Advocate for the *Jews*, reply'd, That, before they made this Demand, they muſt prove what they alledg'd, *viz.* That the *Iſraelites* borrow'd any thing of their *Anceſtors*: To which the *Egyptians* thought it ſufficient to ſay, that they found it recorded in their own Books. Well then, *ſays the Advocate*, look into the ſame Books, and ye will find that the Children of *Iſrael* liv'd *four hundred and thirty Years in* Egypt; (Exod. xii. 40.) pay us then, *ſaid he*, for all the Labours and Toils of ſo many thouſand People, as you employ'd us all that Time, and we will reſtore what we borrow'd; to which they had not a Word to anſwer. *Patrick*'s Commentary. It is to be obſerv'd however, that this Paſſage in *Exodus*, which the *Advocate* refers to, had reſpect to all the Pilgrimages of *Abraham* and his Poſterity, from the Time of his ſetting out from *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*, to this their Departure out of *Egypt*, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew very ſoon. Vid. p. 404.

(*u*) Biſhop *Wilkins*'s Tract of Magick, and *Edwards*'s Body of Divinity, Vol. I.

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Jugglers (as we corrupt the Word *Joculatores*) far from exceeding the Power of Art, and yet what many Times paſs with the Vulgar for *diabolical* likewiſe. *Diabolical* Magick is that, which is done by the Help of the Devil, who, having great Skill in *natural* Cauſes, and a large Command over the *Air*, and other *Elements*, may aſſiſt thoſe, that are in League and Covenant with him (in Scripture call'd *Wizards*, *Sorcerers*, *Diviners*, *Enchanters*, *Chaldeans*, *and ſuch as had familiar Spirits*) to do many ſtrange and aſtoniſhing Things.

To deny that there ever were ſuch Men as theſe, is to ſlight the Authority of all Hiſtory; and, to gueſs at the probable *Riſe* and *Original* of them, we may ſuppoſe it to be this——(*x*) That God, being pleas'd to admit the holy Patriarchs into Conference with him, the Devil endeavour'd to do the ſame; and, to retain Men in their Obedience to him, pretending to make Diſcoveries of ſecret Things; and that, when God was pleas'd to work Miracles for the Truth, he, in like Manner, directed thoſe, who were *familiar* with him, how to invoke his Help, for the Performance of ſuch ſtrange Things, as might confirm the World in their *Error*.

UNDER which of theſe Denominations, *natural*, *artificial*, or *diabolical*, the Magicians, who ſet themſelves in Oppoſition to the Servants of the Moſt High God, are to be rank'd, we have no Inſtructions from Scripture; but it ſeems highly probable, that neither wou'd *Pharaoh* have call'd together thoſe of the leaſt Capacity and Repute, neither wou'd the *Devil* (as far as his Power extended) have been backward to aſſiſt his *Votaries* upon ſuch a ſolemn and momentous an Occaſion, as this.

WHO the Principal of theſe Magicians were, our *ſacred* Hiſtorian makes no mention: But ſeveral, both *Jewiſh* and *Heathen* Authors (from whom (*y*) St *Paul*, without doubt, borrow'd their Names) have inform'd us, that among the *Egyptians* they were call'd *Jannes*, and *Jambres*, which, to give them a *Latin* Termination, wou'd be *Johannes* and *Ambroſius*, of whom *Numenius* (as he is quoted by *Euſebius*) (*z*) has given us this remarkable Account, *viz.* "That they were the "*Scribes*, in religious Matters, among the "*Egyptians*; that they flouriſh'd in *E*-"*gypt* at the Time, when the *Jews* were "driven from thence; that they did not "give place to any Body in the Science "of *magical Secrets*; and, for this Rea-"ſon, were choſe unanimouſly by all *E*-"*gypt* to oppoſe *Muſeus* (ſo he calls *Moſes*) "a Leader of the *Jews*, and whoſe Pray-"ers were very prevalent with God."

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

The ſeveral Ways, wherein the Devil might aſſiſt them.

NOW ſuppoſing that theſe, and whoever elſe accompany'd them, acted from the higheſt *Principles* in *Magick*; there are two Ways, wherein we may imagine it in the Power of the Devil to be aſſiſtant to ſuch Perſons, as pretend to work Miracles.

THE *firſt* is, by raiſing falſe *Images* and Appearances of Things; which may be done, either by affecting the *Brain*, or confuſing the *optick Nerves*, or altering the *Medium*, which is between us and the Object. That he did ſome ſuch Thing, as this, to our bleſſed Saviour, when, from the Top of an high Mountain, he pretended (*a*) to *ſhew him all the Kingdoms of the World, and the Glory of them, in a Moment of Time*, is very plain from the *Convexity* of the Earth, which bounds the *Horizon*, and admits of no ſuch unlimited Proſpect; ſo that all he cou'd be preſum'd capable of doing in this Caſe (as our Saviour was not inſenſible what he did do) was to make *fictitious Repreſentations* of gay and magnificent Things in the Air.

SECONDLY, The other Way, wherein the Devil may be ſuppos'd able to aſſiſt theſe Magicians, is, by making uſe of the *Laws of Nature*, in producing Effects, which are not above the natural Power

(*x*) *Patrick*'s Commentary in Locum.
(*a*) Matt. iv. 8.
(*y*) 2 Tim. iii. 8.
(*z*) Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 8.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1571, &c.

Power of Things, though they certainly exceed what Man can do. Thus, to tranſport a Body, with inconceivable Rapidity, from one Place to another; to bring together different Productions of Nature, which *ſeparately* have no viſible Effect, but, when *united*, work Wonders; to make Images move, walk, ſpeak, and the like; theſe may come within the Compaſs of the Devil's Power, becauſe not tranſcending the *Laws of Nature*, though we cannot diſcern by what Means they are effected.

THIRDLY, There is a farther Suppoſition (*b*) of ſome learned Men, *viz.* that, under the divine Permiſſion, wicked Spirits have a Power to work *real* Miracles, of which they perceive (*c*) ſome Intimations given us in Scripture, and, in the Nature of the Thing, no Reaſons to the contrary; and therefore the Queſtion is, whether, what the Magicians here perform'd, were *real* Miracles, or not?

That their Miracles were real.

Some learned Writers have imagin'd, that there was not any real Tranſmutation, when the Rods of the *Egyptian* Magicians were pretended to be chang'd into Serpents, nor any real Miracle exhibited, when the Water was turn'd into Blood, and the Frogs produc'd; but, that either the *Magicians* play'd their Parts well, as dexterous Jugglers, or that they did it by their Knowledge of ſome ſecret Art; or that ſome *Dæmons* aſſiſted them, who, by their Power over the *Air*, enabled them to * deceive the Sight of the Beholders. It is to be obſerv'd however, that, in the Account, which *Moſes* gives us of the Miracles perform'd by himſelf and *Aaron*, and of what the *Magicians* did by their *Inchantments*, he does not hint any Manner of Difference, as to the *Reality* of the Performances of either of them. In the Caſe of their Rods being turn'd into Serpents, he does not ſay, that they made them to *appear* to be ſuch, by a Deception of the Sight, but that (*d*) *they flung down every Man his Rod, and they became Serpents*; and ſo, of the other two Miracles, which *Moſes* exhibited, *that the Magicians did ſo with their Inchantments.* (*e*) Now, from the Knowledge of *natural Cauſes and Effects*, which, by the Help of *Experiment* and *Philoſophy*, has, of late, been introduc'd, we may venture to ſay, that no Effects, like what theſe Men pretended to accompliſh by Inchantments, can be produc'd by any, or all the *Powers of Nature*. No Art, no Study of *occult Sciences*, can enable a Man *really* to change a Rod into a living Serpent. There are no Inchantments, no Rules in Sorcery ſufficient to make a living Frog, or to change Water into real Blood; and to ſuppoſe that the Magicians went about to impoſe upon *Pharaoh*, and the reſt of the Spectators, by mere *Artifice*, and Slight of Hand, was giving *Moſes* and *Aaron* (whom we cannot but ſuppoſe *inquiſitive* upon this Occaſion) the faireſt Opportunity imaginable to detect the Cheat, and expoſe them to the Contempt, and Deriſion of the whole Company.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

Their

(*b*) *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacræ, p. 236. *Le Clerc*'s Comment. (*c*) Deut. xiii. 1. Matt. xxiv. 24. 2 Theſſ. ii. 9.

* The *Mahometans*, in the Account they give us of theſe Tranſactions, ſeem to think them *Legerdemain* Tricks, rather than any *real* Miracles in the Magicians; for they tell us, that *Moſes* having wrought ſome Miracles before the King of *Egypt*, which not a little ſurpris'd him, he was adviſ'd by his Council to amuſe him with fair Hopes, until he had ſent for ſome of his moſt expert Sorcerers from *Thebais*. Accordingly *Sabour* and *Gadour*, two Brothers, renown'd for their *Magick Skill*, were ſent for; but, before they came to *Pharaoh*'s Court, they went to conſult the *Manes* of their Father about the Succeſs of their Journey; acquainting him withal, that the two Magicians, which they were ſent for to oppoſe, had a *Rod*, which they turn'd into a Serpent, and devour'd all that made head againſt it: To which their Father's Ghoſt anſwer'd, that, if that Rod turn'd itſelf into a Serpent, whilſt they were aſleep, they muſt never expect to prevail againſt them. However, this did not hinder them from appearing before *Pharaoh*, at the Head of his other *Magicians*, to the Number (as ſome ſay) of 70,000. All theſe had prepar'd their Rods, and Cords fill'd with *Quickſilver*, which being heated by the Sun, imitated the winding of a Serpent; but *Moſes*'s Serpent ſoon deſtroy'd them, to the great Surprize of all the Spectators: Whereupon *Sabour* and *Gadour* renounc'd their Profeſſion, and embrac'd the Religion of *Moſes*, which gave *Pharaoh* ſuch a Diſguſt, that he had them both put to death, as holding ſecret Correſpondence with *Moſes*. *Herbelot*'s Biblioth. Orient. p. 648, and *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Jannes*.

(*d*) Exod. vii. 11, 12. (*e*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 9.

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THEIR only Recourſe, in this Caſe, can be to the Aſſiſtance of *Devils*, deluding the Company with falſe *Appearances* of Serpents, Frogs, and Blood: But let one try to give a ſatisfactory Account, how any *Magician* cou'd, by his Power over the *Air*, either by himſelf, or by the Aſſiſtance of a *Dæmon*, repreſent to the naked View of Beholders, in Oppoſition to a *true* Miracle, Serpents, Frogs, and Water converted into Blood; nay, and ſo repreſent them, as that the *fictitious* Appearances ſhou'd not be diſtinguiſhable from the *real*, but ſhou'd bear to be ſeen with them, at one and the ſame Time, in the ſame Light, in the ſame View (for ſo the Magicians *Rods*, turn'd into *Serpents*, certainly were, when *Aaron*'s Rod ſwallow'd them up): I ſay, let any one try to give a reaſonable Account of this Fancy, and he will quickly ſee, that he may more reaſonably ſuppoſe, the Magicians able to perform a *true* and *real* Tranſmutation, than to aſcribe to them ſuch *imaginary* Powers, as this Suppoſition requires, and which, (if they cou'd be conceiv'd) can tend only to deſtroy the Certainty of all Appearances whatever.

But not of their own *producing.*

IF then the Magicians cou'd have no Knowledge of any *myſtick Arts*, or Powers of Nature, whereby to work Miracles; if they cou'd not deceive the Spectators by any *Slight of Hand*, nor obtain any Aſſiſtance from *evil Spirits*, ſufficient to impoſe upon them by *falſe Appearances*; the Conſequence ſeems to be, that the Miracles, which they wrought, were equally *true* with thoſe which *Moſes* and *Aaron* did. But then, as the *Magicians* had no Power inherent in themſelves, they cou'd not tell, even when they ſet about imitating *Moſes*, what the Succeſs of their Attempt wou'd be. Their Rods were turn'd into Serpents, they ſaw, but how that was effected, they cou'd not tell. Had they had any certain Rules of Art or Science to work by, or any ſuperior Help and Aſſiſtance to depend on, they wou'd, at once, have known what to attempt, and what not, and not have expos'd themſelves to Scorn, by not being able to produce *Lice*, as well as *Frogs*. If, what they did, was by the Agency of evil Spirits, it is plain, that that Agency was under the divine *Controul*, and cou'd go no farther, than the God of *Iſrael* permitted it; and the Reaſons of his permitting it might be theſe:

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

Why Pharaoh ſent for his Magicians, and why God ſuffer'd them to work Wonders.

THE Learned in *Egypt* thought, that *Miracles*, *Prodigies*, and *Omens*, were given by the *planetary* and *elementary* Influences; and that Students, deeply vers'd in the *Myſteries* of Nature, cou'd cauſe them by *Art* and *Incantation*. *Pharaoh* might poſſibly be of this Opinion; and therefore, ſeeing *Moſes* do very ſtrange Things, and knowing that his *Magicians* were great *Adepts* in theſe Sciences, he thought proper to ſend for them, in order to know, whether the Wonders, which *Moſes* wrought, were the Effect of the Art of Man, of the Power of Nature, or *of the Finger of God*; for he ſeems to have argu'd thus. —— If his *Magicians* cou'd perform what *Moſes* did, *Moſes* was ſuch an one as they, and endeavour'd to delude him with *artificial* Wonders, inſtead of real Miracles. Fit, therefore, it was, that theſe *Practitioners* ſhou'd be ſuffer'd to exert the utmoſt of their Power againſt *Moſes*, in order to clear him from the Imputation of Magick, or Sorcery, which (conſidering the prevailing Notions of that Age) both *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* might have been apt to entertain, had not this Competition happen'd, and his *Antagoniſts* thereupon acknowledg'd the Superiority of the *Principle*, by which he acted, in Compariſon of which, all their Arts, and Knowledge of *occult Sciences* prevail'd nothing.

THE *Iſraelites*, it muſt be own'd, were a People of a very ſuſpicious, diffident, and deſponding Temper. When *Moſes* came to them with a Meſſage from God, at firſt they ſeem'd to receive him gladly, and to rejoice at their approaching Deliverance; and when he had ſhewn them the

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Credentials, which God appointed him to exhibit, it is said, (*f*) *that the People believed; and, when they heard that the Lord had looked upon their Affliction, they bowed their Heads, and worshipped:* But, within the Space of a Day or two, when they saw that every *Thing* did not answer their Expectation, but that their Petition to an imperious Tyrant was rejected with Scorn; how is their Tone chang'd to their very Deliverers, and the Blame of all their Grievances laid upon them! (*g*) *The Lord look upon you, and judge, because you have made our Savour to be abhorred in the Eyes of* Pharaoh, *and in the Eyes of his Servants, to put a Sword into their Hands to slay us:* And therefore, for the Confirmation of the Faith of these wavering and uncertain People, it was highly necessary, that this Contest between *Moses* and the *Magicians* shou'd be permitted, that the Disparity of Persons, acting by the Power of *God*, and by the Power of *Satan*, in such a Contraposition, might be more conspicuous.

AND indeed, what cou'd more contribute to raise in the *Israelites* a Confidence in God's Promises, and a joyful Hope of a speedy Deliverance, than to see the great Disparity between the *Opposers* and *Maintainers* of their Cause? To see, I say, that tho', by the divine Permission, the *Magicians* cou'd change their Rods into Serpents, yet, as a manifest Token of Superiority, *Moses*'s Rod devour'd all theirs; tho' they cou'd turn Water into *Blood*, yet it was above their Skill to restore it to its former Nature; though they made a Shift to produce *Frogs*, yet they were utterly unable to clear the *Egyptian* Palaces and Houses of them; though they did, in short, some Things, which only contributed to the Calamities of *Egypt*, yet they cou'd do no one Thing to redress them, nor even to relieve themselves against the Plague of the *Boils?* So true, and so severe withal, is that Observation of the Author of the *Book of Wisdom*: (*h*) *As for the Illusion of Art Magick, they were put down,* From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii. *and their Vaunting in Wisdom was reproved with Disgrace; for they, who promised to drive away Terrors, and Troubles from a sick Soul, were sick themselves of Fear, and worthy to be laughed at.*

BUT now *Moses* not only does such Miracles, as the *Magicians* never pretend to, (the Storm and Hail, the Thunder and Lightning, and thick Darkness, &c. they never once attempted to imitate) but, (supposing that *Pharaoh* might be addicted to *Astrologers*, who fancy'd that all Things here below might be govern'd by the Motion and Influence of the *Stars*) he very frequently gives him the Liberty to name the Time, when he wou'd have any Plague remov'd, that thereby he might know, that God alone was the Author of them, and that, consequently, there was no Day or Hour, under so ill an *Aspect*, but that he cou'd prevail with him, at whatever Moment he shou'd assign, to rescue and deliver him.

HAD *Moses* met with no Opposition in working his Miracles, *Pharaoh* had neither had so strong a Conviction, nor cou'd *Moses* himself here have exhibited so clear a Testimony of his divine Mission. (*i*) As the Nature of the *Egyptian* Learning then was, the King might have suspected that the *Prophet*'s Miracles proceeded, if not from *natural* Means and *Inchantments*, at least from the Influence of some *planetary* or *elementary* Powers: But when Men, of equal Skill and Abilities in all Points of *abstruse* Learning, were brought to contest the Matter with him, and acknowledg'd their Inability to proceed in a Conflict, where their Adversary had a divine Power apparently assisting him; this establish'd the Truth of *Moses*'s Pretensions, though it made the others *Obstinacy* and *Infidelity* inexcusable; and (*k*) a signal Instance of God's Wisdom it was, to permit these *Sorcerers* to proceed, for some Time, in their Contest with his Servant, which added Disgrace to the one's Defeat,

(*f*) Exod. iv. 31. (*g*) Exod. v. 21. (*h*) Wisdom xvii. 7, 8. (*i*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. I. 9. (*k*) *Stillingfleet*'s Origin. Sacræ. 2

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Defeat, as it did no ſmall Glory to the other's Conqueſt.

THUS we have endeavour'd to ſatisfy the Objections, which are uſually advanc'd againſt ſome Parts of the *Scripture Hiſtory* compris'd in this *Period*; and, for the farther Satisfaction of our Reader, ſhall conclude with the Teſtimony of ſome Heathen Writers, who, in all Ages, have, more or leſs, taken Notice of the Birth, Life, and ſeveral Adventures of *Moſes*, ſo far as we have hitherto advanc'd: (*l*) That his being taken out of the River *Nile*, for Inſtance, is ſung by the Author of the *Orphick* Verſes, under the Title ὑδρολεύς, or *born of the Water*: That the Beauty and Graceſulneſs of his Perſon, which *recommended* him to every one's Affection, is remember'd by *Juſtin* (*m*) out of *Trogus Pompeius*, and that (*n*) the whole Fable of *Venus* falling in Love with *Adonis*, in all Probability, aroſe from the Story of *Moſes* and *Pharaoh*'s Daughter: That the Wonder of the *Burning Buſh* is recorded by *Antipanus*, with a ſmall Variation, as he is cited (*o*) by *Euſebius*: That ſeveral of the Plagues upon *Egypt* are mention'd in the Fragments of *Eupolemus*, preſerv'd (*p*) by the ſame *Euſebius*; and that the Slaughter of their *Firſt-born*, in particular, is commemorated in that mournful Feaſt of *Oſiris*, wherein they riſe at Midnight, light Candles, and go about weeping and groaning: That *Moſes*'s calling the God of Heaven, *Jao*, or *Jehovah*, is mention'd (*q*) by *Diodorus Siculus*: That the Names of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, and the Oppoſition they made againſt him, is preſerv'd (*r*) in *Eumenius*, (*s*) *Pliny*, and (*t*) *Apuleius*; and (to go no farther) that the *Iſraelites* Departure out of *Egypt*, and Settling in the Land of *Canaan*, is (*u*) by *Tacitus*, who took it from ſome *Egyptian* Authors, thus related. "The *Hebrews* were de- "ſcended from the *Aſſyrians*, and, poſ- "ſeſſing a great Part of *Egypt*, led the Life "of Shepherds; but afterwards being bur- "then'd with hard Labour, they came "out of *Egypt* under the Command of "*Moſes*, with ſome *Egyptians* accompa- "nying them, and went through the "Country of the *Arabians*, into *Paleſtine* "*Syria*, and there ſet up Rites contrary to "thoſe of the *Egyptians*." So fully does the Teſtimony of *Aliens* tend to the Confirmation of thy *Revelations*, O God!

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(*l*) *Euſebius*'s Præp. Evang. l. 13. c. 12. (*m*) Lib. 36. c. 2. (*n*) *Huetius*'s Dem. Evang. Prop. 4. c. 3. (*o*) *Euſebius*'s Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 22. (*p*) Ibid. (*q*) Lib. 1. (*r*) *Euſebius*, l. 8. c. 8. (*s*) Lib. 30. c. 1. (*t*) Apolog. 2. (*u*) Lib. 5.

DISSER-

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DISSERTATION V.

Of the sacred Chronology, and prophane History, Learning, Religion, Idolatry, and monumental Works, &c. *but chiefly of the* Egyptians, *during this Period.*

Chronological *Differences settled.*

BEFORE we enter upon the *historical* Matters which are contain'd in this *Period*, between God's Call to *Abraham* out of *Mesopotamia*, and the Children of *Israel*'s Departure out of *Egypt*, it may not be improper to settle its *Chronology*, and to take Notice of some *Exceptions*, that may possibly be made to it.

THE Difference, between the *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, and *Septuagint* Computations, in the former Periods of Time, ran wide; and it was some Part of our Care, either to determine which was most probably in the right, or to reconcile the seeming *Opposition* between them: But in *this*, the *Variation* is so small, that they seem almost unanimously to agree, that, (*x*) from the Promise made to *Abraham*, to his Posterity's *Exodus* out of *Egypt*, are 430 Years, which (according to the learned *Usher*) may very properly be divided into two *Halves*.

1. (*y*) FROM the Time of the Promise, when *Abraham* was in the 75th Year of his Age, to the Birth of *Isaac*, are 25 Years; (*z*) from the Birth of *Isaac*, to the Birth of *Jacob*, 60 Years; from the Birth of *Jacob*, to his Descent into *Egypt*, with his whole Family, 130 Years; so that the whole of this Division amounts to 215 Years.

2. THE other Part of the *Division* is thus reckon'd up. *Joseph*, the Son of *Jacob*, was 30 Years old, when he expounded *Pharaoh*'s Dreams: The seven Years of *Plenty* were run out, and (*a*) the third Year of *Famine* begun, when his Father came down into *Egypt*: So that, by this Time, *Joseph* was 39. Now 39 Years taken from the 110, which *Joseph* liv'd, will make the Time, which the *Israelites* had continu'd in *Egypt*, before *Joseph*'s Death, to be 71: And, as (*b*) from the Death of *Joseph*, to the Birth of *Moses*, are precisely 64 Years; so, (*c*) from his Birth, to the Time of the *Israelites* Departure, are 80 Years. The several Articles of this Division therefore, being put together, amount, in like Manner, to 215 Years; and the two gross Sums make exactly 430.

THE History indeed tells us, that (*d*) *the Sojourning of the Children of* Israel, *who dwelt in* Egypt, *was Four hundred and thirty Years*; but it does not therefore follow, that they dwelt in *Egypt* all that Time. They came into *Egypt* with *Jacob*, A. M. 2298, and went out of *Egypt*, A. M. 2513; so that they liv'd in it just two hundred and fifteen Years. Their *Sojourning* therefore must not be limited to their living in *Egypt*, but be taken in a more general Sense, and extended equally to the Time of their living in *Canaan*, which being added to the Time of their Continuance in *Egypt*, makes exactly the Number of Four hundred and thirty Years.

THAT this is the Sense of the divine Historian is manifest from the Authority of the *Samaritan* Text, which has the whole Verse thus: *Now the inhabiting of the Children of* Israel, *and their Fathers whereby they inhabited in the Land of* Canaan, *and in the Land of* Egypt, *were Four*

(*x*) Exod. xii. 40. (*y*) Gen. xii. 4.—xxi. 5. (*z*) Gen. xxv. 26. (*a*) Gen. xlvii. 4.
(*b*) Compare Gen. xlvi. 46. with xlv. 6. (*c*) Exod. vii. 7. (*d*) Exod. xii. 40.

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Four hundred and thirty Years, whereupon the learned Dr *Prideaux* (*e*) has this Obſervation, "That the Additions herein "do manifeſtly mend the Text; they "make it more clear and intelligible, and "add nothing to the *Hebrew* Copy, but "what muſt be underſtood by the Reader "to make out its Senſe:" And upon this Preſumption it may very reaſonably be ſuppos'd, (*f*) that the antient *Hebrew* Text was, in this Verſe, the ſame with the preſent *Samaritan*, and that the Words, which the *Samaritan* has, in this Place, more than the *Hebrew*, have been dropp'd by the Negligence of ſome Tranſcribers.

AGAIN, in the Promiſe, which God makes to *Abraham*, he tells him, (*g*) *that his Seed ſhou'd be a Stranger in a Land, which was not theirs*; that *there they ſhould ſerve the* Inhabitants, and they *afflict them for Four hundred Years*; but that, *in the fourth Generation, they ſhould return to* Canaan *again*; whereas *Four hundred Years* are not the Number ſpecified in the Place juſt now examin'd, nor are *four Generations* equivalent to the Space of Time, wherein the *Hebrews* ſojourn'd in ſtrange Countries. It is to be obſerv'd however, that, both in *ſacred* and *prophane* Authors, a common Thing it is, to mention only the *large* Sum, and drop the leſs, eſpecially when (to preſerve the Exactneſs of Chronology) the preciſe Number is, in other Places, inſerted: And that tho' a *Generation* does uſually denote a Term of an hundred Years; yet taking the Words to relate to the whole Sojourning of the *Hebrews*, from their going into *Canaan*, to their going out of *Egypt*, the odd Number of 30 Years may here be ſuppos'd to be omitted, to make it a *round* Sum, as well as in the former Senſe: But then, taking a Generation to mean no more than one Deſcent, the Matter of Fact is, that from the *Iſraelites* going down into *Egypt*, until the Time of their leaving it, in ſome of the Sons of *Jacob* (particularly in *Levi*, who begat *Cohath*, and *Cohath*, *Amram*, and *Amram*, *Moſes*, who conducted the People out of *Egypt*) there were no more than four Deſcents.

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WHETHER therefore we take the Word *Generation* to denote an *Age of Years*, or a *Succeſſion of Lives*, there is plainly no Incongruity in the Expreſſion; becauſe (bating the *odd* Number of *Thirty*) *Abraham*, and his Poſterity, ſojourn'd in a *ſtrange* Land for the Space of Four hundred Years; and yet (allowing it to be meant of a *Deſcent* of Lives) at the *Iſraelites* Return towards *Canaan*, from the Time of their going down into *Egypt*, ſeveral Perſons of the *fourth Generation* were not extinct.

The Egyptian *Hiſtory.*

EGYPT indeed was the moſt conſiderable Nation, with whom the *Iſraelites* had any Intercourſe during this *Period*: What Dealings they had with the ſeveral Parts of *Canaan*, will beſt be related, when we come to treat of the Hiſtory of that Country. In the mean Time, we cannot but lament our Want of the antient Records of thoſe Times, which forces us, inſtead of a continu'd Hiſtory, to preſent our Reader with Nothing, but a jejune *Catalogue* of the Succeſſion of the *Egyptian* Kings, which, as far as they relate to our preſent Purpoſe, we have thought proper * to ſubjoin at the Bottom of the Page; and ſhall only take

(*e*) Connection, Vol. II. Part i. l. 6. p. 600. (*f*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 9. (*g*) Gen. xv. 13, 16.

* In the Year of the World 1849, reign'd, in *Thebais*, or the *Upper Egypt*, *Menes* (whom the Scripture calls *Mizraim*) 62 Years: In the Year 1911, *Athothes*, 59 Years: In the Year 1970, *Athothes* II, 32 Years: In the Year 2002, *Diabies*, 19 Years: In the Year 2021, *Pemphos*, 18 Years: In the Year 2039, *Tegar Amachus*, 79 Years: In the Year 2118, *Stoechus*, 6 Years: In the Year 2124, *Gofermies*, 30 Years: In the Year 2154, *Mares*, 26 Years.

In the Time of theſe, flouriſh'd the *Royal Shepherds* in the *Lower Egypt*; and, in the Year of the World 1920, *Salatis*, the firſt paſtoral King, reign'd 19 Years: In the Year 1939, *Beon*, the ſecond paſtoral King, 44 Years: In the Year 1983, *Apachnas*, the third paſtoral King, 36 Years: In the Year 2020, *Apophis*, the fourth paſtoral King, 61 Years: In the Year 2081, *Janias*, the fifth paſtoral King, 50 Years and one Month; and after theſe *Herules Aſſis*, 49 Years, and two Months.

Then

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Notice here in particular, that A. M. 2084, when *Abraham*, and his Nephew *Lot*, went down into *Egypt*, *Tegar Amachus* was then upon the Throne; that A. M. 2260, when *Joſeph* was born, *Biyris* was King, and when he was ſold into *Egypt*, about 17 Years after, *Saophis* had ſucceeded; that this *Saophis* was the Prince, whoſe Dreams he expounded, and by whom he was promoted to great Honour in the Kingdom; that he dy'd however before his Dreams were accompliſh'd, for it was A. M. 2298, that the firſt Year of the Famine began, when *Senſoaphis*, (who was probably his Son, and held *Joſeph* in equal Favour) ſway'd the Sceptre; that this was the Prince, to whom *Jacob* and his Sons, upon their coming down into *Egypt*, in the *third* Year of the *Famine*, were preſented, and with whom *Iſrael* had the Converſation above-mention'd; that A. M. 2369, when *Joſeph* dy'd, *Maſthis* was King, by whom, and ſome of his Succeſſors, the *Iſraelites* were well treated, in Remembrance of the Services, he had done the Publick, until there happen'd a *Revolution* in the Government, which ſome chuſe to place about this Time; that A. M. 2427, the *Iſraelites* began to be oppreſs'd, and ſeverely treated by *Rameſſes Miamun*, in whoſe Reign *Moſes* was born, ſlew the *Egyptian*, and fled into *Midian*; that A. M. 2493, *Amenophis* ſucceeded his Father in his Kingdom, and in his Cruelty to the *Iſraelites*; but that, being compell'd, at laſt, by the mighty Hand of God, to let them go, he, and all his Army, in endeavouring to retake them, were, A. M. 2513, ſwallow'd up in the *Red-Sea*.

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SALATIS, and his Succeſſors, not only oppreſs'd the *Iſraelites*, as we ſaid before, but, by the Violence of their Conqueſts, ſo terrify'd the antient Inhabitants of the Land, that many Perſons of the *firſt Figure* thought it better to leave their native Country, than to endeavour to ſit down under ſuch Calamities, as they ſaw were coming upon them. *Cecrops*, about this Time, departed from *Egypt*; and, after ſome Years Travel in other Places, came, at length, to *Greece*, and liv'd in *Attica*, where he was kindly receiv'd by *Actæus*, the King of the Country; marry'd his Daughter; and, upon his Demiſe, ſucceeded to his Throne; and thereupon he taught the People (who were *vagrant* before) the Uſe of ſettled Habitations; reſtrain'd all licentious Luſt among them; oblig'd each Man to marry one Wife; and, in ſhort, gave them wiſe Rules for the Conduct of their Lives, and the Exerciſe of all *civil* and *religious* Offices. About thirty Years after the Death of *Cecrops*, *Cadmus* * came, either directly from *Egypt* (as ſome think,) or rather from

The Expulſion of ſeveral of the Natives, *and their* Settlements.

Then follow the *Theban* Kings, in this Order: In the Year of the World 2180, *Anoyphes* (who, by Archbiſhop *Uſher*, is nam'd *Tethmoſis*, and is ſaid to have expell'd the *Royal Shepherds*) reign'd 20 Years: In the Year 2200, *Siricius*, 18 Years: In the Year 2218, *Cneubus Cneurus*, 27 Years: In the Year 2245, *Raveſis*, 13 Years: In the Year 2258, *Biyris*, 10 Years: In the Year 2268, *Saophis*, 29 Years: In the Year 2297, *Senſaophis*, 27 Years: In the Year 2324, *Moſcheris*, 31 Years: In the Year 2355, *Maſthis*, 33 Years: In the Year 2388, *Pamnus Archades* (whom *Uſher* calls *Ratholis*) 35 Years; and in the Year 2423, *Apaxus Maximus*, 100 Years.

After the Expulſion of the Race of the *Royal Paſtors*, in the Year of the World 2205, *Chebron* ſucceeded to the Kingdom of the *Lower Egypt*, and reign'd 13 Years: In the Year 2218, *Amenophis*, 20 Years, and 7 Months: In the Year 2239, *Ameſes*, 21 Years, and 9 Months: In the Year 2261, *Mephres*, 12 Years, and 9 Months: In the Year 2273, *Miſphragmuthis*, 25 Years, and 10 Months: In the Year 2299, *Thmoſis*, 9 Years, and 8 Months: In the Year 2309, *Amenophis* II, 30 Years, and 10 Months: In the Year 2340, *Orus*, 36 Years, and 5 Months: In the Year 2376, *Acencheres*, 12 Years, and 1 Month: In the Year 2410, *Acencheres* II, 12 Years, and 3 Months: In the Year 2422, *Acmais*, 4 Years, and 1 Month: In the Year 2426, *Rameſſes*, 1 Year, and 3 Months: In the Year 2427, *Rameſſes Miamun*, 66 Years, and 2 Months: And in the Year 2493, *Amenophis* III, 19 Years, and 6 Months, who is the laſt we meet with in this Period.

* The true Account of *Cadmus* is, ——— That his Father, whoſe Name is unknown, was an *Egyptian*, who left *Egypt* about the Time, that *Cecrops* came from thence, and obtain'd a Kingdom in *Phœnicia*, as *Cecrops* did in *Attica*; and, that his two Sons, *Phœnix* and *Cadmus*, were born after his Settlement in that Country: And hence it came to paſs, that *Cadmus*, having had an *Egyptian* Father, was brought up in the Religion, and was well acquainted with the Hiſtory of that Country, which occaſion'd ſeveral Writers of his Life to account him an *Egyptian*; and, at the ſame Time, being born and educated in *Phœnicia*, he became Maſter of the Language and Letters of the Country, and had

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from *Phœnicia*, (as others will have it) and, with ſeveral People, that follow'd his Fortune, († of which ſome Authors give us a *ſtrange* Account) having expell'd the antient Inhabitants, ſettled himſelf in *Beotia*, and built *Thebes*.

DANAUS was another conſiderable Perſon, who, about this Time, left *Egypt*, and came into *Greece*. He was originally deſcended from a *Grecian* Anceſtor, and, being now at *Argos*, when the Crown was vacant, he ſtood *Candidate* for it againſt *Galenor*, the Son of *Sthenelus*, and, † by the Superſtition of the People, who were his Electors, carry'd it. But, of all the *Refugees*, who quitted *Egypt* much about this Time, *Belus*, the Son of *Neptune*, ſeems to be the moſt famous. He, with ſome *Egyptian* Prieſts, went to *Babylon*, and there obtain'd Leave to ſettle, and cultivate their Studies, in the ſame Manner, and with the ſame Encouragement, that had been granted them in their own Country.

THE chief Aim of the antient *Aſtronomers* ſeems to have been, to obſerve the Times of the Riſing and Setting of the Stars; and the firſt and moſt proper Places, that they cou'd think of for that Purpoſe, were very large and open Plains, where they cou'd have an extenſive View of the Horizon, without Interruption; and ſuch Plains, as theſe, were the *Obſervatories* for many Generations. But the *Egyptians* had, for above three hundred Years before the Time of this *Belus*, invented a Method to improve their Views by the Building of Pyramids, from the Top of which they might take a Proſpect with greater Advantage; and therefore it is no improbable Conjecture, that *Belus* taught the *Babylonians* the Uſe of ſuch Structures, and might poſſibly project for them that lofty Tower, which was afterwards call'd by his Name.

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FOR this Tower ſeems to have been an Improvement of the *Egyptian* Pyramids. It was rais'd to a much greater Height; had a more commodious Space at Top; more uſeful and large Apartments within; and yet was a leſs bulky Building, and rais'd upon a narrower Foundation: So that the Contriver of this ſeems to have been well acquainted with the *Egyptian Pyramid*, and its Defects, and to have herein deſign'd a Structure much more excellent, which can be aſcrib'd to none, with ſo great a Shew of Probability, as to the *Belus*, we are now ſpeaking of.

The Learning *of the* Egyptians.

THAT the *Egyptians*, in the early Ages of the World, were very famous for Wiſdom and Learning, is evident from many antient

had likewiſe a *Phœnician* Name, which has induc'd ſeveral others, that have wrote of him, to conclude, with good Reaſon, that he was a Native of that Country. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 8.

† The Account which *Ovid* (in his *Metamorphoſes*, lib. iii. fab. i.) gives us of this Matter, is, —— That *Cadmus*'s Followers were all devour'd by a *Serpent*, which when *Cadmus* had kill'd, and ſown its Teeth in the Ground, there ſprang up from them a Number of arm'd Men, who, as ſoon as they appear'd above Ground, fell a fighting one another, and were all kill'd, except five, who, ſurviving the Conflict, went with *Cadmus*, and help'd him to build *Thebes*. And the *Mythologick* Senſe of all this Story, according to the Conjecture of a learned Author, is no more than this —— That when *Cadmus* came into *Beotia*, and had conquer'd the Inhabitants of it, it might be recorded of him in the *Phœnician*, or *Hebrew* Language (which anciently was the ſame) that he *Naſhab Chail Chameſh Anoſhim, Noſhekim be Shenei Nachaſh*; but now there being ſeveral Ambiguities in theſe Words, where the Vowels were not originally written, (*Chameſh*, for Inſtance, may ſignify *five*, as well as *warlike*; *Shenei*, Teeth, as well as *Spears*; and *Nachaſh*, a *Serpent*, as well as *Braſs*) a fabulous Tranſlator might ſay, *he rais'd a Force of five Men, arm'd from the Teeth of a Serpent*. Whereas the Words ſhou'd be render'd, *he rais'd a warlike Force of Men, arm'd with Spears of Braſs*; and it is no Wonder that the *Greeks*, who were ſo fond of diſguiſing all their antient Accounts with *Fable* and *Allegory*, ſhou'd give the Hiſtory of *Cadmus* this Turn, when the Words, in which his Actions are recorded, gave them ſo fair an Opportunity. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 8.

† The Diſpute between *Cadmus* and *Galenor*, concerning their Titles to the Crown, was argu'd, on both Sides, for a whole Day; and when *Galenor* was thought to have offer'd as weighty and ſtrong Arguments for his Pretenſions, as *Danaus* cou'd for his, the next Day was appointed for the further hearing, and determining their Claims, when an Accident put an End to the Diſpute. For, not far from the Place, where the People were aſſembled, there happen'd a Fight between a *Wolf* and a *Bull*, wherein the *Wolf* got the better. This was thought a Thing not a little *ominous*; and therefore, as the *Wolf* was a Creature they were leſs acquainted with, than the *Bull*, they thought it was the Will of the Gods, declar'd by the Event of this accidental Combat, that he, who was the *Stranger*, ſhou'd rule over them. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. II. l. 8.

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antient Writers, as well as the Teſtimony of the Scriptures themſelves; for when, among other Things, to the Honour of *Moſes*, it is ſaid, that (*h*) *he was learned in all the Wiſdom of the* Egyptians; and, to magnify the Knowledge of *Solomon*, we are told, that (*i*) *he excelled all the Wiſdom of* Egypt; we cannot but infer, that this Nation, above all others, had gain'd a Reputation, even for the Invention of ſeveral uſeful Sciences.

Their Aſtronomy *and* Geometry.

The Tillage of the Ground made the Study of *Aſtronomy* abſolutely neceſſary, in order to their knowing, from the *Lights of Heaven*, the Times and Seaſons for the ſeveral Parts of *Agriculture*; and the Nature of their Country, overflow'd every Year by the *Nile*, and every Year loſing its Land-Marks, made it of continual Uſe to them to ſtudy *Geometry*; and (as a neceſſary *Handmaid* to that) to make themſelves expert in *Arithmetick*.

It is not to be ſuppos'd however, that, hitherto, they had carry'd the Study either of *Aſtronomy* or *Geography* to any great Height. They obſerv'd the *Places* of the Stars, and the *periodical* Motions of the *Planets*. They kept *Regiſters* of their Obſervations for a long Courſe of Years, and took Account of the Weather and Seaſons, that follow'd their ſeveral Obſervations. They recorded the Times of ſowing and reaping this or that Grain, and, by their long Experience, became able *Prognoſticators* of the Weather, and the Seaſons, and excellent Directors for the Tillage of the Ground: And, in like Manner, by their Knowledge in *Geometry*, they contriv'd very proper Methods of marking out, and deſcribing the ſeveral Parts of their Country, and were very careful, no doubt, in making *Draughts* of the *Flow* and *Ebb* of their River *Nile* every Year; but when it is conſider'd, that the *Egyptians* did not as yet apprehend, that the Year conſiſted of more than 360 Days; and that * both *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, many Ages after theſe Times, made great Improvements in *Geometry* beyond what they had learn'd in *Egypt*; that *Thales* was the firſt, who ventur'd to foretel an *Eclipſe*; and *Eudoxus* and *Ptolemy*, to reduce the heavenly Motions into *Tables*; we can hardly think, that either *Aſtronomy* or *Geometry* were, as yet, carry'd to any great Perfection.

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Phyſick.

The Science of *Phyſick* is generally imputed to *Æſculapius*, which Name was given to *Sethorthrus* (a King of *Memphis*, who ſtands ſecond in the third *Dynaſty* of *Manetho*) for his great Skill in that Art: And, tho' no great Credit is to be given to † their boaſted Proficiency in *Chymiſtry*, yet it is reaſonable to believe, from their conſtant Practice of *Diſſections*, that they cou'd not well fail of a competent Knowledge in *Anatomy*.

Magick.

The Science however, for which they were moſt famous, and for which indeed they valu'd themſelves moſt, was *Magick*, though the whole Structure of it had no other Foundation, than a ſuperſtitious Belief

(*h*) Acts vii. 22 (*i*) 1 Kings iv. 30.

* *Thales*, who travell'd into *Egypt* for the Sake of their Learning, after his Return home, ſacrific'd an Ox to the Gods, for Joy, that he had hit on the Method of inſcribing a *rectangle Triangle* within a Circle; and *Pythagoras*, no leſs than a whole *Hecatomb*, for his finding out the Proportion of the longeſt Side of a *Right-angled Triangle* to the other two, which is no more than a common Propoſition of the firſt Book of *Euclid*; and yet theſe two Philoſophers cou'd not have the Invention of theſe Things from the *Egyptians*, unleſs we ſuppoſe, either that the *Egyptians* did not teach them all that they knew, or that the Diſciples conceal'd the Thing, and vainly arrogated to themſelves what, in ſtrict Truth, they had borrow'd from their Maſters. *Diog. Laërt.* in *Pythag.* & *Thalete*.

† Some modern Aſſertors of the great Antiquity of *Chymiſtry*, tell us of a Medicine us'd only by the *Egyptian* Prieſts, and kept ſecret, even from moſt of the *Natives*, that is of Efficacy almoſt to do any Thing, but reſtore the Dead to Life again. This, *ſay they*, was the grand *Elixir*, or chymical Preparation, made with the *Philoſophers Stone*, the Invention of *Hermes*; by the Help of which, the *Egyptian* Kings were enabled to build the *Pyramids*, with the Treaſures, which their *Furnaces* afforded them: But theſe Fables are ſufficiently confuted by the profound Silence of all Antiquity in this Matter. They are indeed built upon ſuſpicious Authorities, uncertain Conjectures, and *allegorical* Interpretations of the fabulous Stories of the *Greeks*, which theſe Men will have to be *chymical* Secrets in Diſguiſe; inſomuch that they fancy, that the *golden Fleece*, which *Jaſon* fetch'd from *Colchis*, was only a Receipt to make the *Philoſophers Stone*; and that *Medea* reſtor'd *Æſon*'s Father to his Youth again, by the *Grand Elixir*. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 3. and *Wotton*'s Reflections on antient and modern Learning, c. 9.

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lief of the great Influence, which *heavenly* Bodies are ſuppos'd to have upon this *inferior* World. To this Purpoſe they imagin'd, that the ſeven *Planets* govern'd the ſeven *Days* of the Week; and pretended, that, by a long Obſervation of the Motion of the celeſtial Bodies, they had obtain'd the Art of foreſeeing future Events. They believ'd, in ſhort, that the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Elements, were endu'd with *Intelligence*, and appointed by the ſupreme Deity to govern the World; and, though they acknowledg'd that God might, upon extraordinary Occaſions, work Miracles, reveal his Will by audible Voices, Viſions, Dreams, Prophecies, *&c.* yet they imagin'd alſo, that, generally ſpeaking, Prodigies were caus'd, Oracles given, and Viſions occaſion'd in a *natural* Way, by the Obſervation, or Influence of the Courſes of the Heavenly Bodies, or by the Operations of the *Powers* of Nature; and therefore they conceiv'd, that their learned *Profeſſors* cou'd work Miracles, obtain Omens, and interpret Dreams, merely by their Skill in natural Knowledge, which, though ſtrange and unaccountable to the *Vulgar*, was very obvious to Perſons of Science and Philoſophy.

IN later Ages indeed, and when the *Egyptians* began to worſhip their departed Princes, a Notion prevail'd, that *Spirits* or *Dæmons*, of a Nature ſuperior to Men, were employ'd in the Government of the World, and had their ſeveral Provinces appointed them by God. To this Honour they imagin'd that the Souls of departed *Heroes*, and extraordinary Perſons, were admitted; and, for this Reaſon, they ſuppos'd, that they were not only endow'd with Powers far exceeding thoſe of mortal Men, but had likewiſe Miracles, Viſions, Oracles, and Omens, ſubmitted to their Miniſtry and Direction; and, conſequently, in all their Demands or Exigencies of this Kind, made them the Objects of their *Incantations* and *Prayers*.

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THESE were ſome of the chief Arts and Sciences (for their Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, and Mechanicks of all Kinds, for which they were ſo juſtly famous, we have but juſt Room to mention) that flouriſh'd, at this Time, among the *Egyptians*: And we come now to obſerve a little, by what *Means* it was, that this Learning of theirs came to be preſerv'd, and tranſmitted to Poſterity.

How they preſerv'd their Learning.

THE *Egyptian* Language was certainly one of the moſt antient in the World: For, conſidering its *Structure* and *Conſtitution*, (* wherein it widely differs from all *Oriental* and *European* Languages) it muſt needs be an *Original*, or Mother-Tongue, form'd at the Confuſion of *Babel*. Their moſt antient Way of Writing was by *Hieroglyphical* Figures * of various Animals, and Plants, the Parts of human Bodies,

* For the *Copts* neither decline their *Nouns*, nor conjugate their *Verbs* (not even thoſe of foreign Extract) otherwiſe than by prefixing *Particles*, ſometimes of one or more Syllables, and ſometimes of a ſingle Letter, which denote *Caſe*, *Gender*, *Number*, and *Perſon*, ſeveral of which are often join'd together in one Word, and the *primitive* Word uſually plac'd laſt: So that the Difficulty of this Language conſiſts in the incredible Combination of the Words and Particles, in the Change of the Vowels, in tranſpoſing the middle Part of the Word, and adding ſuperfluous Letters, which it requires no ſmall Labour and Skill to diſtinguiſh. *Wilkins*'s Diſſert. de Linguâ Copticâ, p. 120.

* Of theſe there were three Kinds among the *Egyptians*, which ſeem to have more or leſs Art in them, according to the Period of their Invention. The 1ſt was, *To make the principal Circumſtance of the Subject ſtand for the whole.* Thus, when they wou'd deſcribe a *Battle*, or *two Armies in Array*, they parted two *Hands*, *one holding a Shield, and the other a Bow*: When a *Tumult*, or *popular Inſurrection* —— *an armed Man caſting Arrows*, &c. When a *Siege* —— *a ſcaling Ladder*. The 2d was, To *put the Inſtrument of the Thing* (*whether real, or metaphorical*) *for the Thing itſelf*: Thus an *Eye*, eminently plac'd, was deſign'd to repreſent *God's Omniſcience*: *An Eye and Sceptre* —— *a Monarch*; and a *Ship and Pilot* —— the *Governor of the Univerſe*. The 3d was, *To make one repreſent another, where there was perceiv'd any quaint Analogy, or Similitude, between the Repreſentative and the Thing properly intended.* Thus, the *Univerſe* was deſign'd by *a Serpent in a Circle*, whoſe variegated *Spots*, ſignify'd *the Stars*; and the *riſing of the Sun*, by the *two Eyes of a Crocodile*, becauſe they ſeem to emerge from his Head; a *tyrannical King*, was repreſented by an *Eagle*; and a cruel, or *improvident Parent*, by *an Hawk*. Thus, from the Nature of the Things themſelves, or their Reſemblance to ſomething elſe, from the principal Circumſtance of any Action, or the chief Inſtrument employ'd in doing it, *Hieroglyphics* at firſt ſeem to have been invented. But whether their Invention was *prior* to that of *Letters*, has been Matter of ſome Debate among the Learned; tho' one can hardly forbear thinking, that a Picture Character

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Bodies, and *mechanical* Inſtruments, for in theſe Things did the *Hieroglyphicks* both of the *Ethiopians* and *Egyptians* (whereof *Hermes* is ſaid to have been the Inventor) moſt certainly conſiſt: But, beſides theſe, they made uſe likewiſe of *literal* Characters, whereof they had two Kinds, calling the one the *ſacred Letters*, in which their publick Regiſters, and all Matters of an higher Nature were written; and the other, *the Vulgar*, which every one made uſe of in their common Buſineſs. But both theſe Characters are at preſent loſt, unleſs they remain in ſome old *Inſcriptions*, that are unintelligible, and cannot be decypher'd.

NOT only the *Egyptians*, but ſeveral other Nations us'd to preſerve the Memory of Things by *Inſcriptions* on Pillars. The *Columns of Hermes*, upon which he is ſaid to have wrote all his Learning, are mention'd by ſeveral Writers of good Note; and from them, both the *Grecian* Philoſophers, and *Egyptian* Hiſtorians are ſuppos'd to have taken many valuable Hints: But to theſe Inſcriptions ſucceeded *the ſacred Books*, which contain'd not only what related to the Worſhip of the Gods, and the Laws of the Kingdom; but *hiſtorical* Collections likewiſe, yea, and all Kind of *miſcellaneous* and *philoſophical* Matters of any Moment, which the Prieſts, or *ſacred Scribes* were oblig'd to inſert in theſe publick *Regiſters*, in order to be tranſmitted to Poſterity.

Their Religion, *and* Idolatry.

A NATION, ſo renown'd for their Knowledge and Learning, and who had ſuch certain Methods of preſerving the Traditions of their Anceſtors, might have kept the *original* Religion, one wou'd think, with more than ordinary *Purity*; at leaſt, wou'd not have run into the ſame Exceſs of Idolatry and *Polytheiſm*, that other People, at this Time, were ſo ſtrangely addicted to: And yet, if we look a little into their Hiſtory, we ſhall ſoon find more Corruption of this Kind among them, than in any other Nation. Some of their wiſer Sort indeed, are ſaid to have acknowledg'd one *ſupreme* God, the Maker and Ruler of the World, whom they ſometimes call'd by the Name of *Oſiris*, or *Seraphis*; ſometimes by that of *Iſis*; and, at other Times, by that of *Neith*, on whoſe Temple at *Sais* was the following remarkable Inſcription, *I am all that has been, is, or ſhall be, and my Vail hath no Mortal yet uncover'd.* But tho' ſome Parts of *Egypt* might, at firſt, be free from all idolatrous Worſhip; yet, when the Humour once began to ſpread, it ſoon over-ran the whole Kingdom. The heavenly *Luminaries* were the firſt Objects of profane Adoration; and, in *Egypt*, the Sun and the Moon went under the Denomination of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*. After theſe, the Elements, and other Parts of Nature (ſuch as *Vulcan*, meaning thereby the *Fire*; *Ceres*, the *Earth*; *Oceanus*, the *Water*; and *Minerva*, the *Air*;) were admitted into the Number of their *Deities*.

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BUT, beſides the *celeſtial*, they had terreſtrial Gods likewiſe; for moſt of their Princes, who had merited well of the People, were, after their Death, *canoniz'd*, and invocated under the Names of *Sol*, *Saturnus*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Vulcanus*, *Veſta*, and *Mercurius*, which, according to *Diodorus*, were the eight firſt Hero-Gods, which the *Egyptians* worſhipp'd. Nay (and what is ſcarce credible) they came at laſt to give divine Honours to ſeveral Animals, and that with ſo great a Variety, and Diſagreement among themſelves, that, except ſome of

Character (as *Hieroglyphics* are) wou'd ſcarce be intelligible, unleſs Men cou'd be ſuppos'd to delineate the Forms and Pictures of Things more accurately, than can well be imagin'd: But even if that were granted, they wou'd at beſt have been but a very imperfect Character, ſince they cou'd only hit off the Idea of Things *viſible*, and muſt therefore be defective in a Multitude of Signs, to expreſs the full Meaning of a Man's Mind: For which Reaſon ſome have ſuppos'd, that even the *Egyptians* themſelves were wont to intermingle Letters with *Hieroglyphics*, to fill up and connect Sentences, and to expreſs Actions more fully, than Pictures were found to do. Theſe *Hieroglyphics* were at firſt in common Uſe, but in Proceſs of Time, were appropriated to ſacred and religious Matters, and wrote and underſtood by the Prieſts only. *Warburton*'s Divine Legation, Lib. iv. and *Shuckford*'s Connection, Lib. viii.

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of the principal Deities, which were honour'd all the Kingdom over, there was, almoſt in every Town or Village, a different God, held in Veneration in one Place, and deteſted in the next, which often occaſion'd bitter Animoſities, and ſometimes inveterate Quarrels, and dangerous Wars.

The Reaſons given for it.

NOW the Reaſon, why the *Egyptians* adopted ſuch a Variety of Animals into the Number of their Gods, was not ſo much from any Conſideration of their *Subſerviency* to human Life, as from a certain Similitude, they perceiv'd between them, and the Deity to whom they were devoted. Thus the *Hawk* was made ſacred to *Oſiris*, as an Emblem of the ſupreme Deity, by Reaſon of its piercing Sight and Swiftneſs; the *Crocodile*, and *Sea-Horſe*, were ſacred to *Typho*; *Anubis* was ſaid to be the Dog-ſtar, and the Dog was ſacred to him; the *Serpent* or *Dragon* was conſecrated to *Nephthe*; and other ſuitable Animals, to their reſpective Gods: Nor is the Conjecture * of our learned Countryman (*a*) at all to be rejected, *viz.* That the Uſe of the *hieroglyphical* Figures of Animals might introduce this ſtrange Worſhip, which the *Egyptians*, in Proceſs of Time, came to pay them. For, as thoſe *Figures* were made choice of, according to the reſpective Properties of each Animal, to expreſs the *Qualities* and *Dignities* of the Perſons, they repreſented, which were generally their Gods, Princes, and great Men; the People became *gradually* accuſtom'd to theſe Figures, which they us'd to place in their Temples, as the Images of their Deities; and from hence, it is not abſurd to imagine, that they came at length to pay a ſuperſtitious Veneration to the living Animals themſelves.

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And the Abſurdity *thereof.*

BUT whatever might be the Reaſon or Inducements to this Kind of *Idolatry*, Nothing was ſo remarkable in the *Egyptian* Religion, as the prepoſterous Worſhip, which that Nation paid to Animals, ſuch as the Cat, the Dog, the Ibis, the Wolf, the Crocodile, and ſeveral others, which they had in high Veneration, not when they were alive only, but even after they were dead.

WHILST they were living, they had Lands ſet apart for the Maintenance of each Kind, and both Men and Women were employ'd in feeding and attending them. The Children ſucceeded their Parents in the Office, which was ſo far from being declin'd, or thought deſpicable among the *Egyptians*, that they glory'd in it as an high Honour; and, wearing certain *Badges*, to diſtinguiſh them at a Diſtance, were ſaluted by bending the Knee, and other Demonſtrations of Reſpect.

IF any Perſon kill'd any of theſe ſacred Animals *deſignedly*, he was puniſh'd with immediate Death; if *involuntarily*, his Puniſhment was referr'd to the Diſcretion of the Prieſts; but if the Creature ſlain was a *Cat*, an *Hawk*, or an *Ibis*, (whether the Thing was done with Deſign or no) † the Perſon was to die without Mercy, and ſome-

* This Conjecture the learned Author *of the Divine Legation of Moſes* abundantly confirms: For, having enumerated the ſeveral Things, that might give Occaſion to *Brute-Worſhip* among the *Egyptians*; ſuch as, 1. A grateful Senſe of the Benefits receiv'd from Animals: 2. The conſidering theſe Animals as *Symbols* of the Divine Nature: 3. The Notion of God's pervading, and being preſent in all Things: 4. The *Egyptian* Uſe of *Aſteriſms*, or denoting Conſtellations by the Name of Animals: 5. The Doctrine of *Metempſychoſis*, or human Souls tranſmigrating into the Bodies of Animals: And 6. The Invention of ſome *Egyptian* King or other, for his private Ends of Policy. All theſe Cauſes or Occaſions, I ſay, our Author having examin'd and refuted, carries the Point ſomewhat farther than the learned *Marſham*, and concludes, that *the true Original of Brute-Worſhip among the* Egyptians, *was their Uſe of ſymbolical Writing*; for which he aſſigns a further Reaſon, *viz.* That when the Uſe of writing by *Letters* (as much more commodious than the other) came generally to prevail, the Prieſts ſtill continu'd the *hieroglyphic Characters* in their Works of Science and Religion; and, as the other grew abſtruſe and obſolete to the Vulgar, to make them more ſacred, the Prieſts, in a ſhort Time, were the only Perſons that cou'd read them, and then, to make them more ſacred and myſterious, gave it out, that the Gods themſelves were the Inventors of them, which might eaſily induce a deluded People to worſhip the very Creatures (as having ſomething extraordinary in them) which their Gods had thought proper to delineate. Lib. iv.

(*a*) Sir *John Marſham*, Can. Chron. p. 38.

† *Herodotus* gives us an Inſtance of this in a *Roman*, who happening accidentally to kill a *Cat*, the Mob immediately gather'd about the Houſe, where he was, and cou'd neither, by the Entreaties of ſome principal Men ſent by the King, nor by the Fear of the *Romans*, with whom they were then negotiating a Peace, be prevail'd on to ſpare his

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ſometimes without any formal Trial or Proceſs. The extravagant Worſhip which they paid to ſome of theſe Animal Deities, (as to the Bull, at *Memphis*; the Goat, at *Mandes*; the Lion, at *Leontapolis*; † the Crocodile, at the Lake *Moëris*; and to many others, at different Places) exceeds all Belief. For, they were kept in conſecrated Encloſures, and well attended on by Men of high Rank, who, at great Expence, provided Victuals for them, which conſiſted of the greateſt Dainties. Nor was this all: For theſe Creatures were waſh'd in hot Baths, anointed with moſt precious Ointments, and perfum'd with the moſt odoriferous Scents. They lay on the richeſt Carpets, and other coſtly Furniture; and, (that they might want Nothing to make their Lives as happy as poſſible) they had the moſt beautiful Females of their ſeveral Kinds (to which they gave the Name of *Concubines*) provided for them.

When any of theſe Animals dy'd, the *Egyptians* lamented them, as if they had been their deareſt Children, and frequently laid out more than they were worth in their Burials. If a *Cat* dy'd in any Houſe, all the Family ſhav'd their Eye-brows; and if a Dog, their whole Body: And thus, putting themſelves in Mourning, they wrapp'd the dead Body up in fine Linnen, and carry'd it to be embalm'd; where, being anointed with Oil of Cedar, and other *aromatick* Preparations to keep it from Putrefaction, it was bury'd with great Solemnity in a ſacred Coffin. So true is that Reflection (*l*) of the Apoſtle, and with Regard to theſe *Egyptians* certainly it was made, that *though they knew God, yet they glorified him not as God; but changed the Glory of God into the Image of four-footed Beaſts, and his Truth into a Lye; and worſhipped and ſerved the Creature, more than the Creator, who is bleſſed for ever.* Amen. From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

Before we leave *Egypt*, the ſacred Hiſtorian ſeems to remind us to take a View of ſome of the monumental Works, that are found there, and which, having been built within the Compaſs of the Period, we are now upon, may well be preſum'd to be the Product of ſome of the *Burthens* and hard Labour, which the *Egyptian* Kings laid upon the *Iſraelites*. *Their* monumental *Works, and Structures.*

† The *Pyramids* were juſtly reckon'd one of the *Wonders* of the World, and there is more of them now remaining, than of all the other *Six*, which have been ſo much celebrated. Not far from the Place, where *Memphis* once ſtood, there are three of theſe Structures at no great Diſtance from each other; *two* of which are ſhut up, but the *Third*, which is the largeſt, and ſtands open for the Inſpection of Travellers, we ſhall here deſcribe, as a probable *Specimen* of all the reſt. *The* Pyramids.

It is ſituate on a rocky Hill (which, in a gentle and eaſy Aſcent, riſes 100 Feet) in the ſandy Deſart of *Lybia*, about a Quarter of a Mile from the Plains of *Egypt*. Its *Baſis* is generally ſuppos'd to be an exact *Square*,

Life. And (what may ſeem ſtill more incredible) it is reported, that, at a Time, when there was a Famine in *Egypt*, which drove the Inhabitants to ſuch Extremity, that they were forc'd to feed on one another, there was no one Perſon accus'd of having taſted of any of theſe *ſacred* Animals. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 3.

† The *Crocodile* ſeems to be the laſt Animal, to which Mankind cou'd be tempted to pay divine Adoration: But that this might be done with more Safety, one of theſe Creatures was train'd up to be tame, and familiar for the Purpoſe, and had his Ears adorn'd with Strings of Jewels and Gold, and his Foreſeet with Chains. He was fed with conſecrated Proviſions at the Public Charge: And when Strangers went to ſee him, (which often happen'd out of Curioſity) they alſo carry'd him a Preſent of a Cake, dreſs'd Meat, and Wine, or a Drink made with Honey, which was offer'd to him by the Prieſts; and, when he died, his Body was embalm'd, and buried in a ſacred Coffin, at *Arſinoë*. *Herodotus*, l. 2. and *Strabo*, l. 17.

(*l*) Rom. i. 21, 23, 25.

† It is a common Opinion, that the Word *Pyramid* is deriv'd from the *Greek*, *Pyr*, or *Pur*, *Fire*; and that theſe Structures were ſo call'd from their Shape, which aſcended from a broad Baſis, and ended in a Point, like a Flame of Fire. Others, whoſe Opinion *Voſſius* ſeems to approve, ſay, that the Name comes from the Word *Pyros*, which, in the ſame Language, ſignifies *Wheat*, becauſe they ſuppoſe them to have been the *Granaries* of the antient *Egyptian* Kings. But a late Writer, vers'd in the *Coptick* Tongue, has given us another *Etymology* from that Language, wherein *Pouro* ſignifies a *King*, and *Miſi*, a *Race* or *Generation*; and the Reaſon, why the *Pyramids* had this Name given them, was, as he tells us, becauſe they were erected to preſerve the Memory of the Princes (who were their Founders) and their Families. *Wilkins*'s Diſſert. de Ling. Copt. p. 108.

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Square, and every Side (according to thoſe that have been as careful, as poſſible, in its Menſuration) about 693 *Engliſh* Feet: So that the whole *Area* of it contains 480,249 ſquare Feet, or ſomething more than *eleven Acres* of Ground. Its *Altitude*, if meaſur'd by its *Perpendicular*, is 481 Feet, but, if taken according to the *Inclination* of the Pyramid, as it aſcends, it is exactly equal to a Side of its *Baſis*.

THE Aſcent to the Top of this Structure is by Degrees, or *Steps*, which run round the whole Pyramid in a *Level*, and, if the Stones were entire on every Side, wou'd make a narrow Walk. The firſt of theſe Steps is near four Feet in Height, and three in Breadth; but the higher one aſcends, they proportionably diminiſh. They are made of maſſy and poliſh'd Stone, ſo very large, that the Breadth and Depth of every Step is one ſingle Stone; but, as the Weather has, in many Places, worn theſe Steps, this Pyramid cannot be aſcended without ſome Difficulty. According to the Computation of moſt modern Travellers, the Steps are 207 or 208 in Number, which end, * on the Top, in an handſome *Platform*, cover'd with nine Stones (beſides two, that are wanting at the Corners) of 16 or 17 Feet ſquare, from whence you have a pleaſant Proſpect of *Old-Cairo*, and the adjacent Country.

ON the 16th Step, from the Bottom of this *Pyramid*, there is a Door, or Entry, of three Feet and an Half in Height, and a little leſs in Breadth, thro' which you deſcend inſenſibly, much about 76 Feet, and then come to another Paſſage, which very probably is of the ſame Dimenſions with the firſt Entrance, but is ſo choak'd up with the Sand, which the Wind blows in, that it is no eaſy Matter for a Man of any Bulk to ſqueeze himſelf through it. Having paſs'd this *Streight* however you meet with Nothing deſerving Obſervation, 'till, on the left Hand, you enter a Paſſage, which leads into a Gallery 16 Feet high, and 162 Feet long; a very ſtately Piece of Work indeed, and not inferior, either in Curioſity of Art, or Richneſs of Materials, to the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent Buildings! The Stone, of which this Gallery is built, is a white poliſh'd Marble, very evenly cut into large Tables, and jointed ſo cloſe, as hardly to be perceiv'd by the moſt curious Eye: But what adds a Grace to the whole Structure, though it makes the Paſſage the more ſlippery and difficult, is the Acclivity, or Riſing of the Aſcent, which, however, is not a little facilitated by certain Holes, made in the Floor, about ſix Hands Breadth from one another, into which a Man may ſet his Feet, whilſt he holds by a Bench of Marble, which runs all along the *Gallery*, with one Hand, and carries his Light in the other.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

AS ſoon as you come to the End of this Gallery, you enter another ſquare *Hole*, much of the ſame Dimenſions with the former, which brings you into two little Rooms, lin'd with a rich Kind of ſpeckled Marble; and thence you proceed into the *Chambers of the Tombs*, or Sepulchres, which is very large and ſpacious, 32 Feet long, 16 Feet wide, and 19 Feet *high*. This Room ſtands, as it were, in the Heart and Center of the *Pyramid*, equidiſtant from all the Sides, and almoſt in the Midſt between the *Baſis* and the Top. The Floor, the Sides, and the Roof of it are all made of vaſt and exquiſite Tables of *Thebaick* Marble, which, if they were not ſully'd with the Steam of Torches, wou'd certainly appear very bright and ſhining. From the Top to the Bottom of the Chamber, there are about ſix Ranges of this Stone, which, being all ſiz'd to an equal Height, run very gracefully round it. The Roof is flat, and conſiſts but of nine Stones, whereof ſeven, in the Middle, are each four Feet wide, and 16 Feet long, but the other two, which are at each End, appear not above 2 Feet broad a-piece, becauſe

* On this Platform *Proclus* ſuppos'd that the *Egyptian* Prieſts made their *Aſtronomical* Obſervations: But it is far from being probable, that theſe Structures were deſign'd for *Obſervatories*, and it is ſcarce to be conceiv'd, that the Prieſts wou'd take the Pains to aſcend ſo *high*, when they might make the ſame Obſervations with more Eaſe, and as much Certainty *below*, having as free and open a Proſpect of the Heavens, and over the Plains of *Egypt*, from the Rock, whereon it was built, as from the Pyramid itſelf. *Univerſal Hiſtory.*

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Christ. 1571, &c.

the other Half of them is built into the Wall. The Stones lie a-thwart, over the Breadth of the Chamber, with their Ends resting upon the Walls on each Side.

At the End of this glorious Room stands an empty Tomb, 3 Feet and an Inch wide, and 7 Feet 2 Inches long; the Stone, which it is made of, is the same with the Lining of the Room, a beauteous speckled Marble, above 5 Inches thick, and yet, being hollow within, and uncover'd at the Top, whenever it is struck, it sounds like a great Bell: Which is just such a Wonder, as the surprising *Echo*, that is heard in this Place, and, (as some Travellers tell us) will repeat the same Sound some ten or twelve Times together. The Figure of this Tomb is like an Altar, or two *Cubes* finely set together. It is cut smooth and plain, exquisitely finely polish'd, but without any Sculpture or Engraving. It is not to be doubted, but that the Tomb was plac'd here, before the Pyramid was finish'd; and one Reason for its Want of Ornaments may be what the Inhabitants of the Country tell us, *viz.* That it was built for the Sepulchre of a King, who was never bury'd in it; and the common Opinion is, that it was the same *Pharaoh*, who, by the just Judgment of God, was drown'd in the *Red-Sea*.

These are the principal Things, that have been observ'd of this *Pyramid*; only, (to give us a still fuller Idea of the Vastness of its Structure) *Pliny* has taken Care to inform us, that it was 20 Years in building; that 37,000 Men were, every Day, employ'd in the Work; and that 1800 Talents were expended upon them merely for Radishes and Onions. Which last Article may seem incredible perhaps to those, that were never in the Country; but when it is consider'd, that this is the ordinary Food of the common People, and that almost all those, who were employ'd in raising these great Piles, were Slaves and *Mercenaries*, who, besides Bread and Water, had Nothing but Radishes and Onions, there will be no Occasion, for any Surprize or Wonder at the suppos'd Largeness of this Account.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

A Building of the like Date, and not of inferior Grandeur, was the *Labyrinth*, which stood in the *Heracleotick Nome*, or Province, near the City of *Arsinoë*, and not far from the Lake *Mœris*. The Design of this Structure seems to have been both for a *Pantheon*, or universal Temple for all the Gods, that were worshipp'd in the several Places of *Egypt*; and also for a general *Convention-House*, for the States of the whole Nation to meet, and enact Laws, and determine Causes of great Importance: And therefore it is said by some, to have been built at the common Charge of the twelve Kings, who, in those Days, reign'd all at once, in *Egypt*, as a Monument of their Magnificence, and a Place for their Sepulture. *The* Labyrinth.

To this Purpose *Herodotus* (*m*) tells us, that each Province or *Nome* had, in this Building, a distinct *Hall*, where its principal Magistrates us'd to meet; that these Halls were vaulted, were surrounded with Pillars of white Stone finely polish'd, and had an equal Number of Doors, opposite to one another, *six* opening to the *North*, and *six* to the *South*, all encompass'd by the same Wall; that there were three thousand Chambers in this Edifice, fifteen hundred in the upper Part, and as many under Ground; and that he view'd every Room in the upper Part, but was not permitted by those, who kept the Palace, to go into the subterraneous Part, because the Sepulchres of the holy *Crocodiles*, and of the Kings, who built the *Labyrinth*, were there. What he saw there, *as he reports*, seem'd to surpass the Art of Man: So many Ways out, by various Passages, and infinite Returns, afforded a thousand Occasions of Wonder, as he pass'd from a spacious Hall to a Chamber, from thence to a private Closet, then again into other Passages out of the Closet, and, out of the Chambers, into more spacious Rooms; where all the Walls and Roofs were not only encrusted with Marble, but richly adorn'd likewise with Figures of Sculpture.

To

(*m*) Lib. ii.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1571, &c.

To this Deſcription of *Herodotus* others add, that this Edifice ſtood in the Midſt of an immenſe Square, ſurrounded with Buildings at a great Diſtance; that the Porch was of *Parian* Marble, and all the other Pillars of the Marble of *Syene*; that within it were the Temples of the ſeveral Deities, and Galleries, to which one aſcended by 90 Steps, adorn'd with many Columns of *Porphyry*, Images of their Gods, and Statues of their Kings, of a monſtrous Size; that the whole Edifice conſiſted of Stone, the Floors were laid with vaſt Tables, and the Roof look'd like one continu'd Field of Stone; that the Paſſages met and croſs'd one another, with ſo much Intricacy, that it was impoſſible for a Stranger to find his Way, either in or out, without a Guide; and that ſeveral of the Apartments were ſo contriv'd, that, upon opening the Doors, there was heard within a terrible Noiſe of Thunder.

SUCH was the Strength of this wonderful Building, that it withſtood, for many Ages, not only the Rage of Time, but that of the Inhabitants of *Heracleopolis*, who, worſhipping the *Ichneumon*, or *Water-Rat*, the mortal Enemy of the *Crocodile*, (which was a peculiar Deity of *Arſinoë*) bore an inconceivable Hatred to the *Labyrinth*, which was the Sepulchre, *as we ſaid*, of the ſacred *Crocodiles*, and therefore aſſaulted and demoliſh'd it, tho' * there are ſome *Remains* of it ſtill to be ſeen, which retain manifeſt Marks of its antient Splendor.

ONE Building more, ſuppos'd to be the Work of this Period, though, according to modern Accounts, it ſtill ſtands firm and entire, is the *Well* of the Patriarch *Joſeph*. It is entirely hewn out of a Rock, in a kind of an *oval*, or *oblong* Form, being eighteen Feet wide, twenty-four long, and, in the Whole, two hundred and ſeventy-ſix deep. The Depth is properly divided into two Parts, which we may call the *upper*, and the *lower* Well; and to each of theſe there is a Wheel, which being turn'd round by two Oxen in each Place, draws up the Water by a long Chain, to which are faſten'd ſeveral leathern Veſſels, that fill and empty themſelves *alternately*, as the Wheel goes round.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

Joſeph's *Well*.

TO go down to the *ſecond* Well, (as we call it) which is but 15 Feet long, and nine wide, there is a Stair-Caſe, of ſo eaſy a Deſcent, that, ſome ſay, the Oxen, which draw the Water below, are, every Day, drove down and up it; tho' others report, that they are let down, and drawn up upon a Platform. However this be, it is certain that the Stair-Caſe turns twelve Times round the Well, (for which Reaſon the *Arabs* call it *the Well of the winding Stair-Caſe*) and of theſe Turnings, ſix have eighteen Steps each, and the other ſix have nineteen, which make two hundred and twenty-two Steps in all: And, to ſecure you from falling, as you go down, you have, on the Left-Hand, the *main* Rock, and on the *Right*, ſome of the ſame Rock left,

* The Remains of this noble Structure are thus deſcrib'd by our Author. "The firſt Thing you ſee, is a large "*Portico* of Marble, facing the riſing Sun, and ſuſtain'd by four great Marble Pillars, but compos'd of ſeveral "Pieces. Three of theſe Pillars are ſtill ſtanding, but one of the middle ones is half fallen. In the Middle is a "Door, whoſe Sides and *Entablature* are very maſſy; and above is a Frize, whereon is repreſented an Head with "Wings, ſtretch'd out along the Frize, and ſeveral *Hieroglyphics* underneath. ——— Paſſing through this Portico, you "enter into a fine large Hall, above 40 Feet high, all of Marble. The Roof conſiſts of twelve Tables of Marble, "exquiſitely join'd, each 25 Feet long, and three broad, which croſs the Room from one End to the other; and, "as the Room is not arch'd, but flat, you cannot but be ſtruck with Admiration at the Boldneſs of its *Architecture*, "ſince it is ſcarce conceivable, how it cou'd continue, ſo many Ages, in a Poſition ſo improper to ſupport ſo prodi-"gious a Weight. At the End of this *Hall*, over-againſt the firſt Door, there is a ſecond *Portico*, with the ſame "Ornaments as the firſt, but leſs, by which you enter into a ſecond Hall, not ſo big as the firſt, but cover'd with "eight Stones. At the End of this Room, ſtrait forwards, there is a third *Portico*, ſtill leſs than the ſecond, as well "as the Hall into which it leads, though it has ſixteen Stones to roof it; and, at the End of this third Hall, there "is a fourth *Portico* ſet againſt the Wall, and plac'd there for *Symmetry* only, and to anſwer the reſt. The Length of "theſe three Halls, is the whole Depth of the Building, in its preſent Condition. It was on the two Sides, and "eſpecially under Ground, that the prodigious Number of Rooms and Avenues, mention'd by the *Antients*, were "built. ——— What is now remaining of it ſeems to be no more than a fourth Part of the *inner* Edifice, which, "in all Probability, had four Fronts, and twelve Halls, anſwering to them: The reſt are decay'd by Time, or de-"moliſh'd by Deſign, as appears from the prodigious Ruins, which are to be ſeen all around it." *Lucas*'s Voyages, T. II. p. 18, &c.

A. M. 2433, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1571, &c.

left, which ſerves both as a Wall to the Well on the Inſide, and on the other Side, as a Wall to the Stair-Caſe, which, at convenient Diſtances, has Windows cut in it, that convey the Light down from the Mouth of the Well.

When you go down to the lower Well (which has likewiſe a Stair-Caſe, but neither ſo wide, nor ſo deep as the other, and no *Parapet* on the Side of the Well, which makes the Deſcent dangerous) it is here that you ſee the Oxen at work, turning the Wheel, and drawing the Water from a Spring at the Bottom, about eight or nine Feet deep, which Water, paſſing through a Pipe into a large Ciſtern, is from thence drawn up again by two other Oxen, which turn the Wheel above; and ſo, from a *Reſervoir* at the Top of the Well, the Water is convey'd into all the Apartments of the Caſtle of *Grand Cairo*, which (by the bye) as *Thevenot* tells us, both for Strength and Beauty, is one of the fineſt Palaces he ever ſaw; a Work not unworthy the antient *Pharaohs* and *Ptolemys*, who built it, and what comes not behind the Pomp and Magnificence of the *Pyramids*.

There are ſome other Buildings in this Place, ſuch as *Joſeph*'s Hall, *Joſeph*'s Priſon, *Joſeph*'s Granaries, *&c.* which the Inhabitants aſcribe to that Patriarch, as they do indeed every fine Piece of Antiquity: But, as there is little or no Probability, that any of theſe came under the *Period*, we are now upon, we muſt refer the Reader, who is minded to ſatisfy his Curioſity in this Matter, (*n*) to the Authors, who have purpoſely treated of them; and ſhall only take notice farther, that the great *Selden*, in his *Arundel Marbles*, reckons the fabulous Stories of *Greece*, ſuch as the Flood of *Deucalion*, the Burning of *Phaëton*, the Rape of *Proſerpine*, the Myſteries of *Ceres*, the Story of *Europa*, the Birth of *Apollo*, and the Building of *Thebes* by *Cadmus*, together with the Fables of *Bacchus*, *Minos*, *Perſeus*, *Æſculapius*, *Mercury*, and *Hercules*, to have fallen out under this Period; and it is certain that (*o*) the learned *Spanheim* makes ſeveral ancient Kingdoms, as that of the *Argives*, the *Cretans*, the *Phrygians*, the *Ethiopians*, the *Phœnicians*, the *Midianites*, *Canaanites*, *Idumæans*, and *Nabatheans*, either to have been founded, or to have flouriſh'd in this Time. But as theſe, and other Heathen Nations, had no *Hiſtorian*, or *Chronologer* of their own, and the *Greeks*, who undertook to write for them, for Want of a certain Knowledge of their Affairs, have ſtuff'd their Accounts with the Rapes and Robberies of their Gods; we thought it more proper to *ſtop* here, than to enter into a *barren* Land, where the Country, for a long Way, lies waſte and uncultivated; or, if perchance any *Fruit* is to be ſeen, like the fam'd fictitious *Apples* about the Banks of the *Dead-Sea*, it *crumbles*, at the very firſt Touch, into *Duſt* and *Aſhes*.

From Exod. i. to Chap. xiii.

(*n*) Vide, *Della Valle*, *Thevenot*, *Le Bruyn*, *Lucas*, *Marco Grimani*, &c. Travels; and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II. (*o*) Vid. Hiſt. Vet. Teſt. Col. 310.

4

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

BIBLE.

BOOK IV.

Containing an Account of Things, from the ISRAELITES *Departure out of* EGYPT, *to their Entrance into the Land of* CANAAN. *In all forty Years.*

CHAP. I.

From their Departure, to the Building of the Tabernacle.

The HISTORY.

A. M. 2513, &c. Ant. Christ. 1491, &c.

The Israelites *set forward from* Rameses, *and arrive at* Succoth.

WHEN the *Israelites* set out from *Egypt*, they made *Rameses*, the chief City of *Goshen*, the Place of their general *Rendezvous*; and from thence, on the *fifteenth* Day of the *first* Month, they travell'd about ten or twelve Miles, to *Succoth*, where they made a Stop, and review'd their Company, which consisted of six hundred Thousand Persons, besides Children and Strangers: For Strangers of several Nations, having seen the Wonders, which were wrought for their Deliverance, left *Egypt* at the same Time, with a Purpose to accompany their Fortunes.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

WHILE the Sense of their Deliverance, and God's Judgments was fresh in their

A. M. 2513, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1491, &c.

Minds, *Moſes* was commanded to let the People know, that when they came to be ſettled in the Land of *Canaan*, the *Firſt-born*, both of Man and Beaſt, in Remembrance of God's having ſpar'd their *Firſt-born* when he deſtroy'd the *Egyptians*, ſhou'd be ſet a-part, and dedicated to him: And, as *Joſeph*, dying in the Faith of this their Deliverance, had laid an Injunction upon his Brethren, whenever they ſhou'd go from thence, to carry his Bones out of *Egypt*; ſo *Moſes* † took care to have the Coffin, wherein he had lain embalm'd for above an hundred and forty Years, not left behind.

Are thence guided by the Pillar of a Cloud (*as afterwards all along*) *to* Etham.

† FROM *Succoth* their neareſt Way to *Canaan* was certainly through the Country of the *Philiſtines*; but, for fear that a People, unaccuſtom'd to War, ſhou'd, in caſe of any Oppoſition, repent of their Deliverance, and take it into their Heads to return into *Egypt*, God order'd them to take their *Rout* along the Coaſts of the *Red-Sea*; and, for their greater Encouragement and Security, himſelf undertook to guide and direct them, both in their *Marches* and *Encampments*, by the wonderful Appearance of a *Cloud*, in the Form of a large *Column*, which ſhaded them from the Heat of the Sun by Day, and, in the Night-time, became a Pillar of Fire, or a bright Cloud, to ſupply the Sun's Abſence, and illuminate their Camp. By this Means they were enabled, upon any Occaſion, to march both Day and Night: And, under this auſpicious Guide, proceeding from *Succoth*, they came to *Etham*, (which gives Name to the Wilderneſs, on whoſe Borders it is ſituated) and there they encamp'd.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

And thence to Pi-hahiroth.

IN the mean Time, the † King of *Egypt* had Information brought him, that the

† The *Jews* tell us, that, upon the *Iſraelites* Departure out of *Egypt*, every *Tribe* took care to bring along with them the Bones of the Anceſtor of their Family: But, though they are not always to be credited in Matters of this Nature, and *Joſephus* does not ſeem to have dreamt of any ſuch Act of *filial* Piety, or elſe he wou'd, in all Probability, have recorded it; yet St *Stephen* (Acts vii. 15, 16.) ſeems to allude to ſome ſuch Tradition among them, when he tells us, that *Jacob and the Fathers went down into* Egypt, *and were carry'd over into* Sychem, *and laid in the Sepulchre, which* Abraham *had bought of the Sons of* Emmor. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

† It is ſomewhat difficult to make out the *Geography* of the Places where the *Hebrews* encamp'd, between their parting from *Rameſes*, and their Arrival at the *Red-Sea*; but the Account of thoſe who have wrote upon the Subject, is,———That though there are two Places nam'd *Rameſes*, which are a little differently *pointed*; yet are they but one and the ſame, or, at the moſt, that they differ only in this, that the one was the *Province*, and the other the *chief City* of it: That *Succoth*, not far from *Rameſes*, in the Way to the *Red-Sea*, had its Name from the Tents (for ſo the *Hebrew* Word ſignifies) which the *Iſraelites* pitch'd here, as we find, upon the like Occaſion, another Place, between *Jordan* and the Brook *Jabbock*, ſo named: That *Etham* lay on the Confines of *Egypt* and *Arabia Petræa*, not far from the *Red-Sea*, and gave the Denomination to the Wilderneſs adjacent: That *Pi-hahiroth*, which, in our *Engliſh*, and ſome other Tranſlations, is render'd as one proper Name, is by the *Septuagint* made Part of it an Appellative, ſo as to ſignify a *Mouth* (for ſo the Word *Pi* may mean) or narrow Paſſage between two Mountains, lying not far from the *weſtern Coaſt* of the *Red-Sea*: That *Magaol* was probably a *Tower* or *Caſtle* (for the Word carries that Signification in it) upon the Top of one of theſe Mountains, which might give Denomination to the City, which (as *Herodotus* informs us) lay not far diſtant from it; and that *Baal Zephon* was by ſome learned Men thought to be an *Idol* ſet up to keep the Borders of the Country, and to hinder Slaves from making their Eſcape. *Baal* indeed, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, ſignifies *Lord*, and hence the Name is generally apply'd to the *Eaſtern* Idols; and the Word *Zephon* is thought to be deriv'd from the Radix *Zapah*, to *watch* or *ſpy*; and from hence it is conjectur'd, that this *Idol* had its Temple on the Top of ſome adjacent Mountain, and that the ſacred Hiſtorian particularly takes notice of it, to ſhew how unable it was (whatever Opinion the *Egyptians* might have of it) to hinder the *Iſraelites* from going out of *Egypt*. There is but ſmall Certainty however to be gather'd from the *Etymology* of Words; and therefore the Authority of *Euſebius* ſhou'd preponderate with us, who makes it not an *Idol*, but a *Town*, ſtanding upon the *Northern* Point of the *Red Sea*, where the Ancients, eſpecially the *Jews*, think that the *Iſraelites* paſs'd it, and where there ſtands, to this Day, a *Chriſtian* Monaſtery. *Patrick*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries, his *Diſſertation* on the *Paſſage of the Red-Sea*, and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

† It is not unlikely, that ſome of the *mixt Multitude* (Exod. xii. 38.) which went along with the *Iſraelites*, obſerving this Alteration in their *Rout*, and not being able to perceive the Reaſon of it, might forſake them, and, returning to *Pharaoh*, inform him, that they had loſt their Way, and were *intangl'd* among the Mountains: Or, (what is more likely) ſome *Spies*, which *Pharaoh* had upon them, ſeeing them leave the Way to *Horeb*, where they deſir'd to go three Days Journey, in order to offer Sacrifices, concluded, that they never intended to return to *Egypt*, but were running quite away, and might therefore bring *Pharaoh* the News thereof (as we may ſuppoſe) upon the 18th Day. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2513, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1491, &c.

the *Iſraelites*, inſtead of returning to his Dominions, were attempting their Eſcape into the *Deſarts* of *Arabia*, by the *Cape* of the *Red-Sea*: And therefore grieving at the Loſs of ſo many uſeful Slaves, and ſuppoſing, that by ſpeedy Marches, he might overtake and recover them, he muſter'd up what Forces he cou'd, and, for the greater Expedition, a conſiderable Quantity of * Chariots and Horſemen, and with theſe * put himſelf upon the Purſuit. But God, who well underſtood what Meaſures were taking in *Pharaoh*'s Court, inſtead of ſuffering the *Iſraelites* to march round the Point of the † *Red-Sea*, as they probably intended, order'd them to advance along the *Coaſts* of it, until they came to *Pi-hahiroth*, which lies between *Migdol* and the Sea, and there to encamp.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

The Egyptians *purſue them.*

BY this Time *Pharaoh* and his Army were come up with them; and, when the *Iſraelites* perceiv'd themſelves hemm'd in on every Side, with the Sea in their *Front*, huge Mountains on their *Flank*, and the *Egyptian* Army in the *Rear*, they began to deſpair of any Means of Eſcape, and to clamour againſt *Moſes* for having induc'd them to leave *Egypt*, and for bringing them into the Wilderneſs to be ſacrific'd. *Moſes*, however, being appriz'd of God's Deſign, inſtead of * reſenting their Reproaches, endeavour'd to comfort them, by

* *Joſephus*, who loves to magnify Matters, when they tend to the Glory of his Countrymen, as well as conceal what wou'd occaſion their Diſgrace, tells us, that the *Egyptian* Army conſiſted of 600 Chariots, 50,000 Horſe, and 200,000 Foot: But how ſo large a Number cou'd be rais'd in ſo ſhort a Time, or what Need there was of ſo vaſt an *Armament* againſt a weak and defenceleſs People, is hardly conceivable. As therefore we may preſume, that the Haſte, which the *Egyptians* were in leſt the *Iſraelites* ſhou'd get out of the Streights, wherein they were intangl'd, or make their Eſcape ſome other Way, before they came up with them, made them purſue them with *Chariots* and *Horſemen* for the greater Expedition; ſo we may obſerve, that the Chariots, they employ'd in this Purſuit, are call'd *choſen Chariots*, which moſt Interpreters imagine to be ſuch, as were arm'd with *Scythes*, which being drawn with Horſes, and fill'd with Men, who threw Darts and Spears, and other *offenſive* Weapons from them, cou'd not but make a ſtrange Havock wherever they came; and the Number, which the Scripture mentions, under proper *Captains* who might have the Direction of them, was enough to deſtroy all the *Iſraelites*, being worn with hard Bondage, weary'd with marching, deſtitute of Arms, Strangers to War, and now encamp'd in a very diſadvantageous Situation. *Joſephus*'s Antiquities, l. 2. c. 15. *Ainſworth*'s Annotations, and *Howell*'s Hiſtory.

* "Of all the infatuated Reſolutions (to uſe the Words of the learned Dr *Jackſon*, l. 10. c. 11.) that either "King or People adventur'd on, the purſuing the *Iſraelites* with ſuch a mighty Army, after they had ſo intreated "and urg'd them to leave their Country, may well ſeem, to every indifferent Reader, the moſt ſtupid, that ever was "taken;" And ſo indeed the Author of the *Book of Wiſdom*, Chap. xix. 3. juſtly cenſures it: *For whilſt they were yet mourning*, ſays he, *and making Lamentation at the Graves of the Dead, they added another fooliſh Device, and purſued them, as Fugitives, whom they had intreated to be gone.* But how much ſoever it was, that the *Egyptians* had ſuffer'd for detaining the *Hebrews*; yet, now that they were gone, they poſſibly might be of the ſame Mind with the *Syrians* (1 Kings xx. 23) who fancy'd, that the God of *Iſrael* might not be alike powerful in all Places; or, if he was, they might nevertheleſs think, that *Moſes*'s Commiſſion extended no farther, than the *Meridian* of *Egypt*; or that if it did, it might however have no Power over mighty *Hoſts* and *Armies*. They knew, at leaſt, that the *Iſraelites*, *as we ſaid*, had no Skill in military Matters, no Captains of *Infantry*, no *Cavalry* at all, no Weapons or Engines of War; whereas they were well furniſh'd and equipp'd with every Thing of this Nature: And, upon theſe, and the like Preſumptions, it was, that they became fool-hardy, and deſperately reſolute, either to bring back the *Iſraelites* to their Slavery, or to be reveng'd upon them for all the Loſſes, they had ſuſtain'd, and the Penalties, they had ſuffer'd. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The *Red-Sea*, call'd by the Antients *Sinus Arabicus*, and now *Gulfo de Mecca*, is that Part or Branch of the *Southern* Sea, which interpoſes itſelf between *Egypt* on the *Weſt*; *Arabia-felix*, and ſome Part of *Petræa*, on the *Eaſt*; while the *northern* Bounds of it touch upon *Idumea*, or the Coaſt of *Edom*. *Edom*, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, ſignifies *Red*, and was the Nick-name given *Eſau* for ſelling his *Birth-right for a Meſs of Pottage*. The Country, which his Poſterity poſſeſs'd, was call'd after his Name, and ſo was the Sea, which adjoin'd to it; but the *Greeks*, not underſtanding the Reaſon of the Appellation, tranſlated it into their Tongue, and call'd it ἐρυθρὰ θαλάσσα; thence the *Latins*, *Mare rubrum*, and we, the *Red-Sea*. The *Hebrews* call it the Sea of *Suph* or *Flags*, by Reaſon of the great Abundance of that Kind of Weed, which grows at the Bottom of it; and the *Arabs*, at this Day, name it *Bubr el Chalzem*, i. e. the *Sea of Cluſona*, from a Town ſituate on its *weſtern* Coaſt, much about the Place, where the *Iſraelites* paſs'd over from the *Egyptian* to the *Arabian* Shore. But, as the Word *Cluſona* may denote a *drowning or overflowing with Water*, it is not improbable that the Town built in this Place, as well as this Part of the Sea, might have ſuch a Name given it, in Memory of the Fate of the *Egyptians*, who were drown'd herein. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

* The Words, which *Moſes* makes himſelf ſpeak upon this critical Occaſion (Exod. xiv. 13, 14.) diſcover a wonderful Spirit and Bravery; and it is no bad Comment, which the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian has given us of them. "Put

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by giving them Aſſurance, that God himſelf wou'd certainly *fight for them*, and by his Almighty Power bring Matters to ſuch an Iſſue, that theſe very *Egyptians*, of whom they were ſo much afraid, ſhou'd not one of them live to moleſt them any more.

With theſe comfortable Words, he order'd them to advance towards the Sea-ſide; and, as they were advancing, the miraculous *Cloud* (we were ſpeaking of) remov'd from the *Front* to the *Rear* of the *Iſraelites* Camp, and ſo turning its *dark Side* towards the *Egyptians*, made them uncapable of knowing what they were about; while, by its bright or fiery Side, which it turn'd to the *Iſraelites*, it gave them a Sufficiency of Light, and kept the two Camps from joining that Night.

They paſs the Red-Sea, *where the* Egyptians *are all loſt.*

As ſoon as the *Iſraelites* came to the Brink of the Sea, *Moſes* wav'd his ſacred Rod, and immediately a ſtrong *Eaſt-Wind* blew, and drove the Waves back from the Land, and, by dividing the Waters, which ſtood *ſuſpended*, as it were *a Wall* on each Hand, made a dry and ſafe Paſſage for the *Iſraelites*, until they had gain'd the other Shore. The *Egyptians*, in the mean while, never ſuſpecting but that they, with their Chariots and Horſemen, might ſafely follow, where they ſaw the *Iſraelites* go on Foot, enter'd after them into the Midſt of the Sea: But, about Break of Day, they began to ſee their Error, and * their whole Army in the utmoſt Confuſion. Their Chariots were ſome of them broken, others ran into Quick-ſands, and others caſt off their Carriages; ſo that, perceiving the Hand of God againſt them, they were turning about, and offering to flee, but all in vain. As ſoon as the *Iſraelites* were all landed, *Moſes*, by the divine Command, ſtretch'd out his Rod again over the Sea: Whereupon the roaring Waves break looſe from their *inviſible Chain*, and come ruſhing upon *Pharaoh* and his Army, and overwhelm them all; while the *Iſraelites*, beholding, with Wonder and Amazement, the Carcaſſes, and rich Spoils of their Enemies thrown upon the Sea-ſhore, began, at leaſt ſeemingly, to fear God, and to reverence his Servant *Moſes*; who, to celebrate this joyful Deliverance, having compos'd a *triumphant* Hymn, wherein he extols the Greatneſs of God's Power, and his amazing Mercy to his *People* diſplay'd on this Occaſion, divided the Company into two great Choirs; and, ſetting himſelf, and his Brother *Aaron*

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

" the Caſe, *ſays he*, that you had depoſited ſome great Truſt in the Hands of a Perſon, that had hitherto manag'd all " well and wiſely for you, might not you reaſonably depend upon that Man for the ſame Care and Kindneſs, and in " the ſame Caſe too over again? What a Madneſs is it for you to deſpond then, where God himſelf has taken " you under his Protection, and, of his own free Bounty, perform'd every Thing by me, that can contribute to your " Freedom and Security? Nay, the very Difficulty of the Caſe, you are in, is an Argument to inflame your Hope, " rather than diſcourage it. He hath brought you into this Diſtreſs, on Purpoſe to ſhew his Power and Kindneſs " in bringing you out again, even to the Surpriſe and Admiration of yourſelves, as well as your Enemies. It is not " God's Time to interpoſe with his almighty Power in ſmall Matters, but in great and trying Calamities: When all " Hopes of Human help fails us, that is the Seaſon for him to work out the Deliverance of thoſe, who caſt themſelves upon him. And therefore fear Nothing, ſo long as you have him for your Protector and Defender, who is " able to raiſe the Lowly and Oppreſs'd, and to lay the Honour of their Perſecutors in the Duſt. Be not afraid of " the *Egyptian* armed Troops, neither deſpond of your Lives and Safeties, becauſe you are, at preſent, lock'd up " between the Sea and the Mountains, and have no viſible Way in Nature to come off; for the God, whom you " ſerve, is able to level all theſe Mountains, and lay the Ocean dry. His Will, in fine, be done." *Joſephus*'s Antiquities, l. 2. c. 15.

* The Expreſſion in the Text is, that *God troubled the Hoſt of the* Egyptians; and, to enforce the Strength of this Expreſſion, the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian tells us, that, before God let looſe the Waves upon the *Egyptians*, fierce Winds and Tempeſts, Storms of Hail and Rain, terrible Thunderings and Lightnings, and whatever elſe cou'd make their Condition horrible, were ſent down upon them from above; and therefore it is not without good Reaſon, that theſe Words of the *Pſalmiſt* have been apply'd to this Occaſion. *The Waters ſaw thee, O God, the Waters ſaw thee, and were afraid; the Depths alſo were troubled: The Clouds poured out Water, the Air thundered, and thine Arrows went abroad. The Voice of thy Thunder was heard round about, the Lightning ſhone upon the Ground, the Earth was moved, and ſhook withal. Thy Way is in the Sea, and thy Paths, in the great Waters, and thy Footſteps are not known:* Whereupon it follows, *thou leadeſt thy People, like Sheep, by the Hand of* Moſes *and* Aaron. *Joſephus*'s Antiquities, l. 2. and Pſal. lxxvii. 16, &c.

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Aaron at the Head of the Men, and his Siſter *Miriam*, with a Timbrel in her Hand, at the Head of the Women, they ſung and play'd *alternately*, and, in the Height of their Joy, intermixed *Dances*.

The Water at Marah *made ſweet for them.*

BUT, notwithſtanding all theſe thankful Acknowledgments of God's Goodneſs, ſcarce had the *Iſraelites* travell'd three Days from the *Red-Sea* into the Wilderneſs of *Shur*, before their exceſſive Thirſt, and Want of Water, put them out of all Patience: And when, in a ſhort Time, they met with *ſome* (at a Place, which is call'd *Marah*) it prov'd ſo * bitter, that they cou'd not drink it: This Diſappointment inflam'd their Thirſt, and exaſperated their Murmurings againſt *Moſes*, 'till, by the divine Direction, he made uſe of the Wood of a certain Tree, which, as ſoon as it was thrown into the Water, chang'd its offenſive Quality, and made it ſweet.

And Manna *given them from* Heaven.

FROM *Marah* they went, and encamp'd at † *Elim*, where there were twelve Wells of Water, and a good Quantity of *Palm*, or *Date-Trees*, and here they continu'd for ſome Time. From hence they remov'd towards the Wilderneſs of *Sin*; but before they enter'd it, the ſuppos'd Scarceneſs of Proviſions made them begin to diſtruſt God, and to repent, from their very Hearts, that they had ſuffer'd themſelves to be decoy'd from the Plenty, they enjoy'd in the Land of *Egypt*, into a barren, wild *Waſte*, where they cou'd have no other Proſpect, but to die with Hunger: And therefore, to convince theſe murmuring People of his Almighty Power and Providence, God was pleas'd to inform them, that he wou'd take Care to ſupply them with Food from Heaven, which accordingly came to paſs. For, that very Evening, he caus'd † *Quails* to fall among them in ſuch great Quantities, as quite cover'd their Camp; and, on the next Morning, as ſoon as the Dew was gone, there lay, upon the Ground, a little white round Thing, much in the Shape of a *Coriander-Seed*, which when the People ſaw

From Exod. xiii to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

* The Word *Marah*, in the *Hebrew* Language, ſignifies *Bitterneſs*; and it was from the Taſte of the Waters, that the Place receiv'd its Name. That there are ſeveral Fountains of bitter Water not far from the *Red Sea*, at ſome ſmall Diſtance from the City *Arſinoë*, is atteſted by *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, and moſt modern Travellers, but then the Queſtion is, whether it was by the miraculous Power of God, or by the natural Virtue of the Wood, to which *Moſes* was directed, that theſe bitter Waters were at this Time made *ſweet?* The Author of that excellent Book, call'd *Eccleſiaſticus*, ſeems to be of the latter Opinion: For, having treated of the Honour and Eſteem due to a *Phyſician*, he adds, *the Lord has created Medicines out of the Earth, and he, that is wiſe, will not abhor them. Was not the Water made ſweet with Wood, that the Virtue thereof might be known?* Eccleſ. xxxviii. 5. But, notwithſtanding the Authority of this Writer, we have Reaſon to think, that there was no Tree in theſe Parts of this Virtue, becauſe had its Virtue once been known, there is no Queſtion to be made, but that others, as well as *Moſes*, wou'd have made Uſe of it to the ſame Purpoſe; but that the Writers, who make mention of theſe bitter Waters, wou'd have told us at the ſame Time, of a Tree, or Trees, growing hard by, which had a *Medicinal* Quality to correct the Taſte of them; but ſince we meet with nothing of this Kind, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* (a Book of modern Compoſition in Compariſon of *Moſes*'s Writings) ſpeculating in the Chapter upon the Medicines, which God had provided for Man's Uſe, offer'd this Hint purely from his own Fancy, and without any Authority for it, and conſequently we may conclude, that the Correction of the Quality of this Water is to be aſcrib'd, not ſo much to the Virtue of the Wood, as to the Power of God, who us'd it, rather as a Sign to the *Iſraelites*, than as an Inſtrument to himſelf in doing it. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. lib. 10.

† In remarking the ſeveral Stations of the *Iſraelites*, from the *Red-Sea*, until they came to the Mount *Sinai*, we muſt obſerve, that *Moſes* does not ſet down every Place, where they encamp'd (as he does in *Numbers*, Chap. xxxiii.) but only thoſe, where ſome remarkable Thing was done; that *Elim*, where they were now encamp'd, was eſteem'd a pleaſant and fruitful Place, at leaſt in Compariſon of the Deſart and barren Parts about it; and that the *Deſart of Sin*, which was their *eighth* Station, and *Rephidim* their *Tenth*, lay at equal Diſtances, in their Way to the *holy* Mountain. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

† The Word, which we render *Quail*, according to the Confeſſion of the *Jews* themſelves, is of uncertain Signification, and may denote a *Locuſt*, as well as a *Quail*: But what ſhou'd rather incline us to the latter Acceptation, is that Paſſage of the *Pſalmiſt*, (lxxviii. 27.) where he tells us, that *God rained Fleſh upon them, as thick as Duſt, and feathered Fowls, like as the Sand of the Sea*; which cannot, with any tolerable Propriety, be apply'd to *Inſects*. But here we muſt remember, that this was done in the Middle of *April*, when theſe Birds are known to fly out of *Egypt* croſs the *Red-Sea* in vaſt Quantities; ſo that the Sum of this Miracle will conſiſt, not ſo much in the prodigious Number of them, that fell in the *Iſraelites* Camp, as in God's directing them thither, and in that very Evening too, according to his Promiſe, and his Servant *Moſes*'s Prediction. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

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ſaw, they were ſtruck with Admiration, and ſaid one to another, ‡ *what is this?* And from thence they gave it the Name of *Manna.*

God's Directions concerning it.

This was the Bread, which the *Iſraelites* were to eat for the Space of forty Years, and therefore God was pleas'd to give theſe ſpecial Directions concerning it. —— That it was to be gather'd by Meaſure, an *Homer* for every Head, according to the Number of each Family; but this Direction ſome Perſons ſlighting, and gathering above the Proportion that was allow'd them, found their Quantity miraculouſly leſſen'd, while the more moderate had theirs increas'd: That it was to be gather'd freſh every Morning, and all, that was gather'd, conſum'd that ſame Day; which Precept ſome Perſons likewiſe neglecting, and keeping a Part of it until the next Morning, found that it was putrify'd and ſtunk: That, on the *ſeventh* Day, (which was the † *Sabbath*) there was none to be found; and therefore, on the *ſixth*, they were to gather a *double* Portion, which being laid up, according to God's Direction, againſt the enſuing Day, was never once known to corrupt: And that, to perpetuate the Memory of this † miraculous Bread, wherewith God had fed their Forefathers in the Wilderneſs ſo long, an *Homer* of it ſhou'd be put up in a Pot, and repoſited in the *Ark of the Covenant* within the *Sanctuary.*

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

They murmur again for Want of Water, and are miraculouſly ſupply'd.

From the Deſart of *Sin* the *Iſraelites* had not advanc'd many Days Journey towards *Horeb*, 'till, coming to *Rephidim*, and finding no Water there, they fell into their old Way of diſtruſting God's Providence, and murmuring againſt *Moſes*; but on this Occaſion, they ſeem'd to be more mutinous and deſperate than ever. It was in vain for *Moſes* to endeavour to perſuade them to be patient a little, and wait God's Leiſure. His Words did but inflame, and carry them to ſuch an Height of Rage, that they even threaten'd to ſtone him; ſo that he was forc'd to have Recourſe to God, who

‡ Our Tranſlation, and ſome others, make *Moſes* fall into a plain Contradiction, in relating this Story of the *Manna*, which they render thus; *And when the Children of* Iſrael *ſaw it, they ſaid one to another, it is* Manna, *for they wiſt not what it was*, Exod. xvi. 15. whereas the *Septuagint*, and ſeveral Authors, both antient and modern, have tranſlated the Text according to the Original, *The* Iſraelites *ſeeing this, ſaid one to another, what is this? For they knew not what it was:* For we muſt obſerve, that the Word, by which they aſk'd (*what is this?*) was, in their Language, *Man*, which ſignifies likewiſe *Meat ready prepared*; and therefore it was always afterwards call'd *Man*, or *Manna*. Various are the Conceits, which the *Jewiſh* Writers have entertain'd concerning the Taſte of this *Manna*, and ſome of them not unlikely have been borrow'd from the Author of the Book of *Wiſdom*, where he tells us of *Manna*, *that it was able to content every Man's Delight, agreeing to every Taſte, and attempering itſelf to every Man's Liking*, Wiſd. xvi. 20, 21. Whereupon ſome have affirm'd, that it had the *Taſte* of any Sort of Fiſh or Fowl, according to the Wiſh of him that eat it, but theſe are idle Fancies; what we know of Certainty is this, —— That, here in *Exodus*, *Moſes* tells us, that its *Taſte was like Wafers made with Honey*, and in *Numbers*, he ſays, that the Cakes made of it had the *Taſte of freſh Oil*, Chap. xi. 8. ſo that we may conjecture, that it had a Sweetneſs, when gather'd, which evaporated in the grinding, and baking. It taſted like *Honey*, when taken off the Ground, but the Cakes made of it were as Cakes of Bread kneaded with *Oil*. Eſſay for a new Tranſlation, and *Shuckford*'s Connect. Vol. III. l. 10.

† This ſeems to be the firſt Time, that the *Reſt on the ſeventh Day* was ſolemnly appointed. God indeed, from the very firſt, intended to preſerve the Memory of the *Creation* in ſix Days, by appointing the *ſeventh Day* to be kept holy; but when, before the Flood, Men grew ſo wicked, as to neglect the Thoughts of God, they very little regarded the Diſtinction between this Day and others; and, after the Flood, the Diſperſion of Mankind very much blotted it out of their Minds, as it did many other good Things. In the Family of *Abraham*, we may preſume, the Remembrance of it was preſerv'd, though not with ſuch a ſtrict Abſtinence from all Labour, as was afterwards injoin'd; and therefore we read nothing of their reſting from their Travels upon that Day, before their coming out of *Egypt*. The Truth is, they were kept under ſuch ſevere Servitude, and Day and Night ſo preſs'd by their Taſk-maſters to hard Labour without Intermiſſion, that all Obſervation of the *Sabbath* was, very likely, laid aſide; but when God brought them out of Slavery, he renew'd his Commandment for it, with this Addition (in Memory of the *Egyptian* Bondage) that they ſhou'd reſt from all Manner of Labour upon that Day. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Whether this *Manna* had thoſe extraordinary Qualities in it or no, which ſome imagine, it muſt be allow'd to be truly *miraculous* upon the following Accounts: 1. That it fell but ſix Days in the Week. 2. That it fell in ſuch a prodigious Quantity, as ſuſtain'd almoſt three Millions of Souls. 3. That there fell a double Quantity every *Friday*, to ſerve them for the next Day, which was their *Sabbath*. 4. That what was gather'd on the firſt five Days ſtunk, and bred Worms, if kept above one Day, but that which was gather'd on *Friday*, kept ſweet for two Days. And laſtly, That it continu'd falling while the *Iſraelites* abode in the Wilderneſs, but ceas'd as ſoon as they came out of it, and had got Corn to eat in the Land of *Canaan*. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 1. c. 7.

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who was ſoon pleas'd to diſſipate his Fears by promiſing to ſignalize that Place by a miraculous Supply of Water, as he had lately done another by a miraculous Supply of *Food*. Taking therefore the Elders of the People (who might bear Teſtimony to the Fact) along with him, *Moſes*, as he was commanded by God, went to a certain *Rock* on the Side of Mount *Horeb*, (which was diſtinguiſh'd from all the reſt by the divine Appearance reſting upon it) and no ſooner had he ſmitten it with his Rod, but Water in Abundance guſh'd out at ſeveral Places, and, joining in one common Stream, † ran down to the Camp at *Rephidim*. This *Station* however, becauſe it was ſo infamous for the Mutiny of the People, and their Diſtruſt of God, *Moſes* (as a Caution and Remembrance to them for the future) thought proper to have call'd *Maſſah*, and *Meribah*, which ſignify *Temptation* and *Contention*.

They defeat the Amalekites.

WHILE the *Iſraelites* continu'd at *Rephidim*, they were alarm'd by the Approach of an Army of *Amalekites*, who were juſt upon their Heels, and ready to fall upon them. Hereupon *Moſes* order'd *Joſhua*, a valiant young Man who was always about him, to draw out a Party of the choiceſt Men in the Camp, againſt next Morning, and to give the *Amalekites* Battle. When the next Morning came, *Moſes*, attended by *Aaron* and *Hur*, went to the Top of an *Eminence*, from whence they might have a View of the Field of Battle; and, as the two Armies were engag'd, ſo it was, that while *Moſes* held up his Hands to God in Prayer, and in one of them his wonder-working Rod, the *Iſraelites* prevail'd; but when, through Wearineſs, his Hands began to drop, the *Amalekites* had the better; which *Aaron* and *Hur* perceiving, ſet him down upon a Stone, and ſupported his Hands on each Side, until the going down of the Sun, in which Time the *Amalekites* were quite routed, and put to the Sword.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

THIS good Succeſs, in their firſt *martial* Enterprize, gave the *Iſraelites* great Encouragement; and the Action indeed was ſo very remarkable, that, to tranſmit it to Poſterity, *Moſes* was order'd to record it in a Book, for *Joſhua*'s future Inſtructions, and to offer a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving: Whereupon he rais'd, upon the Spot, an Altar, which he call'd *Jehovah Niſſi, the Lord is my Banner*, as never doubting, but that God, who had commanded him to denounce † inceſſant War againſt the *Amalekites*, wou'd not fail to crown it with Succeſs.

THE

† It was this ſame Water which ſerv'd the *Iſraelites*, not only in this Encampment of *Rephidim*, and in that of Mount *Sinai*, but in their other Encampments likewiſe, perhaps as far as *Cadiſh Barnea*. For the *Jews* have a Tradition, that, as theſe Waters were granted for the Sake of the Merits of *Miriam*, *Moſes*'s Siſter; ſo they happen'd to fail, as ſoon as ſhe dy'd; and hence it is, that, at the Encampment of *Cadiſh Barnea*, which was ſoon after the Death of *Miriam*, we find the People falling into Murmurings again for Want of Water. St *Paul*, ſpeaking of this miraculous Rock, which he makes the Type of *Jeſus Chriſt*, tells us, that *it followed them*, 1 Cor. x. 4. And from hence ſome have inferr'd, either that the Streams, which guſh'd out of the Rock, form'd themſelves into a Kind of River, which follow'd them through all their Encampments, or that they carry'd the Rock itſelf in a Cart, like a great Tun always full, and always open to thoſe that had an Inclination to drink. But theſe are idle Fictions, drawn from Words, that are not to be underſtood in a literal Senſe; what we may learn of Certainty from modern Travellers is, ——— That, at the Foot of the Mount *Horeb*, there is ſtill to be ſeen a Brook of Water, but as for the Rock itſelf, which is a vaſt large Stone ſtanding ſeparate by itſelf, there is no Water, that now runs from it, though there are, at preſent, to be ſeen twelve Holes, or Mouths, as it were, from whence the Water did flow heretofore. *Calmet's* Dictionary, under the Word *Rephidim*, and *Morizan*'s Voyages, l. 1. c. 1.

† The *Amalekites* were a People deſcended from *Amalek*, the Son of *Eliphaz*, the Son of *Eſau*, by a Concubine, *Gen.* xxxvi. 12. And the Ground of their Enmity againſt the *Iſraelites* is generally ſuppos'd to have been an innate Hatred, from the Remembrance of *Jacob*'s depriving their Progenitor both of his *Birth-right* and *Bleſſing*. Their falling upon them however, and that without any Provocation, when they ſaw them reduc'd to ſo low a Condition by the Fatigue of their March, and the exceſſive Drought, they labour'd under, was an inhuman Action, and juſtly deſerv'd the Defeat, which *Joſhua* gave them: But then the Reaſon, why God thought fit to denounce a perpetual War againſt them, is to be reſolv'd into this, ——— That, knowing the *Iſraelites* were pre-ordain'd by God to be put in Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*, they came againſt them with an armed Force, in Hopes of fruſtrating the Deſigns of Providence concerning them. And this is the Reaſon, which *Moſes* himſelf aſſigns for this Declaration of

War;

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Jethro *viſits* Moſes, *and adviſes him to appoint* Deputies *under him.*

The Defeat of the *Amalekites* open'd a Way for the *Iſraelites* to Mount *Sinai*, where God at firſt appear'd to *Moſes* in the *Burning-Buſh*, and not far from the Place, where his Father-in-law *Jethro* dwelt; † who, having heard what mighty Things God had done for him, and the People he conducted, took his Daughter *Zipporah*, *Moſes*'s Wife, and the two Sons *Gerſhom*, and *Eliezar*, which he had by her, and brought them with him to the *Iſraelitiſh* Camp: Where, after mutual Salutations and Embraces, *Moſes* entertain'd him with a particular Account of every Thing, that had befallen him, during his Abſence; and, in Return, *Jethro*, who was a devout Man, offer'd up ſolemn Praiſes to God, and join'd with *Moſes*, and the reſt of the *Elders of Iſrael*, in Sacrifices, and ſuch holy Rejoicings, as were thought proper upon this Occaſion.

While *Jethro* ſtay'd in the Camp, he cou'd not but perceive the great Weight of Buſineſs, in hearing Complaints, and determining Differences among ſo numerous a People, which *Moſes* muſt neceſſarily labour under; and therefore he gave him Advice, to ſubſtitute under him a certain Number of Officers, Men of Parts, and Men of Courage, ſuch as *fear'd God*, and *hated Covetouſneſs*, to be Rulers, ſome over *Thouſands*, ſome over *Hundreds*, ſome over *Fifties*, and ſome over *Tens*, with proper Authority, for them to hear, and determine † all ſuch Matters, as they were able, but where Cauſes were too difficult for their Deciſion, theſe to refer to him; which, in the Event, *as he told him*, wou'd prove a great Eaſe and Advantage both to himſelf, and the People: And this Advice of his as ſoon as he ſaw put in Execution, *Jethro* took leave of his *Son-in-Law*, and return'd into his own Country.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

It

War; *becauſe his*, (i. e. *Amalek's*) *Hand is againſt the Throne of God*, (i. e. againſt God himſelf) *therefore the Lord will wage War againſt him from one Generation to another*, Exod. xvii. 16. The Injury done the *Iſraelites* was not ſo much, as the Affront offer'd to the divine *Majeſty*, and therefore God threatens utterly to extirpate the Deſigners of it. Univerſal Hiſtory, l. 2. c. 7. and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† When it was, that *Jethro* came from *Midian* to viſit his Son-in-law *Moſes*, whether immediately after the Fight with the *Amalekites*, as it is here ſet down, or ſome Time after, when the *Iſraelites* were better ſettled, is a Matter much controverted amongſt Interpreters. The *Jews* are generally agreed, and to them do ſome other great Names (as well as the learned *Uſher* and *Selden*) aſſent, that this Viſit happen'd after the Promulgation of the Law, in the firſt Year of their coming from *Egypt*, and in the Month *Tiſri* (ſay the *Jews*) above three Months after God gave *Moſes* the *ſecond* Tables; though others will have it to have been in the ſecond Year. It ſeems reaſonable to think however, that *Jethro* wou'd take the firſt Opportunity to viſit *Moſes*, and to bring him and ſo near Relations together, when once he had heard the News of their Departure from *Egypt*, and paſſing the *Red Sea*; which he (as a Borderer upon the Wilderneſs) cou'd not long be a Stranger to. It is to be obſerv'd farther, that, had the Law been given before *Jethro*'s Arrival in the *Iſraelitiſh* Camp, *Moſes* cou'd hardly have eſcap'd ſaying ſomething of the moſt remarkable Paſſage of all others, God's glorious Appearance upon Mount *Sinai*, and the *Decalogue*, which he pronounc'd from thence: Whereas, all that he relates at this Meeting, is, what God had done to *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*; in what Manner he *had deliver'd his People*; and *what Travail had come upon them by the Way*, which comprehend their Paſſage of the *Red Sea*, their Want of Water and Bread, their Engagement with the *Amalekites*, and, in ſhort, whatever we read in the foregoing Chapters. But of the moſt momentous Thing of all, we find him making no mention, nor *Jethro*, in the Congratulations which he gives him, taking any Manner of Notice; which we can hardly ſuppoſe wou'd, on either Side, have been omitted, had they been *prior* to this Interview; nor can we conceive, for which Reaſon *Moſes* ſhou'd place the Account of this Interview in immediate Succeſſion, had it not follow'd the Fight with the *Amalekites*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The Words of the Text are, *Every great Matter they ſhall bring to thee, but every ſmall Matter they ſhall judge*, Exod. xviii. 22. And from hence ſome have imagin'd, that there were ſeveral Sorts of Cauſes, that might not, at firſt, be brought before inferior Courts, and theſe they make to be four. 1. All *ſacred* Matters, or Things relating to God and Religion. 2. All Matters of *Equity*, where the Rigour of the Law was to be mitigated. 3. All *capital* Caſes: And laſtly, all ſuch Caſes, as the *Rulers of Thouſands* referr'd to *Moſes*. What the other Rulers referr'd to him was indeed properly under his Cognizance, becauſe it ſuppos'd an Incapacity in them, either for the Want of ſome Law, or a Non-agreement among themſelves, to determine it; but, where nothing of this happen'd, they had a full Power to judge finally. Neither was it the People (when a Cauſe was thought intricate) that were to bring it *primarily* before *Moſes*, but, when any ſuch Difficulty aroſe, as they were not able to ſurmount, the *Judges* (as *Moſes* himſelf directs them, *Deut.* i. 17.) were the Perſons, that were to order the Appeal to him. *Bring it to me*, ſays he, *and I will hear it*; which ſhews, that the Cauſe had been before the Bar of inferior Courts before, only they were not ſkilful enough to determine it. So that the Words in the Text do not intimate, that there were ſome Cauſes, which the other Judges might not try, if they were able; but only, where the *Cauſes were hard*, and they incompetent to decide them, theſe they were to refer to *Moſes*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

3

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IT was three Months after their Departure out of *Egypt*, when the *Iſraelites* came, and encamp'd in the Wilderneſs of *Sinai*, before the Mount of God: And, they had not been long there, before God call'd *Moſes* to come up to him on the Mount, and there charg'd him to remind the *Iſraelites* of the many Wonders he had wrought in their Favour; and that, (notwithſtanding their frequent Murmurings, and Diſtruſt of his Providence,) if, for the future, they wou'd become obedient to his Laws, he wou'd ſtill look upon them as his peculiar People, a favourite Nation, and a *Royal Prieſthood*,

God pronounces the Ten Commandments *from Mount* Sinai.

UPON his Deſcent from the Mount, *Moſes* made a Report to the *Elders*, and they to the People, of the gracious Meſſage, which God had ſent them; which as ſoon as the People heard, they promis'd, in Return, all poſſible Obedience to the divine Commands. With this Anſwer of the People's *Moſes* aſcended the Mountain again, and receiv'd a Command from God, that all the People ſhou'd purify themſelves, and be in Readineſs againſt the *third Day*; for that, within three Days, ‖ he wou'd come down upon the Mountain, and make a Covenant with them. In the mean Time he gave him ſtrict Charge to ſet Boundaries about the Foot of the Mountain, which none might adventure to paſs, under the ſevereſt Penalties: And when he had thus done, and the People had prepar'd themſelves, according to the divine Injunction, on the third Day, they ſaw, early in the Morning, the Mountain ſurrounded with a thick Cloud, out of which proceeded ſuch terrible Thunder and Lightnings, as fill'd them with Horror and Amazement. From Exod. xxi. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

THE Signal, for the People to approach the Mountain, was upon the firſt Sounding of the Trumpet; and therefore, as ſoon as it began, *Moſes* brought them out of the Camp, as near to the Mountain, as the Barrier wou'd permit, and there they obſerv'd the whole Top of *Sinai* cover'd with Fire and Smoak, while the Foundations of it ſeem'd to tremble and ſhake under them. * In the Midſt of this dreadful Scene, the Trumpet was heard to

‖ It muſt be obſerv'd here, as alſo in other Places of the like Nature, that the Scripture, ſuiting itſelf to Man's common Way of Speaking and Thinking, aſſigns ſuch Things to God, as are only proper to the *Effects*. Thus it is ſaid, that God *deſcended on the Mountain*, becauſe he made his Preſence more viſible there by ſenſible and ſurpriſing Effects: And whereas it is ſaid by the *Protomartyr*, St *Stephen*, (Acts vii. 53.) *that the* Jews *received the Law by the Diſpoſition of Angels*, and by St *Paul* to the *Galatians*, iii. 19. *that the Law was ordained by Angels in the Hand of a Mediator*, there is in theſe, and the like Paſſages, no Contradiction between the *New* and *Old Teſtament*, which aſſigns all this Diſpenſation to God himſelf. For, though it was God, who deſcended (in the Senſe we have explain'd it) upon the Mount, yet the Angels, theſe Courtiers of Heaven, attended him, and made up his Train: and though he himſelf pronounc'd the Law, yet the Thunder, and Lightnings, and Noiſe reſembling the Sounding of a Trumpet, which were preparatory to ſuch Pronunciation, may not improperly be aſcrib'd to the Miniſtry of Angels. The Intent, however, of thoſe Paſſages in the *New Teſtament* is only to oppoſe the *Goſpel* to the *Law* in this Reſpect, *viz.* that, when God gave the *Law*, he was ſurrounded with an awful Hoſt of *Angels*, but when our Lord deliver'd the *Goſpel*, he was cloath'd in our Fleſh, and adapted himſelf to our Weakneſs. *Howell's* Hiſtory of the Bible, and *Millar's* Church Hiſtory.

* Of all the Deſcriptions, that I ever read, there is no one ſeems to me ſo awful and tremendous, as this *Deſcent* of God upon Mount *Horeb*, and the amazing *Phænomena*, that attended it. The Pomp pretended to by *Pagan* Deities, even when ſet off with the Grandeur of Poetry, and the Magic of Numbers, is uncouth, ridiculous, and profane. The Proceſſion of *Bacchus*, as it is deſcrib'd by *Ovid*, (Lib. iii.) is neither more nor leſs, than a downright *drunken Riot*, or the brutal Paſtime of a *diſorderly Country-Wake*. The boiſterous Expedition of *Neptune*, even as it is painted by the great Maſter, *Homer*, (Iliad. xiii.) ſeems to repreſent nothing more auguſt, than the Roaring of *London-Bridge*, or a Rabble of Sea-Monſters friſking in a Storm: Nay, that very famous Speech of *Jupiter*, (Iliad. xviii.) where he maintains his *Supereminence*, by *ſhaking* Olympus *with his Imperial Nod*, and *menacing* his refractory *Offspring*, in Caſe they ſhou'd *rebel*, tho' it certainly be embelliſh'd with the utmoſt Force of Words, and Stretch of Art, is, at the beſt, but a *lame* and *imperfect Copy*, in the main Strokes of it, from the native Majeſty of this unlabour'd Proſe, in the xixth Chapter of *Exodus*. It muſt be own'd however, that our *Engliſh* Poet *Milton* has, in ſeveral Places, deſcrib'd the uſual Diſplay of the Divine Majeſty in a very magnificent Manner.

——— Clouds began
To darken all the Hill, and Smoak to rowl
In duſky Wreaths, reluctant Flames, the Sight
Of Wrath awak'd: Nor with leſs Dread the Loud

Ethereal

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to sound louder and louder, Claps of Thunder, and Flashes of Fire were more and more ingeminated; 'till, all on a sudden, every Thing was hush and silent, and then God was heard, from the Midst of the Fire and Smoak, (which still continu'd) to pronounce the Law of the *Decalogue*, or * Ten Commandments, which is indeed a compleat *System* of the *moral* Part of the *Jewish* Institutes, and in few, but significant Words, comprehends their Duty to God, to their Neighbour, and to Themselves.

In the mean Time the People, astonish'd at what they saw and heard, remov'd farther off, and, as soon as the divine Voice had ceas'd speaking, came to *Moses*, and, in the Height of their Fear and Surprize, besought of him, that, for the future, he wou'd speak to them in God's Stead, and whatever he enjoin'd them they wou'd obey, because they were conscious, that were they to hear his dreadful Voice again, they shou'd certainly die with Horror and Astonishment. This Motion, as it bespake their Reverence and Respect, was not displeasing to *Moses*; and therefore he assur'd them, that all this wonderful Scene was not exhibited to them with a Design to create in them any *slavish* Fear, but a *filial* Confidence, and Submission to such Laws, as the divine Wisdom shou'd hereafter think fit to enjoin them: And, with these Words, he went up to the Mount again, where, (in Addition to the *Decalogue*) he receiv'd from God several other Laws, both *ceremonial* and *political*, which seem to have been calculated with a wise Design to preserve the People in their Obedience to God, to prevent their Intermixture with other Nations, and to advance the Welfare of their *Commonwealth*, by securing to all the *Members* of it a quiet Enjoyment of their *Lives* and *Properties*.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

Gives the Israelites *other Precepts, and makes a Covenant with them.*

When this Body of Laws, which were all that God, for the present, thought fit to enjoin, *Moses* returning from the Mount, erected an Altar to God, and offer'd Burnt-Sacrifices and Peace-Offerings upon it; and, having caus'd the Contents of this new Covenant to be read to all the People, and exacted a solemn Promise from them, that they wou'd keep it faithfully, he confirm'd this Covenant, by sprinkling the Altar, the Book, and the People with the Blood of the *Victims*, which were slain upon this Occasion; and then order'd twelve *Pillars* to be rais'd, according to the Number of the twelve Tribes, as a standing Monument of this Alliance between God and them.

As soon as *Moses* had made an End of this Ceremony, he took *Nadab*, *Abihu*, and seventy of the Elders of *Israel* some Part of the Way towards the Mountain, where, (without incurring any Hurt) they were vouchsaf'd a Prospect of the divine Presence,

Ethereal Trumpet from on high 'gan blow,
At which Command, the Powers Militant,
That stood for Heaven, in mighty *Quadrate* join'd
Of Union irresistable, mov'd on
In Silence their bright Legions, to the Sound
Of instrumental Harmony. ———
Again, He on his impious Foes right onward drove,
Gloomy as Night: Under his burning Wheels
The stedfast *Empyrean* shook throughout,
All but the Throne of God. ———
And again, He ended, and the Sun gave Signal high
To the bright Minister, that watch'd: He blew
His Trumpet, heard on *Oreb*, since perhaps
When God descended, and perhaps once more
To sound the general Doom. ——— *Paradise Lost*, Lib. vi. and xi.

* These Ten *Commandments*, as contain'd in the xxth Chapter of *Exodus*, are so very well known, that there is no Occasion here for the Repetition of them: And in what Manner they are to be dispos'd of in the two *Tables*; whether *four* are to be plac'd in the *first*, and *six* in the *second* Table (which is the common Distribution) or an *equal* Number is to be appropriated to each Table (as *Philo*, and his Followers among the *Jewish Rabbins* contend) is not a Question of Moment enough to be discuss'd in this Place.

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Presence, and where, having committed the Care of the People to them, he took *Joshua* along with him, and went up higher to the Top of the Mount, where he continu'd for the Space of forty Days.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

Moses receives Instructions concerning the Tabernacle, &c.

HERE it was that God, calling him nearer to himself, and into the Cloud, where he then resided, instructed him in what Manner the Tent, or *Tabernacle*, wherein he intended to be worshipp'd, was to be made. He describ'd to him the Form of the *Sanctuary*, the Table for the *Shew-bread*, the Altar of *Frankincense*, the Altar for *Burnt-Offerings*, the Court of the *Tabernacle*, the Bason to wash in, the Ark, the Candlestick, and all the other sacred Utensils. He gave him the Form of the sacerdotal Vestments, and taught him how the Priests were to be consecrated; what Part of the Oblation they were to take, and in what Manner the perpetual Sacrifice was to be offer'd. He nam'd the two chief Men, *Bezaleel*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, and *Aholiab*, of the Tribe of *Dan*, who were to be the Builders of the Tabernacle; and, having recommended a strict Observation of the *Sabbath*, he gave him the two ‖ Tables of Stone, wherein, with his own Hand, at least by his own Direction, were written the Ten great Commandments, which were the Sum and Substance of the *moral* Law.

The People in the mean Time make them a Golden Calf.

WHILE *Moses* was conversing with God on the Mount, and *Joshua* waiting for his Return, the People in the Camp, who, by Reason of his long Absence, began now to give him over for lost, assembled themselves in a riotous Manner about *Aaron*'s Tent, and demanded of him to make them some Gods to go before them. The Demand was astonishing, and such was his Weakness, and Want of Courage, that, instead of expostulating the Matter with them, he tamely submitted to their Request; nay, he contributed not a little to their *Idolatry*, by ordering them to bring him a sufficient Quantity of their golden Ornaments, which, when he receiv'd from them, ‡ he tied *in a Bag*, and thereof made

‖ Who was the first Inventor of Letters, and what Nation had the Invention soonest amongst them, is variously disputed by the Learned. The Invention seems to be a little too exquisite, to have proceeded from Man; and therefore we have, not without Reason, (page 206.) deriv'd its Original from God himself, who might teach it *Adam*, and *Adam* his Posterity. As to particular Nations however, some say that the *Phœnicians*, others the *Ethiopians*, and others again that the *Assyrians* had the first Invention of them: but, upon better Grounds, it is thought by *Eusebius*, (in his *Prepar. Evang.* l. 18.) that *Moses* first taught the Use of Letters to the *Jews*, and that the *Phœnicians* learnt them from them, and the *Grecians* from the *Phœnicians*. The *Matter*, whereon Men wrote, in ruder Times, was different; some, on the Rinds of Trees, others on Tiles, and others on Tables, which last was chiefly in Use among the *Jews*; and probably from this Example given them by God. The *Instrument*, wherewith they wrote, was not a Pen, but a Kind of *Engraver*, made of Iron or Steel, call'd a *Stylus*, which was sharp at one End, for the more convenient indenting, or carving the Character, and broad at the other, for the Purpose of scraping it out. To perpetuate the Memory of any Thing, the Custom of Writing on Stone or Brick was certainly very antient, and (as *Josephus*, in the Case of *Seth*'s Pillars, tells us, Antiq. l. 11.) elder than the Time of the Flood. The Words of the *Decalogue*, spoken by God himself, were such, as deserv'd to be had in everlasting Remembrance; and therefore God was willing to have them engrav'd upon durable Matter; but then the Question is, Whether it was God himself, with *his own Finger*, as we say, or some other Person, from God's Mouth, who wrote them. In *Exodus* xxxiv. 27, 28. we are told, that *the Lord said unto* Moses, *write thou these Words; for, after the Tenour of these Words, have I made a Covenant with thee, and with* Israel: and that, accordingly, *he wrote upon the Tables the Words of the Covenant, even the Ten Commandments.* Now since it is a common Form of Speech, that what a Superior commands to be done, that he does himself; the Meaning can be no more, than that the Words of the *Decalogue* were written by the Hand of *Moses*, but by the Direction and Dictation of God. *Howell*'s, and the Universal History.

‡ The Words in the Text are these ——— *All the People brake off the golden Ear-rings, which were in their Ears, and brought them unto* Aaron, *and he received them at their Hands, and fashioned it with a Graving Tool, after he had made it into a molten Calf*, Exod. xxxii. 3, 4. But here seems to be a great Mistake in most Versions, as well as *our own*, and what but few Criticks and Expositors have yet espied. For it may very well be ask'd, who taught *Aaron* to engrave, or how cou'd this *Idol* be engraven so soon, since it is said, that *Aaron* presented it to the People on *the Morrow?* If the Custom of engraving molten Work was then known, how comes it, that we hear nothing of it even in *Solomon*'s Time, since it may be presum'd, that the Furniture of *Solomon*'s Temple was wrought with much more Art, than the Figure of *Aaron*'s Calf? The whole Foundation of this Mistake seems to lie in the Ambiguity of the *Hebrew* Word *Tsour*, which sometimes signifies to *fashion*, and sometimes to *bind* or *tie*, and of the Word *Cheresh*, which signifies a *Graving Tool*, and sometimes a *Sack*, or *Bag*, 2 Kings v. 23. And therefore the Nature and Circumstances

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made them a molten Calf. Nor was this all, for seeing them so highly delighted with their new-made God, he set it upon a Pedestal, in full Sight of the Camp, built an Altar before it, and appointed the next Day for a solemn Festival, which was begun with offering of Sacrifices to it, and concluded with Feasting, and Dancing, and all † Kinds of *noisy* Mirth.

God's feeding within Heaven.

GOD, in the mean Time, who knew what had pass'd in the Camp, acquainted his Servant *Moses*, that the People, whom *he had brought out of* Egypt, had so soon forgot their Promises and Engagements, that, at that very Time, they had made them a *molten* Image, and were worshipping a *Golden Calf*; a Defection so provoking, that he threaten'd to extirpate the whole Nation of them, but, at the same Time, promis'd to make him the Father and Founder of a Nation, as numerous, and more powerful than these ungrateful Rebels were. But so far was *Moses* from seeking his own Interest in their Destruction, that he threw himself at the Feet of the Lord, and interceded for their Pardon with so much Importunity, that, having obtain'd a kind of Promise of it, he took the Tables, and his Servant *Joshua* with him, and so hasten'd down from the Mount.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

AS soon as they were come to the Bottom, *Joshua* hearing the Noise, which the People were making, express'd his Apprehensions, that possibly there might be some *Alarm*, or *Engagement* in the Camp; but *Moses*, who knew what had happen'd, told him, that the Noise seem'd to be an Indication of *Joy*, rather than of *War*; and, as they drew near, and saw the *Golden Calf*, and the People singing and dancing about it, *Moses*, for Indignation, throwing down the *Tables* he had in his Hands, brake them in Pieces; and then, taking the *Idol-Calf*, he put it in the Fire, and melted it, and so † reducing it to Powder, and mixing the Powder in Water, (to make them more sensible of their Folly in worshipping That for a God, which was to pass through their Bodies) he made them drink it up.

Moses's just Concern, and Revenge upon the Ring-leaders.

AFTER this, *Aaron* was call'd to give an Account, how he came to indulge the People in this idolatrous Humour; but all the Excuse, that he cou'd make, turn'd upon their *tumultuous*, and his *timorous* Temper,

stances of the Thing here spoken of might have directed the Translators to think of putting the great Quantity of Ear-rings, which were brought to *Aaron*, *into a Bag*; which wou'd have prevented the Incongruity, that the *Geneva* Version has incurr'd, of engraving the *Calf*, before it was molted: for so it runs, *he fashioned the Ear-rings with a Graving-tool, and made a molten Calf of them*. Essay for a new Translation.

† The Words in the Text are, (Exod. xxxii. 6.) *the People sat down to eat, and to drink, and rose up to play*; and from hence some have suppos'd their Sense to be, that, after the *Israelites* had eaten of the Sacrifices offer'd to this new *Idol*, and drank very plentifully, they committed *Fornication*, after the Manner of *Heathen* Worshippers, and, as in After-Ages, they were induc'd to do in the Case of *Baal-peor*, Numb. xxv. 1, 2. It cannot be deny'd indeed, but that whole *sacrifical* Feasts, among the *Heathens*, were usually attended with Drunkenness and Lasciviousness, which generally go together: and that the Word, which we render *play*, is the same which *Potiphar*'s Wife makes use of, when she tells her Husband, that his *Hebrew* Slave came in to *mock her*, i. e. to violate her Chastity; but since there is no Intimation of this in the Story, but only of *their singing* and *dancing*, it is hardly presumable, that they cou'd become so very profligate, the very first Day of their setting up Idol-Worship. Much more reasonable is it therefore to suppose, that all this Merriment of theirs was in Imitation of the *Egyptians*, who, when they had found out their God *Apis*, (whereof this *Golden Calf* was design'd for an *Emblem*) were us'd to bring him, in solemn Pomp, to *Memphis*, the Royal City, with Children going before in Procession, and all the Company singing a Song of a Praise to the Deity. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† This Action of *Moses*, in melting, grinding, and pounding this *golden Idol*, in order to make the People *drink it*, is by some thought contrary to our present *Philosophy*, and the Account, which *Alchymists* give us of the Nature of Gold. Nothing is more commonly receiv'd, than the Notion, that Gold cannot be *destroy'd*; and yet the *Royal Academy* at *Paris* have a Burning Glass, that will vitrify it in an Instant, by evaporating all the Sulphur of it, which crackles, and flies up in a thick Smoak, whilst the *Glass*, that remains, can never be reduc'd into any other Form. That Gold can be reduc'd into a fine Powder, every Gold-Beater can inform us; and who can tell, but that *Moses* might have some particular Secret for doing this, which we know nothing of? By the Help of a File however he might grate it into a Dust, as fine as Flour, that is ground in a Mill. But the *Rabbinical* Reason, for his giving the People this *Gold-Powder* to drink, *viz.* that he might distinguish the *Idolaters* from the rest, (because as soon as they had drank, the Beards of the former turn'd red) is a little too whimsical to be regarded. Universal History, l. 1. c. 7.

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Temper, which compell'd him to comply with their Demand. But *Moſes*'s Buſineſs was, to take Vengeance on the Idolaters; and therefore, turning from his Brother *Aaron*, he call'd ſuch to his Aid, as had not been guilty in the late Rebellion, and, ſeeing ſome of the Tribe of *Levi* adjoin themſelves to him, † he appointed them to take their Swords, to go through the Camp, and, without any Reſpect to Age or Quality, Friendſhip or Conſanguinity, to kill all the *Ringleaders* of this idolatrous Defection, and their Adherents; which the *Levites* accordingly executed, ſo that, at this Time, there were about three thouſand Perſons ſlain. Nor did the *Levites*, in Conſideration of this their laudable Zeal and Obedience, go long unrewarded: For, upon the Inſtitution of the Prieſthood, they were appointed to the Honour and Emoluments of that Office, though in Subordination to that of *Aaron* and his Poſterity.

His Interceſſion for the People, and receiving from God freſh Tables of the Law.

THE People, in the mean Time, having ſeen this dreadful Example on the *Delinquents*, were not in a little Fear and Conſternation. But *Moſes*, the next Day, contented himſelf with reproving them for their Ingratitude and extreme Folly, and at the ſame Time, promis'd them, that he wou'd go up to the Mount again, and try † how far his Prayers wou'd prevail with the divine Mercy, to avert the Puniſhment, which they juſtly deſerv'd. To ſhew however how highly they had offended God by their wicked *Apoſtacy*, he took a *Tent*, and, pitching it out of the Camp at a good Diſtance, he call'd it *the Tabernacle of the Congregation*, whither the *cloudy Pillar* (to let them ſee that God wou'd no longer dwell among them) immediately repair'd; and whither *Moſes*, whenever he wanted to conſult the *divine Oracle*, was wont to reſort. Nor was it long after this, that God, (to comfort and encourage him under all the *Fatigue*, that he had with an obſtinate People) granted his Requeſt, and ſhew'd him as much of his *Glory*, as his Nature was able to bear, and gave him freſh Orders to prepare two other Tables of Stone, and to come up again to him on the Mountain all alone. *Moſes*, accordingly, early next Morning, repair'd to the Mountain, with the two Tables, and having proſtrated himſelf before God, implor'd of him to pardon the Sins of his People; which God graciouſly condeſcended to do, and withal to make a farther Covenant with them, upon Condition, that they wou'd keep his Commandments; wou'd obſerve his *Sabbaths*, his *Paſſover*, and other appointed *Feſtivals*; and wou'd not worſhip the Gods of the *Canaanites*, nor make any Alliances with the People of the Country.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

† This may be thought too hazardous an Undertaking, and, for a few *Levites* to kill 3000 of the People, impracticable: but as they had God's Warrant for what they did, and knew, at the ſame Time, how timorous Guilt is apt to make Men, they might be confident, that none wou'd have Courage to oppoſe them. Before that *Moſes* call'd any *Avengers* to his Aſſiſtance, the Text tells us, that *he ſaw that the People were naked, for* Aaron *had made them naked to their Shame*, Exod. xxxii. 25. where, if by *Nakedneſs* we are (with ſome Expoſitors) to underſtand their Want of *Arms*, which they had laid aſide, that they might be more light and nimble to dance about the Idol, it is plain, that the *Levites* might have leſs Trouble in ſlaying ſuch a Number of People, loaded with Liquor perhaps, and (as it uſually happens in the Concluſion of a Feſtival) weary with Dancing and Sports, and without any Weapons about them, to make Reſiſtance. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† *Moſes* indeed was by Lineage and Deſcent of the Tribe of *Levi*, which, tho' it forfeited the *Primogeniture* and *Regalia*, by being concern'd in the Blood of the *Shechemites*, was nevertheleſs dignify'd with the *Prieſthood*, which gave him a Right of approaching God, as an *Interceſſor* for a rebellious, and backſliding People. *Aaron*, in Strictneſs, was both the High-Prieſt, and his Elder Brother, but, beſides that, he, by his imprudent Compliance in the Buſineſs of the *Golden Calf*, had, at this Time, not only forfeited the Honour of *Mediation*, but ſtood himſelf in Need of an Atonement: There ſeems to be ſomething in the Character, that is given of *Moſes*'s ſingular *Meekneſs*, that might entitle him to the Spirit of Interceſſion, and make the younger, in this Office, be preferr'd before the elder. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Append. of the Occaſ. Annot.

A. M. 2513, &c. Ant. Christ. 1491, &c.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

The OBJECTION.

" THE Kindness of God to the *Israe-*
" *lites*, in giving them the Posses-
" sion of the Land of *Canaan*, was very
" remarkable; but, since he intended it at
" first, why did he delay it so long? *Hope*
" *deferred makes the Heart sick*, says *Solo-*
" *mon*; and to be *forty Years* in executing
" what might have been done in *forty*
" *Days*, is hardly consistent either with
" the Wisdom or Goodness of God. Be-
" tween *Egypt* and *Canaan* (if we may
" believe * *Philo*) there is not above
" three Days Journey; and therefore it
" looks a little strange and unaccountable,
" that God shou'd not march his People
" directly thither, and settle them at once,
" rather than lead them aside into a barren
" Wilderness, and there carry them in a
" *Wild-goose-Chase* for the Space of almost
" half a *Century*, always pester'd with
" their Complaints, and forc'd to feed
" them at the Expence of Miracles. It
" can hardly be thought, from the Tenour
" of their History, but that his particular
" Providence attended them, wherever
" they went: (*a*) As Miracles however
" are not to be multiply'd without a mani-
" fest Necessity, there is no Reason for
" our thinking, that God himself went
" before them, during their Travels in
" the Wilderness, in a *visible Pillar of*
" *Fire and Smoak*, since the whole Matter
" (which the *Jews* make so much boast
" of) might be no more, *than a kind of*
" ambulatory Beacon, *or a Huge*, portable
" Fire, *under the Direction of a proper*
" *Officer, and in a fit* Machine, *highly*
" *elevated on a Pole, which was carry'd*
" *before the first Line of the Camp, and*
" *from thence cou'd be seen by all the rest.*
" This was a customary Practice, in waste
" and desolate Countries, for the Conve-
" nience of Travelling; and therefore we
" may suppose, that the *Israelites*, when
" they enter'd the Wilderness, in Confor-
" mity to other Nations, made use of the
" same Expedient; and that, to some such
" portable *Fire* as this, whose *Flame*, but
" not its Smoak, might be very far seen *by*
" *Night*, and whose *Smoak*, but not its
" *Flame*, might be perceiv'd at a great
" Distance *by Day*, all the strange Things,
" which are said of the different *Phases*
" of this pretended miraculous Pillar, may
" with great Facility be referr'd.

" *MOSES*, no doubt, in sundry Re-
" spects, was no mean Politician; and there-
" fore he cou'd not but know, that the
" Pretence of a divine Revelation wou'd
" give his Laws a better Sanction among
" the People, and so, to prepare the Way,
" he devis'd the terrible *Scene* of God's
" descending upon Mount *Sinai*, and
" abiding there, in *Smoak* and *Thunderings*,
" and *Lightning*, while himself went up
" to receive his Will, but prohibited all
" the rest (except his Brother *Aaron*, who
" was let into the *Mystery*) (*b*) under the
" Penalty of immediate Death, to ap-
" proach the Mountain: For had they
" been permitted to do this, the Secret
" had been soon found out, and the Mira-
" cle spoil'd: which in all Probability, (*c*)
" was Nothing more than a *Vulcano*, or
" Irruption of Fire out of the Top of the
" Mountain, whereof he knowing the
" Cause, took the Advantage, and *palm'd*
" it upon the People for the tremendous
" *Presence of God*, attended with his *Hosts*
" *of Angels*.

" AND indeed, considering the Nature
" of the *Laws*, which he deliver'd to the
" People, we have small Reason to suppose
" that God had any Hand in them; since
" they are many of them *absurd* and *ridi-*
" *culous*, some contrary to common Justice,

and

* De Vitâ *Mosis*, Lib. i. p. 627.

(*a*) *Tolland's* Hodegus. (*b*) Exod. xix. 12, 13.

(*c*) *Nicholls's* Conference with a Theist, P. 273.

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" and others Nothing elſe, but *Egyptian*
" Rites reviv'd. For, even in *the moral*
" *Part* of them, what can be more unright-
" teous, than (*d*) God's *viſiting the Ini-*
" *quity of the Fathers upon the Children,*
" *unto the third and fourth Generation?*
" In the *Political*, what more *unjuſt*,
" than the ſetting up *Aſylums* for every
" Rogue and Ruffian to flee to? What
" more *cruel*, than the *Lex Talionis*, or
" a Permiſſion to take Revenge in cold
" Blood? What more *ridiculous*, than to
" prohibit Men's ſowing *Maſſlin*, or wear-
" ing *Linſey-Woolſey*, or gravely to decree,
" that an *Ox* and an *Aſs* ſhou'd not be
" yoak'd together? And as for the *Cere-*
" *monial*, (*e*) the *Urim* and *Thummim*,
" the *Ark* and the *Cherubims*, the *High*
" *Prieſts Veſtments*, and almoſt every Or-
" dinance in the Worſhip of the *Taberna-*
" *cle*, are manifeſtly borrow'd from the
" *Egyptians*.

" *MOSES* perhaps knew better, and
" wrote only according to the Conceptions
" of the Vulgar, whom he purpos'd to keep
" in Ignorance; or otherwiſe, we cannot
" but ſay, that he diſcovers groſs Notions
" of God, when (*f*) he talks of his *Face*,
" his *Back-parts*, and his *covering* him
" *with his Hand*; and, when he wiſhes
" (*g*) *to be blotted out of the Book, that*
" *God had written*, (which ſome ſuppoſe
" to mean his *eternal Damnation*) he ſeems
" to be abſolutely *profane* and *irreligious*,
" devoid of all Fear of God, as well as
" all Senſe of Danger in a *future State*.

" THE leſs Reaſon we have to wonder,
" that we find *Aaron*, his Brother and
" Companion in this Affair, and who
" was now left *Regent* in his Abſence, ſo
" eaſily complying with the impious Re-
" queſt of the People, and, inſtead of
" remonſtrating to the idolatrous Motion,
" with his own Hands making them an
" *Idol*, and with his own Mouth pro-
" claiming a *Feſtival* in Honour of it;
" But why he ſhou'd think of a *Calf*,
" above all other Creatures, to be an *hiero-*
" *glyphic* of the Deity, or why the People,
" who had ſeen ſo much of the *Handy-*
" *work* of God, ſhou'd be ſo overjoy'd at
" the ſetting up the Figure of ſo *ſtupid* an
" Animal, to be the Object of their Wor-
" ſhip, may juſtly raiſe our Aſtoniſhment
" and Admiration."

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 21.

THAT in the Deſarts of *Arabia*, and ſuch extended Plains, (for there were no Cities, Rivers, or Mountains, for Land-Marks) it was a general Cuſtom, before the Invention of the *Compaſs*, to carry Fire before Armies, in order to direct their March; and that (notwithſtanding the preſent Uſe of the *Compaſs*) the Guidance of Fire is practis'd among the *Caravans* in the *Eaſt*, and by the great Number of *Pilgrims*, who go every Year from *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*, to *Mecca* in *Arabia*, cannot, by any one, that is acquainted either with *ancient* or *modern* Hiſtory, be deny'd: And had the ſole Intent of the *cloudy Pillar* been, to guide, and conduct the *Iſraelites* in their Journies, there might have been more Grounds for aſſerting, that it was a *mere Machine of human Contrivance*, and had Nothing *miraculous* or *ſupernatural* in it. But, when it ſhall appear, that this *Pillar of a Cloud* was of much greater Uſe to the Children of *Iſrael*, than barely to conduct them; that in it reſided a ſuperior *Power*, upon whom the Name and Attributes of God are conferr'd; that from it proceeded *Oracles*, and *Directions* what the People were to do, and *Plagues* and *Puniſhments*, when they had done amiſs; and that to it are aſcrib'd ſuch Motions and Actions, as cannot, with any Propriety of Speech, be apply'd to any *natural* Fire; it will, from hence, I hope, be concluded, that this *Guidance* of the Cloud was a real Miracle; its *Subſtance* quite different from that of *portable* Fire preceding Armies; and its *Conductor* ſomething more than a mere Man.

Anſwer'd by ſhewing that the miraculous Cloud *was no Machine of human Contrivance.*

THE firſt Mention, that is made of this *Phænomenon*, is in the thirteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, where *Moſes*, deſcribing the *Rout*,

(*d*) Exod. xx. 5. (*e*) *Spencer*, de Legibus Heb. Lib. iii. (*f*) Exod. xxxiii. 20. &c. (g) Chap. xxxii 32.

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Rout, which the *Israelites* pursu'd, tells us, that (*k*) they took their Journey *from* Succoth, *and encamp'd at* Etham, *at the Edge of the Wilderness, and the Lord went before them, by Day, in a Pillar of a Cloud, and, by Night, in a Pillar of Fire*: And what we are to understand by *the Lord, that went before them*, we are advertis'd in another Place; (*l*) *Behold I send my Angel before thee, to keep thee in the Way, and to bring thee into the Place, which I have prepar'd: Beware of him, and obey his Voice; provoke him not, for he will not pardon thy Transgression, for my Name is in him*, i. e. my Name *Jehovah*, which is the proper and incommunicable Title of God. The next Place, wherein we find this *Pillar of a Cloud* mention'd, is in the 24th Chapter; (*k*) and *the Angel of God, which went before the Camp of* Israel, *removed, and went behind them, and the Pillar of the Cloud went from before their Face, and stood behind them, and it came between the Camp of the* Egyptians, *and the Camp of* Israel, *and was a Cloud and Darkness to them, but it gave Light to these*. There is, in the same Book, another Place, where this Pillar is taken notice of; and that is, in the 33d Chapter, where God, being highly offended at the People's Impiety in making the *golden Calf*, refuses to conduct them any longer himself, and proposes to depute an *Angel* to supply his Place: (*l*) *When the People heard these evil Tidings, they mourned*, —— and *it came to pass, as* Moses *entered into the Tabernacle, the cloudy Pillar descended, and stood at the Door of the Tabernacle, and the Lord talked with* Moses. *All the People saw the cloudy Pillar at the Tabernacle Door, and they rose up, and worshipped every Man at his Tent Door*. We have Occasion to mention but one Place more, and that is in the 16th Chapter of *Numbers*, where the People murmur'd for the Loss of *Korah*, and his Company: (*m*) *And it came to pass, that when the Congregation was gathered against* Moses, *and against* Aaron, *they looked towards the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and behold the Cloud covered it, and the Glory of the Lord appeared, and* Moses *and* Aaron *came before the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and the Lord spake unto* Moses, *saying, get you up from among the Congregation, that I may consume them, as in a Moment, and they fell upon their Faces; and* Moses *said unto* Aaron, *take a Censer, and put Fire therein from off the Altar, and put on Incense, and go quickly into the Congregation, and make an Atonement for them, for there is Wrath gone out from the Lord, the Plague is begun*. Now, from a bare Recital of these Passages, we cannot but observe, that the *Israelites* Pillar made quite another Appearance, than any *combustible* Matter, when set on Fire, and carry'd upon a Pole, can be suppos'd to do; that in this Pillar resided a Person of *divine* Character and Perfections, and therefore call'd *the Lord, the Angel, the Angel of the Lord, and the Angel of his Presence*, &c. that this Person was invested with a Power of demanding Homage and Observance, of both punishing and pardoning Transgressions, and to whom, even *Moses* and *Aaron*, (as well as the rest of the Congregation) might fall down on their Faces, and pay Obeysance, without the Imputation of *Idolatry*. The whole Tenour of the Narration, in short, seems to denote, that every one in the Congregation look'd upon the Pillar, as something *awful* and *tremendous*, and the Person, residing therein, above the Rank and Dignity of any created Essence: And therefore the most general Opinion is, that he, to whom these divine Appellations, divine Powers, and divine Honours are ascrib'd, was the *eternal Son of God*, with a Troop of blessed Angels attending him in bright and luminous *Forms*; and who, either by the Display, or Contraction of their Forms, cou'd make the Cloud, they inhabited, either *condense*, or *expand* itself, either put on

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

(*k*) Numb. xxxiii. 5, 6. (*l*) Exod. xxiii. 20, 21. (*k*) Chap. 19. 20. (*l*) Chap. xxxiii. 4, &c.
(*m*) Numb. xvi. 42, &c.

A. M. 2513, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1491, &c.

on a *dark*, or *radiant* Appearance, according as the great *Captain* of their *Hoſt* ſignify'd his Pleaſure. For to ſuppoſe that mere Fire, without any *ſupernatural* Direction, cou'd appear in different Forms, at the ſame Time, with *Darkneſs* to one Sort of People, and *Light* to another, is a Thing incongruous to its Nature.

FOR how many Purpoſes this *miraculous* Pillar might ſerve the *Iſraelites*, it wou'd be Preſumption to determine; but this we may ſay with Safety, —— That, beſides its guiding them in their Journey, (*n*) it was of Uſe to defend them from their Enemies, that they might not aſſault them; of Uſe to cover them from the Heat of the Sun in the Wilderneſs, where there were few Trees, and no Houſes to ſhelter them; and of Uſe to convey the divine Will, and to be, as it were, a ſtanding *Oracle*, whereunto they might reſort upon all Occaſions. In this Cloud, we are told expreſsly, that (*o*) the *Lord* appear'd from the *Tabernacle*; from this Cloud, that (*p*) he call'd *Aaron* and *Miriam* to come before him; and, out of this Cloud again, that he ſent forth the Expreſſes of his *Wrath*, as well as the Tokens of his *Love*, among the whole Congregation: And therefore this Cloud cou'd, at that Time, be nothing elſe, but the *Vehicle* of God, as we may call it, or the Place of his *majeſtick* Appearance. Nor is the Conjecture improbable, that from this very Inſtance, the Poets firſt took the Hint of making their Gods deſcend in a *Cloud*, and array'd with a bright *Effulgency*.

HOWEVER this be, it is certain, that the *Jews* were perſuaded of the Divinity of their Guide; otherwiſe, they wou'd not have expreſs'd ſuch undiſſembled Sorrow and Concern, upon hearing the News of his Intention to leave them: Nor cou'd *Moſes*, with all his Authority, have ever prevail'd with them to wander ſo long in the Wilderneſs, expos'd to ſo many Dangers and Hardſhips, had they been ſatisfy'd, that it was no more, than a Man, with ſome Fire, elevated upon a Pole, that was their *Conductor*. It may be allow'd indeed, that a Multitude of ſuch fiery *Machines* might be of Service to an Army in a March; but the Thing is utterly inconceivable, how a Company of *ſix hundred thouſand* Men, beſides Women and Children, and no ſmall Number of *Aſſociates*, together with all their Cattle, cou'd receive any great Benefit from only *one* of theſe, which at a moderate Diſtance, wou'd diminiſh into a ſmall Light, and at a larger be quite loſt; or, every Moment, was in Danger of being blown aſide by the Wind, or extinguiſh'd by the Rain.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

THE Scriptures every where repreſent the *Iſraelites* going out of of *Egypt* with a *high Hand*, marching in a regular Order, and (*q*) *covered* by God, *in the Day, with a Cloud, and* led, *all the Night through, with a Light of Fire*; but a ſufficient Company of *Link-Boys*, plac'd in a regular Order to illuminate each Column, as they mov'd, wou'd have certainly been of more Uſe, and made a much better Appearance, than this pretended Mixture of *Smoak and Flame ſmothering, from an Iron Pot, at the End of a long Pole*. For, from my Heart, I cannot conceive, what Manner of Compariſon there can be, between the dark, *fuliginous* Smoak, ariſing from a *culinary* Fire, and the glorious, heavenly, and bright Appearance of (*r*) *that burning Pillar of Fire, which* (as the Author of the Book of *Wiſdom* expreſſes it) *was both a Guide of their unknown Journey, and an harmleſs Sun to entertain them honourably.*

Why God led the Iſraelites *aſide, thro' the Wilderneſs.*

THE Scripture indeed aſſigns but one Reaſon for God's conducting the *Iſraelites* by the Way of the Wilderneſs, (which was ſo much about) to the Land of *Canaan*, and that is, —— An Apprehenſion that the *Philiſtines* (through whoſe Country they were to go) being a bold and warlike People, wou'd, in all Probability, have diſputed the Paſſage with them,

(*n*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*o*) Deut. xxxi. 15. and cv. 39. (*p*) Numb. xii. 5. (*q*) Pſal. lxxviii. 14, (*r*) Wiſd. xviii. 3.

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which the others, deſtitute of Arms, (as they were) and having their Spirits broken with a long Servitude, were in no Condition to make good: But, as the Almighty Power of their *Conductor* was ſufficient to make them ſuperior to all ſuch Obſtacles, we may well ſuppoſe, that a farther End, which the divine Providence might have herein, was to manifeſt his Glory and Goodneſs, by his conſtant Attendance upon them in this *luminous* Appearance, and by the many wonderful Works, which he did, to oblige them to his Service.

ACCORDING to the Courſe of the Country, *Moſes* might have march'd the People a much ſhorter Way; but then, we had heard nothing of the *Angel of God's Preſence* viſibly preceding them; nothing of his dividing the Sea to facilitate their Paſſage; nothing of his overwhelming their Enemies in thoſe very Floods, which to them were a Kind of Wall on each Side; nothing of his drawing out Rivers of Water from the ſtony Rock; nothing of his (*s*) *ſending down Manna upon them, and giving them Food from Heaven*; nothing of his *raining Fleſh, as thick as Duſt, and feathered Fowls, like as the Sand of the Sea*; nothing of his amazing Deſcent upon Mount *Sinai*, when, in the lofty Words of the *Pſalmiſt*, (*t*) *he bowed the Heavens, and came down, and it was dark under his Feet; he rode upon the Cherubims, and did fly; he came flying upon the Wings of the Wind; he made Darkneſs his ſecret Place, his Pavilion round about him with dark Water, and thick Clouds to cover him: There went a Smoak out of his Preſence, Hail-ſtones, and Coals of Fire, ſo that the Earth trembled and quaked, the very Foundations alſo of the Hills ſhook, and were removed.* The Wilderneſs, in ſhort, was the Scene, which God had made choice of, for the Diſplay of his almighty Power and Goodneſs: There it was, that he *laid bare his Arm*, as he calls it, to the *Iſraelites*; that every Day, he took care of their Meat, and Drink, and Indefici- From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.
ency of their Cloathing; and had he not detain'd them there ſo long, he had not been ſo kind. It may be conſider'd farther, that, before this People were to be admitted into the Poſſeſſion of the Inheritance, which God had promis'd them, all Matters were to be adjuſted between him and them; and, to this Purpoſe, *Laws* were to be given, *Ordinances* inſtituted, and *Covenants* ſeal'd; but a Work of this Importance cou'd no where be ſo commodiouſly tranſacted, as in the Retirement of the Wilderneſs. Here it was, that God, in the Buſh talking with *Moſes*, gave it as a Token of his Promiſe, that the People, after their Deliverance, ſhou'd come to *Mount Horeb*, and (*u*) there *worſhip him*; and fit it was, that ſuch an Engagement on God's Part ſhou'd *now* receive its Accompliſhment. And, ſince it was no more than requiſite, that a Nation, deſign'd for ſuch peculiar Favours from God, ſhou'd be held ſome Time in a State of Probation, before they were admitted to it, and until the People, whom they were appointed to reject, had fill'd up *the Meaſure of their Iniquity*, and were ripe for Extirpation; therefore it is, that *Moſes* calls upon them (*x*) *to remember all the Way, which the Lord their God led them, for theſe forty Years in the Wilderneſs, to humble them, and to prove them, and to know what was in their Hearts, whether they would keep his Commandments or no.*

THESE Commandments, it muſt be *No Colluſion in the* Mount, *whence God gave his Laws.*
own'd, were deliver'd to the *Iſraelites* with all the Enſigns of Horror, which the *Pſalmiſt*, ſo lately quoted, has deſcrib'd; but that there is no Ground to ſuſpect any *Deceit* in this wonderful Occurrence, is manifeſt from *Moſes*'s Dealing ſo openly with the People in this Matter, and ſuffering them to go up into the Mountain, after the Lord had departed from it. (*y*) *When the Trumpet ſoundeth long, they ſhall come up to the Mount.* This is the *Signal*, which God himſelf gives them; whereas,

(*s*) Pſal. lxxviii. 24, &c. (*t*) Pſal. xviii. 9, &c. (*u*) Exod. iii. 12. (*x*) Deut. viii. 2. (*y*) Exod. xix. 13.

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as, had there been any Fallacy in the *Phænomenon*, *Moſes* wou'd have debarr'd them from going up for ever. And therefore, as we need not doubt, but that ſeveral, upon this Signal, went up; we cannot but think, that the Cheat wou'd have ſoon been diſcover'd, had there been any Marks of a *natural Irruption* of Fire diſcernable upon the Top of the Mountain.

THOSE, who give us an Account of *Vulcanos*, or burning Mountains, do all agree in this, (as the Nature of the Thing indeed ſeems to require it) (*z*) that, on their Tops they have always an open *Mouth*, (which the Antients call'd *Crater*) through which they belch out their Flames; and that, after the Fire is expended, it will ſtill appear in the Form of a monſtrous *Gap*, even unto the End of the World. And therefore, ſince all *Travellers*, both antient and modern, who have taken an accurate Survey * of the Mount *Sinai*, cou'd never diſcern the leaſt Appearance of any ſuch Gap, but, on the contrary, a continu'd Surface, whereon there ſtands, at preſent, a little Chapel of St *Catherine*; all this ſuppos'd Contrivance of *Moſes*, to make a natural *Vulcano* paſs upon the People for the *majeſtick Preſence* of God upon the ſacred Mount, can be deem'd no other than a crude, nonſenſical Fiction, wherein the Lovers of Infidelity are found to ſhew their Ignorance, as well as their Malice, when they pretend to tax this Relation of *Moſes*, repreſenting God's Appearance in a Flame of Fire, in Thunder, and Lightening, *&c.* with any Incongruity, or invent any groundleſs Stories to account for it; ſince Nothing can be more agreeable to the antient *Divinity*, or common Notions of the *Heathen* World, * than that the Apparition of their Gods, whenever they deſcend upon the Earth, is uſually attended with ſuch like Harbingers.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

SUNDRY *Law-givers*, no doubt, have pretended to a *Familiarity* with their reſpective Deities, as well as *Moſes* did with the God of *Iſrael*; but, (beſides the Atteſtation of *Miracles* in his Favour, which

No Incongruity in theſe Laws.

(*z*) *Nicholls*'s Conference, Part II. p. 279.

* The Mountains of *Sinai* and *Horeb* are promiſcuouſly us'd by the ſacred *Hiſtorian*, by Reaſon of their Contiguity; and yet it is certain, that they are two different Places. *Sinai*, (which the *Arabians*, at this Day, call *Tor*, or the *Mountain*, by way of Eminence, or otherwiſe, *Gibel Mouſa*, the *Mount of* Moſes) ſtands in a Kind of *Peninſula*, form'd by two Arms of the *Red-Sea*, one of which ſtretches out towards the *North*, and is call'd the *Gulph of Kolſom*; the other towards the *Eaſt*, and is call'd the Gulph of *Elan*, or the *Elaniti∫h-Sea*. *Sinai* is, at leaſt, one third Part higher than *Horeb*, and of a much more difficult Aſcent; whoſe Top terminates in an uneven and rugged Space, capable of containing about 60 Perſons. Here (as we ſaid) is built the little Chapel of St *Catharine*, where it is thought that the Body of this Saint reſted for 330 Years, but was afterwards remov'd to the Church, which is at the Foot of the Mountain. Not far from this Chapel iſſues out a Fountain of good freſh Water, which is look'd upon as miraculous, becauſe it is not conceivable, how Water can riſe from the Brow of ſo high a Mountain. *Horeb* is to the *Weſt* of *Sinai*, ſo that at Sun-riſing the Shadow of *Sinai* entirely covers *Horeb*. At the Foot of this Mount there is a Fountain, which ſupplies Water to the Monaſtery of St *Catharine*; and about five or ſix Paces from it, they ſhew us a *Stone*, about four or five Feet high, and three broad, which, as they tell us, is the very ſame, from whence *Moſes* caus'd the Waters to guſh out. It is of a ſpotted grey Colour, ſtands by itſelf, as it were, and where no other Rock appears, and has twelve Holes about a Foot wide, from whence it is thought that the Water came forth, which the *Iſraelites* did drink. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Sinai*.

* That Fire and Lightning ſhou'd attend the Preſence of God, is a Notion ſo frequent in the moſt antient and oriental *Theology*, that it might poſſibly give occaſion to the Worſhip of *Fire* among the *Chaldeans* and *Perſians*; to the *Magi*, among the *Cappadocians*, call'd *Purrethi*, which *Strabo* mentions; and to the *Veſtal* Fires among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as well as ancient *Britons*.

Ἡνίκα βλέψῃς μορφῆς ἄτερ ἐυιερον πῦρ
Δαμπόμενον σκιρ]ηδὸν ὅλυ καʃὰ βένθεα Κόσμυ
Κλῦθι πυρὸς φυνήν.

Say the *Chaldaick* Oracles: And as for *Earth-quakes*, or Shaking of Mountains, this is no more, than what all Nations ſuppoſe have ever come to paſs, upon God's manifeſting himſelf at any Time; for it is not only the *Pſalmiſt*, who tells us, that the *Earth ſhook, and the Heaven dropped at the Preſence of God*; but in the Deſcription, which *Virgil* gives us of the Approach of *Phœbus*, he does, in a Manner, tranſlate the Words of *Moſes*.

——— Tremere omnia viſa repente,
Luminaque, Laurufque Dei; totuſque moveri
Mons circum, & mugire Adytis Cortina recluſis.

Vide *Nicholls*'s Conference, Part II.

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which none of them laid any Claim to) we may venture to put his Character upon this Iſſue, *viz.* the Excellency of his Laws, above what *Athens*, or *Lacedemon*, or even *Rome* itſelf ever had to produce. For, what a compleat Syſtem of all religious and ſocial Virtues do the *Ten Commandments*, deliver'd on the Mount, contain, taking them (as we ought to do) in their *poſitive*, as well as *negative* Senſe! In the *ſecond* of theſe indeed, there is a Paſſage, of *God's viſiting the Sins of the Fathers upon the Children*, which ſeems to bear a little hard upon his Mercy and Juſtice; but this is entirely owing to the Miſtake of our Tranſlation. For, if the Prepoſition *Lamed*, and *Hal*, which we there render *upon*, may, (*a*) according to the Senſe of ſome *Criticks*, be render'd *by*, or *in favour of*, then may the Words, now under Conſideration, be properly tranſlated, *God's puniſhing the Wickedneſs of the Father*, BY OR IN FAVOUR *of the Children*. In the former of theſe Senſes, (*b*) *David*'s Murther and Adultery was juſtly puniſh'd *by* his favourite, but wicked Son *Abſalom*; and, in the latter, the meaning will be, that God frequently inflicts remarkable Judgments upon a wicked Father, in order to deter his Children, even to the *third and fourth Generation*, from the like Provocations.

Nor in the Appointment of Cities of Refuge.

WHAT more *juſt*, as well as *merciful* Conſtitution cou'd there be devis'd, than to ordain *Cities of Refuge*, for the innocent *Man-ſlayer* to fly to, thereby to avoid the Rage and ungovernable Fury of the dead Man's *Relations*, (who, according to the Cuſtom of theſe Times, were wont immediately to revenge their Kindred's Death) and thereby to gain Time to prepare a Plea in his own Vindication; which, if it was found inſufficient, and the Man adjudg'd guilty of *wilful Murther*, cou'd not according to the Tenor of the ſame Law, ſecure him from being dragg'd even (*c*) *from the Horns of the Altar?*

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

AN Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth, may ſeem to us, who live under a milder Diſpenſation, a rigid and ſevere Decree; but then we may obſerve, that it was no more, than what was thought reaſonable in other Nations, and obtain'd a Place among * the celebrated *Roman* Laws of the *twelve Tables*. It was, in ſome Meaſure, neceſſary to reſtrain quarrelſome and unruly Tempers from Violence; and, in Caſe that Death did not enſue, the Law was always mitigated, and the *Talio* commuted for a *pecuniary* Mulct.

Valid Reaſons for ſeemingly frivolous Laws.

SEVERAL of the *Jewiſh* Laws, which to us may ſeem frivolous, had a valid Reaſon for their Inſtitution at firſt, if it were but to diſcriminate them from other Nations, and to guard them againſt the common Infection of Idolatry. The Wearing of *Linſey-woolſey* was probably a proud, fantaſtical Faſhion of the *Heathens* at that Time, which the *Jews* were forbid to imitate. An *Ox* and an *Aſs* were not to be coupled together in the ſame Carriage, with this merciful Intent, that one Beaſt of *greater* Strength might not ſtrain a poor Creature of *leſs* beyond its Ability; and, as Sowing the Ground with *mix'd Seeds*, in ſome Mens Opinion, is an effectual Way to wear it out, it was therefore a Practice prohibited, in Commiſeration (if I may ſo ſay) to *our Mother Earth*, as well as to ſet Bounds to the Huſband-man's Covetouſneſs; though, as others imagine, theſe three Injunctions, as they ſtand all together in the ſame Place, might perhaps have ſomething *emblematical* in them, beſides the Precept, to make Men have a greater Abhorrence of all *venereal* Mixtures, contrary to Nature.

No Reſemblance between the Egyptian *and* Jewiſh *Ceremonies.*

IT is an Injunction, which God often inculcates to his People the *Jews*, (*d*) *After the Doing of the Land of* Egypt, *wherein ye dwelt, ye ſhall not do; and after the Doing of the Land of* Canaan, *whither I bring you, ye ſhall not do: I am the Lord your*

(*a*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary in Locum. (*b*) 2 Sam. xi. and ſome following Chapters. (*c*) Exod. xxi. 14.

* *Aulus Gellius* ſets down this Law of the *twelve Tables* in this Manner. SI MEMBRUM RUPERIT, NI. CUM. EO. PACIT. TALIO. ESTO. *Noct. Attic.* Lib. XX. C. 1.

(*d*) Lev. xviii. 3, 4.

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your God, ye ſhall therefore keep my Statutes, and my Judgments; which Words ſeem to imply, not only that the idolatrous Rites of the *Gentiles* were forbidden, but that *thoſe* of God's Appointment were made in direct Oppoſition to them: And to this Purpoſe we find (*e*) the *Roman* Hiſtorian repreſenting the *Jews*, as *a People, whoſe religious Rites were ſo contrary to all the World beſides, that what, in others, was moſt ſacred, they accounted profane, and allow'd, as lawful, what other Nations were wont to abominate.*

Now, if the *Moſaick* Laws and Ceremonies were given to the *Jews*, as Barriers againſt Idolatry, and formally repugnant to the Cuſtoms of the *Heathens*, we may appeal to any ſober and conſiderate Man, whether it be conſiſtent with good Senſe, or congruous to Truth and Reaſon, that God ſhou'd make Laws, exactly contrary to the *Egyptians*, and other *Pagan* Nations, ſhewing thereby, that he hated the very Semblance of their Rites, and yet, at the ſame Time, take the *Riſe* of his Inſtitutions from the Cuſtoms and Practice of theſe *Pagans:* Nay, whether it gives us not ſuch an Idea of God, as Reverence to his tremendous Majeſty will not ſuffer me to name, (*f*) to repreſent him making up all the vain, ludicrous, ſuperſtitious, impious, impure, idolatrous, magical, and diabolical Cuſtoms, which had been firſt invented, and afterwards practis'd, by the moſt barbarous Nations, and out of theſe patching up a great Part of the Religion, which he appointed his own People.

IT cannot well otherwiſe be, but that, in Matters of *Tradition*, which have equally deſcended among all Nations perhaps from *Noah*, a Man of ſome Learning and Fancy may form a Similitude between the religious *Rites* and *Uſages* of one People with another; but it wou'd really rack one's Invention to find out the great Agreement between the *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt, and the *Egyptian* Chief Juſtice; ſince the *Urim* and *Thummim* of the one was a *Piece of Cloth*, about a Span ſquare, beſet with Jewels, but the *Alathea*, (as they call it) of the other, was a *golden Medal*, repreſenting the Figure of a Bird; ſince the Robe of the one was made of ſcarlet, blue, and purple woollen Cloth, only embroider'd with Wreaths of fine Linnen; but the Garment of the other was made of Linnen only, becauſe it was unlawful, (*g*) as *Herodotus* tells us, for the *Egyptian* Magiſtrates to wear any Thing elſe. From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

WHEN the *Tables of the Covenant* were deliver'd to *Moſes*, it ſeems no more than requiſite, that ſome Care ſhou'd be taken of them; and, if ſo, what cou'd be a more appoſite Contrivance for that Purpoſe than a *Cheſt? Moſes*, even by his Enemies, is reputed a very cunning Man; but they certainly mean it as a Compliment, and not his Due, if they think him not capable of ſo ſmall a Contrivance as this, without copying from the *Egyptian Ciſta*, wherein the Prieſts were wont to lock up their religious *Trinkets* from the Eyes of the Vulgar: And as for the *Cherubims*, which over-ſhadow'd this *Ark*, there certainly ſeems nothing *analogous*, but rather a particular Oppoſition in theſe to the *Egyptian* Idolatry. For, whereas their Temples were generally fill'd with the Images of Monkeys, Calves, and Serpents, the Repreſentations of real Animals, which, (according to the natural *Deiſm* of thoſe Times) they fancy'd to be Parts and Exhibitions of the Deity; *Moſes* here † orders Figures to be made, which had little or no Reſemblance of any Thing in the World, and were expreſſive of the *angelical* Nature only, which every one knew was *ſubordinate* to God's. So little Congruity is there to be found

(*e*) *Tacitus*, l. viii. c. 4. (*f*) *Edwards*'s Survey of Religion, Vol I. (*g*) Lib. ii. c. 37.

† What the particular Figure of theſe *Cherubims* was, it is hard to imagine at this Diſtance. *Grotius* indeed, and ſome others, have ingeniouſly conjectur'd, from the Creatures ſeen by *Ezekiel* in his Viſion, *Chap.* i. 5. and x. 15. which he calls *Cherubim*, that they had the Face of a *Man*, the Wings of an *Eagle*, the Mane of a *Lion*, and the Feet of an *Ox*; and by this they will have the Diſpenſations of divine Providence, by the Miniſtry of Angels, *ſymbolically* repreſented; the *Lion*, exhibiting the Severity of his *Juſtice*; the *Eagle*, the Celerity of his *Bounty*; the *Man*, his *Goodneſs* and *Mercy*; and the *Ox*, the Slowneſs of his *Puniſhment*, which comes (as the *Greek* Proverb ſays) βοείῳ ποδὶ, with an *Ox's Foot*. *Nicholls*'s Conference, Part II.

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found between the *Egyptian* and *Jewish* Laws and Ceremonies, * less perhaps, than might be discover'd in several other Nations, were we dispos'd to be prolix upon this Subject. But let us return to their *Legislator*.

Moses's Expression concerning God vindicated.

That God, who is a pure Spirit, eternal, and omnipresent, has neither Body nor Parts, nor any Affections thereunto belonging, is a Proposition, which our Reason cannot but assent to; and yet, when we set ourselves to *explain* (as we call it) the Divine Nature and Attributes, we soon find ourselves under a Necessity to borrow Expressions from *corporeal* Beings, the better to accommodate the Loftiness of our Subject to our Readers Comprehension. For, unless we cou'd contrive a perfect Set of *new* Words, there is no speaking at all of the Deity without using our *old* ones in a *tralatitious* Sense. *Providence* and *Mercy*, for Instance, are two known Attributes of God; but, if we respect their *original* Use, and do not take them in a *metaphorical* Meaning, they are altogether as absurd, when apply'd to God, as are his *Eye*, or *Hand*, or *Back-parts*, in their grossest Sense. For, how improper is it, literally speaking, to say, that God *looks before him*, like Men when they act cautiously; or, that he has that *relenting of Heart*, or *yearning of Bowels*, which merciful Men feel at the Sight of a miserable Object? The Truth is, Languages were compos'd to maintain an Intercourse with one another, and not to treat of the Nature of that Being, who *dwelleth in Light that is inaccessable*. No Form of Words, be they never so exquisite and well chosen, can reach those transcendent Perfections, that are *unutterable*; and therefore, if we consider the low Capacity of the People, to whom, the great Poverty of the Language, in which, and the vast Sublimity of the Subject, about which, *Moses* wrote, we shall have less Occasion to blame this *metaphorical* Way of expressing the Divine Nature, which, upon Experiment, he certainly found best adapted, both to inform the Understanding, and animate the Affections of the People; while a Number of dry, *scholastick*, and abstracted Terms wou'd have laid flat upon their Minds, and serv'd only to amuse, and confound them.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

Tho', therefore, it must be acknowledg'd, that there is indeed an Impropriety in Language, when corporeal Parts, or Actions are imputed to the Deity; yet, since the Narrowness of the *Hebrew* Tongue wou'd not furnish *Moses* with a Sufficiency of abstract Terms, and the Dullness of the People (had he had a Sufficiency) would not have permitted him to employ them; he was under a Necessity of speaking according to the *common Usage*, which was secur'd from giving the People any gross Ideas of God, because these Phrases were always understood to be spoken ἀνθρωποπαθῶς; and therefore (*h*) a *Jewish Rabbin* acquaints us, that whenever they meet with an Expression concerning the Deity of this Nature, they are us'd to interpose a *Cabiacal*, or, *if I may so speak*.

Interpreters, indeed, are at some Variance what we are to understand by the *Hand*, *Face*, and *Hinder-Parts* of God. "The *Face of God*, (*i*) *says an* "*ingenious Glossary*, signifies his Essence, "before the Beginning of the World, "and his *Hinder-Parts*, his Creation and "Providence, in the Government of "the World:" But (*k*) *Maimonides* is of Opinion, that these Words may be interpreted

* To this Purpose, we are inform'd that the *Brachmans*, the *Indian* Priests, wear Bells about them like the *Jewish* High-Priest, were only allow'd to go into the inward Part of the Temple, and were, like him, oblig'd to marry Virgins. *Slaves* there have their Ears bor'd through; a perpetual *Light* is kept in their Temples, and *Cakes* are set before their Idols, like *Shew-Bread*. Nay, even the barbarous *Tartars* have many Things not unlike the *Jews*, for they celebrate their New Moons with Songs and Compotations; they bewail their Dead thirty Days; they breed no Hogs, and punish Adultery with Death. The like may be said of the People of the New World. Those of *Jucatan* are circumcis'd; those of *Mexico* keep a perpetual Fire in their Temples; and the *Charibeans* celebrate the New Moon with the Sound of a Trumpet, and abstain from Swine's Flesh: And therefore, if a Similitude in Ceremonies is admitted as a valid Argument, we may as well say, that the *Jews* had their Laws and religious Ordinances from any of *these*, as that they had them from the *Egyptians*. *Nichells*'s Conference, Part II.

(*h*) Quoted by *Hottinger* in his Dissert. Theolog. Philol. Part I. c. 21. (*i*) *Elias* Cretensis. (*k*) *More Nevoch*,

A. M. 2513, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1491, &c.

preted according to the *Targum*, *viz.* That God made his *Majeſty*, i. e, an exceedingly bright Repreſentation of himſelf, (though not in its full Glory) paſs before *Moſes*, in ſo much Splendor, as human Nature cou'd bear, which may be term'd his *Back-Parts*; but not in his unveil'd *Brightneſs*, which may ſignify his *Face*, and, (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) is *inacceſſable*; and (*l*) the *Hand*, wherewith God *cover'd* him, while he *paſſed by*, may probably denote a *Cloud*, which God caſt about him, that he might not be ſtruck dead by the inconceivable Force and Refulgency of thoſe Rays, which came from the *Face*, or full Luſtre of the divine Majeſty.

IN this Senſe the antient *Jews* cou'd not but underſtand their Legiſlator, when they found him conveying ſublime Truths under outward and ſenſible Repreſentations. For, to clear him from all unjuſt Imputation, we need but call to mind the glorious Deſcriptions he gives, almoſt every where, but eſpecially in *Deuteronomy*, of the Deity, and what Pains he takes, to deter them from making any Repreſentation of it, under any Form whatever, by reminding them, that when God was pleas'd to diſplay his Glory upon Mount *Sinai*, at the Delivering of the Ten Commandments, they ſaw no Shape or Likeneſs, but only heard his dreadful Voice. (*m*) Theſe ſo frequent Inculcations may therefore be look'd upon as ſo many Intimations given them, in what Senſe they were to underſtand all thoſe other Expreſſions, which he had been forc'd to accommodate to their Capacity, *i. e.*, not in a *literal*, but in ſuch a one, as was becoming the Deity, and ſuitable to the Dignity of the Subject.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap xxxiv 24.

MOSES, no doubt, was a good Governor, and zealouſly affected for the Welfare of his People; but we injure his Memory much, if we think him, either ſo ignorant of a future State, or ſo negligent of his own Salvation, as to wiſh himſelf *damn'd*, in his Deprecation of God's Judgments, for their Salvation. The Caſe is this. —— The *Iſraelites*, in making a golden Calf to worſhip, had highly offended God: God renounces all Relation to them, and, in his Diſpleaſure, threatens, either to abandon, or deſtroy them; whereupon *Moſes* intercedes for their Pardon, and, among other Motives, makes uſe of this; (*n*) *Oh*, my God, *this People have ſinned a great Sin, and have made them Gods of Gold; yet now, if thou wilt, forgive their Sins; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of the Book, which thou haſt written*: (*o*) Not that God ſtands in need of a Book, wherein to regiſter or record any of his Purpoſes; * but the Scripture makes uſe of this Form of Expreſſion, in Alluſion to the Cuſtom of numbering the People, and ſetting down their Names in a Scroll, or Regiſter, (*p*) as *Moſes* did, at their coming out of the Land of *Egypt*. The ſame Method was likewiſe obſerv'd at the Return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, as may be ſeen in the Books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*; and thoſe, who were inroll'd in this Book, are ſaid, (*q*) *to be written for Life*, or *among the Living*, becauſe,

And concerning himſelf, juſtify'd.

(*l*) *Patrick*'s Commentary, on Exod. xxxiii. (*m*) Univerſal Hiſt. Lib. i. c. 7. (*n*) Exod. xxxii. 32. (*o*) *Patrick*'s Commentary in Locum.

* To this Purpoſe the Royal *Pſalmiſt*, in Relation to his own Formation in the Womb, beſpeaks God, and ſays, *Thine Eyes did ſee my Subſtance, yet being imperfect, and in thy Book were all my Members written*; as if God kept a Catalogue of the Children that were born, *Pſal.* cxxxix. 16. And again, ſpeaking of wicked Men, he ſays, *let them be wiped out of the Book of the Living, and not be written among the Righteous*, Pſal. lxix. 28. Nor is this Form of Speech to be found only among *ſacred* Writers, but even *Plautus* himſelf, having occaſion in one of his *Prologues*, to take ſome Notice of the divine Providence, makes uſe of theſe Words.

Qui falſas Lites falſis Teſtimoniis
Petunt, quique in Jure abjurant pecuniam,
Eorum referimus *nomina exſcripta* ad Jovem.
Quotidie ille ſcit, quis hic quærit malum,
Qui hic litem apiſci poſtulent Injuriâ
Mali, Res falſas qui impetrant apud Judicem
Bonos in *aliis Tabulis exſcriptos* habet.

Le Clerc's Comment. ad Exod. c. xxxii.

(*p*) Numb. i. (*q*) Iſaiah iv. 3.

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becauſe, every Year, they blotted out of this *Catalogue* the Names of thoſe that were dead.

According to this Conſtruction of the Phraſe, (and this is certainly the true Conſtruction) *Moſes* can by no Means be ſuppos'd to wiſh his own Damnation, which wou'd look like an *enthuſiaſtick* Rant, rather than divine Inſpiration; which wou'd be impious for him to aſk, and unrighteous for God to do; but only that, "rather than live to ſee the Cala-"mities, which wou'd befal the People, "in Caſe God ſhou'd either deſert or "deſtroy them, he deſires to be diſ-"charg'd from Life, that ſo he may eſ-"cape the Shock of ſo woeful, ſo terrible "a Spectacle."

In a former Communion with God, wherein he threatens either to extirpate or diſinherit his People, he promiſes *Moſes* to (*r*) *make of him a greater Nation, and mightier than they*; but inſtead of that, *Moſes* here deſires to die with them; and, as a learned Father of the Church obſerves, "(*s*) there is a great deal of pious "Art and Policy in the Petition, or Pro-"poſal (as we may call it) which this great "Favourite and Confident of God offers "to him. He does not make it at all "Adventures, as one leſs acquainted with "the divine Mind might do; nor does "he make it out of a Slight and Contempt "of Life, as one whoſe Circumſtances "had brought him into Deſpair might "do. He knew God's Goodneſs was in-"finite, as well as his Juſtice; ſo that, "in this Alternative, *either be thou plea-"ſed to ſlay me and them together, or to "ſpare them and me together*, he was "ſenſible he ſhou'd engage God's Mercy "to pardon the *Criminals*, whilſt, on "their Behalf, he *devoted* himſelf at the "ſame Time to that Juſtice, which can-"not be ſuppos'd capable of hurting the "*Innocent*."

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

One great Commendation, which we have frequently remark'd of the Author of the *Pentateuch* above any other Hiſtorian, is, that he conſults *Truth*, more than *Plauſibility* in his Narrations, and conceals no material Point, even though it tends to the Diſhonour of the People, whoſe Actions he is recording. *Joſephus* wrote the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory of theſe Times, as well as *Moſes*; and yet, when he comes to the proper Period, he quite conceals their blind Idolatry in Worſhipping the *golden Calf*: Whereas *Moſes* relates it in all its aggravating Circumſtances, and ſeems to fix, in a Manner, the whole Odium of it upon his Brother *Aaron*. And therefore to inform ourſelves how far *Aaron* was culpable in this Particular, we muſt attend a little to the probable Occaſion of it.

How Aaron *was induc'd to make the People an Idol.*

While *Moſes* was gone up into the Mount, he appointed *Aaron* and *Hur* to be the Rulers of the People in his Abſence; but, as his Abſence prov'd longer than was expected, the People began to be uneaſy. They ſaw *the Glory of the Lord, which was like a devouring Fire on the Top of the Mount*, and thereupon they concluded that *Moſes*, who tarry'd ſo long, was certainly deſtroy'd in the Flames. They ſaw too, that the *Pillar of the Cloud*, which us'd to conduct them in their Marches, was gone, and in no Likelihood of returning again; and hereupon, having loſt their *Guide*, and the viſible Token of God's Preſence among them, they came unto *Aaron*, and, in a tumultuous Manner, demanded of him to make them another Repreſentation of the Divine Preſence, in the Room of what was departed from them. (*t*) *Up*, ſay they, and make us Gods (or as the *Hebrew* Text will bear †) *make us a God which ſhall go before us.* (*u*) Not

(*r*) Numb. xiv. 12. (*s*) Paulin. Epiſt. xxi. (*t*) Exod. xxxii. 1.

† It has been argu'd by ſome learned Men, that the *Iſraelites* intended here to fall entirely into the *Egyptian* Religion, and that the Deity, they made the Calf to, was ſome God of the *Egyptians*; but to me, this ſeems not to be the Fact. In this Calf, the *Iſraelites* evidently deſign'd to worſhip the God, who brought them out of the Land of *Egypt*, and accordingly their Faſt was proclaim'd not to any *Egyptian* Deity, but to the Lord, to Jehovah, their own God, *Exod.* xxxii. 4. So that their Idolatry conſiſted not in really worſhipping a falſe Deity, but in making an Image to the true and living God, which the Second Commandment expreſsly did forbid. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. 11.

(*u*) *Saurin*'s Diſſertations.

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Not that they were ſo ſtupid, as to imagine, that the true God cou'd be made by any Man, or that any Image cou'd be a Means of conducting them, either forward into *Canaan*, or back again into *Egypt*; but what they wanted, was ſome outward Object to ſupply the Want of the *Cloud*, by being a Type and Symbol of the Deity, and where they might depoſe the Homage, which they intended to pay to the ſupreme God; for ſo ſome of the *Jewiſh* Doctors have expounded the Text of *Moſes*: (*x*) *They deſired a ſenſible Object of divine Worſhip to be ſet before them, not with an Intention to deny God, who brought them out of* Egypt, *but that Something, in the Place of God, might ſtand before them, when they declared his wonderful Works.*

THE Commandment againſt making Images had ſo lately, in ſo terrible a Manner, been enjoin'd by God himſelf, that though ſome Reaſon may be given why the Children of *Iſrael* were ſo forward to make the Demand, yet none can be imagin'd, why *Aaron* ſhou'd comply with it, without making any Remonſtrance, and yet we meet with no Refuſal recorded by *Moſes*. All that we have in Extenuation of *Aaron*'s Fault, is from the Suggeſtion of the *Rabbins*, who pretend that his Compliance proceeded from his Fear; that the People had † murther'd *Hur* the other *Deputy*, for oppoſing their Deſire; that, to diſcourage them from purſuing their Deſign, *Aaron* demanded all their *golden Ear-rings*, in Hopes that they wou'd not inſiſt upon having an Idol, which wou'd coſt them ſo dear; but that, when Nothing wou'd avail, he took their Gold, and caſt it into the Fire, and, contrary to his Intention, by ſome *magical* or *diabolical* Art, there immediately came out a *Calf*, which much increas'd the People's Superſtition. But this, and Abundance more of the like Nature, ſeem to be Conceits, invented for the Excuſe of *Aaron*, who is plainly enough ſaid to have (*y*) *made this molten Calf*, which he cou'd not have done, without deſigning it, and running the Gold into a Mould of that Figure.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

THE Word, which we here render *Calf*, (*z*) does, in other Places of Scripture, ſignify an *Ox*: And, as an Ox's Head was, in ſome Countries, an Emblem of Strength, and the Horns a common Sign of kingly Power; ſo (*a*) a learned *Prelate*, out of a Deſire to apologize for *Aaron*, is willing to inſinuate, that his Deſign, in making an *Ox* the Symbol of the divine Preſence, was to remind the *Iſraelites* of the Power of God, and to expreſs the great Tokens, which they had ſeen of it, in their wonderful Deliverance. But how ingenious ſoever this *Hypotheſis* may be, it wants this Foundation for its Support, that this *Hieroglyphic* of the divine Power was not in Uſe in the Time of *Moſes*; for if it was, we cannot imagine, why *Aaron*, when call'd to an Account by his Brother, ſhou'd forget to plead it in Excuſe for himſelf; or why God ſhou'd be ſo highly incens'd againſt him, had his Deſign been only to exhibit a *Symbol* of the divine Power and Authority to a People of too groſs Sentiments, without ſuch a viſible Repreſentation, ever to comprehend it.

And why it was a Calf.

ANOTHER learned *Prelate* of our own, (*b*) equally inclin'd to excuſe this Action of *Aaron*, ſuppoſes that he took his Pattern from Part of what he ſaw on the holy Mount, when the *Shechinah* of God came down upon it, attended with Angels,

(*x*) *R. Jehudah*, in Lib. *Cozri*, Part I. Sect. 97.

† What Authority they had for theſe Aſſertions, I cannot ſay; but if what they offer be true, this does not at all prove *Aaron* to be innocent; becauſe no Obſtinacy of the People cou'd have forc'd him without his own Fault, and he ſhou'd have been willing, and adventur'd to die, rather than, by a timorous Compliance, have made himſelf Partaker of their Sins.

Juſtum & tenacem propoſiti virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus inſtantis Tyranni
Mente quatit ſolidâ, &c.

HOR. Car. Lib. III. Od. iii.

(*y*) Exod. xxxii. 35.

(*z*) Pſal. cvi. 20.

(*a*) *Patrick* in his Comment. in Locum.

(*b*) *Tenniſon* of Idolatry, c. 6.

A. M. 2513, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1491, &c.

ſome of which were *Cherubims*, or Angels appearing in the Form of Oxen: But this Opinion is inconſiſtent with the great Care, which was taken on Mount *Sinai*, not to furniſh any Pretext for Idolatry, and the Caution which *Moſes* gives the People to that Purpoſe. (*c*) *Take ye therefore good Heed to yourſelves (for ye ſaw no Manner of Similitude, on the Day that the Lord ſpake unto you in* Horeb, *out of the Midſt of the Fire) leſt ye corrupt yourſelves, and make you a graven Image, the Similitude of any Figure, the Likeneſs of any Male or Female, the Likeneſs of any Beaſt that is on the Earth; the Likeneſs of any winged Fowl, that flieth in the Air; the Likeneſs of any Thing that creepeth on the Ground; the Likeneſs of any Fiſh*, &c. where the Holy Spirit enumerates Animals of all Kinds, and poſitively aſſures us, that none of their Forms or Figures appear'd upon the Mount.

THE moſt common therefore, and indeed the moſt probable Opinion is, that *Aaron* made Choice of the Figure of an *Ox*, or *Calf*, in Compliance to the Prejudice of the *People*, and becauſe that Creature was worſhipp'd in *Egypt*. That the *Iſraelites* were ſorely infected with the Idolatry of the *Egyptians*, we have many plain Proofs (*d*) from Scripture to convince us; that all Sorts of Animals were worſhipp'd by the *Egyptians*, and, among the *Terreſtrial*, more eſpecially the Ox, is what (*e*) the ſeveral Authors, who have treated of the Affairs of *Egypt*, do abundantly teſtify; and that the Idolatry of *Animals*, and more eſpecially of the *Ox*, was eſtabliſh'd in *Egypt*, during the Sojourning of the *Iſraelites* in that Land, is more than probable from theſe Words of *Moſes* to *Pharaoh*; (*f*) *if we ſacrifice the Abomination of the* Egyptians *before their Eyes*, i. e. if we ſacrifice to our God Oxen, Sheep, and Goats, which the *Egyptians* worſhip and adore, and conſequently make an Abomination to the Lord, *will they not ſtone us?* So that it ſeems moſt rational to ſuppoſe, that this Image was made in Compliance to the giddy Humour of the People, who, upon the ſuppos'd Death of *Moſes*, were probably all for returning back again, and, in Imitation of the *Egyptians*, who worſhipp'd their Idol *Apis*, or *Serapis*, not only in a *living Ox*, but in an Image made after the Similitude of an Ox, bethought themſelves of the like Repreſentation of a Deity to go before them: The only Queſtion is, whether the Worſhip of the *Egyptian Apis* was *prior* to the Formation of this *golden Calf*, which happens to be a Point, wherein (*g*) the Learned are not ſo well agreed.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

THUS we have endeavour'd to give a full Anſwer to ſeveral Objections, which have been rais'd againſt the ſacred Hiſtorian during the Period, which is at preſent under Conſideration: And, for a farther Confirmation hereof, we might now produce ſome foreign Teſtimonies and Traditions concerning the Truth and Veracity of his Narrations. That the miraculous Pillar, *for Inſtance*, which conducted the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs, very probably gave Riſe to the antient Fables, (*h*) how *Hercules* and *Bacchus* (who, under different Shapes, are both ſuppos'd to denote *Moſes*) ſet up *Pillars*, in Teſtimony of their Travels and Expeditions: That the *Iſraelites* ſafe Paſſage over the *Red-Sea*, upon its being divided by the Rod of *Moſes*, and the Tradition, which the People of *Memphis* have thereupon, are related by *Antapanus*, as he is quoted (*i*) by *Euſebius*: That, upon the Return and Conflux of the Waters, the Armies, which purſu'd them, were ſwallow'd up in the Deep, is mention'd (*k*) by *Diodorus*, as a current Story among the People inhabiting the *weſtern* Coaſt of the *Red-Sea*: That, on this Coaſt there are ſeveral Lakes and Springs of a ſalt and brackiſh Taſte, in the Manner that *Moſes* has recorded, and no ſuch

All this confirm'd by Heathen Teſtimony.

(*c*) Deut. iv. 15, &c. (*d*) Vid. Joſh. xxiv. 14. Ezek. xx. 7, 8. and Chap. xxii. 3, 8. (*e*) Vid. *Strabo*, Lib. 17. de Ægyptiacis Templis. Herod. Lib. 2. Diod. Lib. 1. & Plutar. de Iſide & Oſiride. (*f*) Exod. viii. 26. (*g*) Vid. *Ger. Voſ.* de Idolat. c. 9 *Bochart.* Hieroſ. Part I. Lib. 2. and *Tenniſon* of Idolatry. (*h*) *Huetius*, Quæſt. Alnet. Lib. 2. (*i*) Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. (*k*) Lib. 3. p. 174.

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ſuch Thing found on the other Side of the Sea, is teſtify'd (*l*) by *Oroſius*, as well as ſeveral antient Geographers: That God's ſending down *Manna*, for Bread, to the *Iſraelites*, and great Plenty of *Quails*, for Meat, is mention'd by *Antipanus*, as he is cited again (*m*) by *Euſebius*: That, from *Moſes*'s ſtriking the Rock with his Rod, the Fable of *Bacchus*'s doing the ſame with his *Tyrſus*, in order to extract Water for the Relief of the Virgin *Aura*, had its Original: And (to name no more) that, from *Moſes*'s receiving the Law on Mount *Sinai*, moſt of the Lawgivers of other Nations took the Hint to borrow their Inſtitutions from ſome God, or Goddeſs, or other; *Minos*, from *Jupiter*; *Lycurgus*, from *Apollo*; *Zeleucus*, from *Minerva*; *Numa*, from *Egeria*; &c. ſo well was the World perſuaded of the Truth and Authority of the *Jewiſh* Legiſlator, when they ſeem'd to agree in this: —— That even a diſtant Imitation of him was enough to give Sanction to their ſeveral Fictions.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv 24.

DISSERTATION I.

Of the ISRAELITES *paſſing the* Red-Sea.

Why this Miracle has been diſputed.

THE Paſſage of the *Iſraelites* thro' the *Red-Sea* is what we have reſerv'd for the Subject of our *Diſſertation*, becauſe it is one of the moſt remarkable Events in this *Period*, if not in the whole *Jewiſh* Hiſtory; and yet has had the Misfortune to meet with more Suggeſtions againſt its *Miraculouſneſs*, than any other, that we find upon Record.

WHAT has contributed to this *Perverſeneſs* may not unlikely be the fond Conceits, which ſome *antient* Doctors, both of the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Church, have been pleas'd to affix to this Miracle: *viz.* That God divided the Sea into *twelve* Paſſages, according to the *twelve Tribes*: That, to facilitate their Paſſage, he pull'd up the Weeds, remov'd huge Stones, levell'd the rugged Places, and made the Sand, at the Bottom, as hard as a Rock: That the Waters, upon being divided, were immediately congeal'd, and ſtood *in Array*, like a Wall of *Glaſs*; and that ſome Fragments of the *Egyptian Chariot-Wheels* may, even to this Day, be ſeen at the Bottom, as far as the Sight can reach. For it is not improbable, that, in Prejudice to theſe extravagant *Fancies*, others have exercis'd all their Wit and Learning to depreciate the Miracle, by aſſerting, —— That there was no more in it (even as *Joſephus* himſelf ſeems to inſinuate) than in *Alexander*'s paſſing the Sea of *Pamphylia*; (*n*) that the *Red-Sea*, eſpecially in the extreme Part of it, where the *Iſraelites* paſs'd, is not above two or three Miles over, and very often dry, by Reaſon of the great Reflux of the Tide; and that *Moſes*, who perfectly underſtood the Country, and had made his Obſervations upon the *Flux* and *Reflux* of the Sea, led down his Men at the Time of *Ebb*, when, being favour'd by a ſtrong Wind blowing from the Shore, he had the good Luck to get ſafe to the other Side; while *Pharaoh*, and his Army, hoping to do the ſame, but miſtaken in their Computation, had the Misfortune to be loſt. And therefore, to give this Matter a fair Hearing, we ſhall firſt endeavour to eſtabliſh the Truth of the *Miracle*, and then examine into the Pretenſions of thoſe, who are willing, either to aſcribe it to *natural Cauſes*, or to *compare* it with other Events (as they ſuppoſe) of the like Nature.

The Reality of it.

WITHOUT entering far into *Moſes*'s Character, we will ſuppoſe him, at preſent, a Man of common Senſe, and who had ſome Honour and Modeſty in him; and yet,

(*l*) *Huetius*, Quæſt. Alnet. Lib. 2. tation, concerning the Paſſage of the *Red-Sea*.

(*m*) Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. c. 27.

(*n*) Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Diſſer.

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yet, if he had, we can hardly conceive how he durſt have recorded ſo palpable an Untruth, (ſuppoſing this Paſſage to have nothing *miraculous* in it) when there was ſuch a Multitude of living Witneſſes to confront him; or (*o*) what poſſible Artifice he cou'd uſe to perſuade above two Millions of Perſons, that God, by his Hand, had wrought a ſtupendous Miracle, when they knew, as well as he, that there was no ſuch Thing tranſacted. Among ſuch a contumacious and mutinous Set of People, *Moſes* muſt neceſſarily have made himſelf *ridiculous*, and his Authority *deſpicable*, had he ever once attempted to foiſt ſuch a Fable upon them. And therefore, when we find other ſacred Writers bearing Teſtimony to what he relates, and relating the Matter in the like lofty Expreſſions; when we find the *Royal Pſalmiſt* aſſuring us, that (*p*) *God, dividing the Sea, made the Waters to ſtand up on an Heap, and cauſed the* Iſraelites *to paſs through*; when we find the Prophet *Iſaiah* demanding, (*q*) *where is he, that brought them up out of the Sea, that led them by the Right-hand of* Moſes, *by his glorious Arm dividing the Water before him, to make him an everlaſting Name?* when we find the Prophet *Habakkuk* declaring upon this Occaſion, *that* (*r*) *the Lord made himſelf a Road to drive his Chariot and Horſes croſs the Sea, a-croſs the Mud of the great Waters*; and when we find the Author *of the Book of Wiſdom* thus recording the Story; (*s*) *where Water ſtood before, dry Land appeared; out of the* Red-Sea *a Way without Impediment, and out of the violent Stream a green Field, where-through all the People went, that were defended by thy Hand, ſeeing thy marvellous ſtrange Wonders; for they went at large like Horſes, and leaped like Lambs, praiſing thee, O Lord, who hadſt delivered them:* When we find theſe, I ſay, and ſeveral more Writers of great Authority, aſſerting the Wonderfulneſs of this Paſſage, (unleſs we can ſuppoſe that they were all combin'd to impoſe upon us) we cannot but aſſent to the Truth of the Fact itſelf, how *poetical* ſoever we may think the Words of that ſacred *Hymn* to be, wherein *Moſes* endeavours to diſplay it: (*t*) *By the Blaſt of thy Noſtrils the Waters were gathered together, the Flood ſtood upright, as an Heap, and the Depths were congealed in the Heart of the Earth.*

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

In an Event, ſo wonderful, and ſo unaccountable to human Reaſon, it cannot be expected, but that *Traditions* ſhou'd differ, and Accounts be various: But certainly it is no ſmall Confirmation of the Teſtimony, which the ſacred Writers give us of it, that we find *Antapanus*, in his Hiſtory of the *Jews*, as he is quoted by (*u*) *Euſebius*, and (*x*) *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, giving us this Narration of the Matter: "The People of *Memphis* tell us, that "*Moſes*, who was acquainted with all the "Country, knowing the Time, when the "Tide wou'd be out, carry'd over all his "Army at low Water: But thoſe of "*Heliopolis* ſay otherwiſe, *viz.* that the "King, following the *Jews*, going away "with what they had borrow'd of the "*Egyptians*, carry'd with him a great "Army; but that *Moſes*, by an Order from "Heaven, ſtruck the Sea with a *Rod*, "whereupon the Waters immediately ſepa-"rated, and he led over his Forces in a dry "Tract, but that the *Egyptians*, attempt-"ing the ſame Paſſage, were dazzled by "Lightning, and, as the Sea return'd "upon the Paths they were in, were all "deſtroy'd, either by Fire or Water." So that if the joint Teſtimony both of *Friends* or *Foes* can have any Weight with us, we cannot but believe, that this Paſſage of the *Iſraelites*, as it is recorded by *Moſes*, was certainly Matter of Fact, and a Fact ſo very wonderful and miraculous, that Nothing in Hiſtory can ſtand in Competition with it.

Alexander's Paſſage conſider'd.

The Paſſage of *Alexander the Great* over the Sea of *Pamphilia*, bears no Manner

(*o*) *Calmet*'s Diſſert. ſur le Paſſag. de la Mer Rouge. (*p*) Pſal. lxxviii. 13. (*q*) Iſa. lxiii. 11, 12.
(*r*) Hab. iii. 15. (*s*) Wiſd. xix. 7, &c. (*t*) Exod. xv. 8. (*u*) Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. c. 27. (*x*) Strom. Lib. 1.

A. M. 2513, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1491, &c.

ner of Reſemblance to this of the *Iſraelites*. *Alexander*, as (*y*) *Arrian* * and others relate to it, was to march from *Phaſelis* a Sea-Port, to *Perga* an Inland City of *Pamphylia*. The Country near *Phaſelis*, upon the Shore of the *Pamphylian* Sea, was mountainous and rocky; ſo that he cou'd not find a Paſſage for his Army, without either taking a great Compaſs round the Mountains, or attempting to go over the *Strand*, between the Rocks and the Sea. The Hiſtorian remarks, that there is no paſſing along this Place, unleſs when the Wind blows from the *North*; and therefore *Alexander*, when he came to *Phaſelis*, perceiving that the Wind blew from this Quarter, laid hold of the Opportunity; and, having ſent ſome of his Army over the Mountains, went himſelf with the reſt along the Shore. But now what Miracle was there in all this, unleſs we call the Wind's blowing *opportunely* for *Alexander*'s Purpoſe a Miracle? It is certain, that, according to (*z*) *Plutarch*'s Account of the Thing, *Alexander* himſelf thought that there was nothing extraordinary in it; and therefore we may juſtly wonder * at *Joſephus*'s comparing this Paſſage with that of the *Iſraelites*, when there is ſo manifeſt a Diſparity between them. The *Iſraelites* croſs'd over a Sea, where no Hiſtorian makes mention of any Perſons, but they, that ever found a Paſſage; whereas *Alexander* only march'd upon the Shore of the Sea of *Pamphylia*, where the ſeveral Hiſtorians, who moſt magnify the divine Providence in protecting him, do all freely allow, that any one may, at any Time, go, when the Tide retreats, and the ſame Wind blows, that favour'd him.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

That the Iſraelites *Paſſage was not at* Low-Water.

WHAT the Breadth of the *Red-Sea* may be, at the Place where the *Iſraelites* paſs'd over, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to determine, * becauſe both *Geographers* and Travellers mightily differ in their Computations. But, if (according to ſome of the loweſt Accounts) we ſuppoſe it to be much about two Leagues, moſt Writers agree, that the Sea, in this Place, is very boiſterous and tempeſtuous, which is hardly conſiſtent with a Shallowneſs, much leſs a total *Deſertion* of Water, upon any haſty *Reflux*. The Wind, it muſt be own'd, if it blew from a right Quarter, might both forward the *Ebb*, and retard the *Flux*; but the Wind, which blew at this

(*y*) Exped. Alex. Lib. i. and *Shuckford*'s Connection. Vol. II. Lib. ix.

* *Strabo* relates the Matter thus. ——— "About *Phaſelis* there are Streights towards the Sea, through which "*Alexander* paſs'd his Army. There is alſo a Mountain, call'd *Climax*, which lies to the *Pamphylian* Sea, leaving "a ſtreight Paſſage to the Shore, which is quite bare in good Weather; but, when the Waves ariſe, it is, for the "moſt part, cover'd with them. Now the Road by the Mountain is about, and difficult; and therefore, in calm "Weather, they go by the Shore. But *Alexander* coming thither in ſtormy Weather, and truſting to his Fortune, "wou'd go over before the Waves were abated, which made his Soldiers go all Day up to the Navel in Water, "Lib. 14." And much to the ſame Purpoſe is the Account, which *Plutarch* gives us. "The March through *Pam*-"*phylia*, *ſays he*, has been the Subject to many Hiſtorians of mighty Wonder, and fine Declamation, as if the Sea, "by Order of the Gods, gave Place to *Alexander*, which almoſt always is rough there, and does very rarely open a "ſmooth Paſſage under thoſe broken Rocks. But *Alexander* himſelf, in his *Epiſtles*, ſpeaks of no Miracle, but only "ſays, that *he paſs'd by* Climax, *as he came from* Phaſelis." Vita Alex. Now, by the joint Authority of theſe two excellent Hiſtorians, this Paſſage is no more than an *ordinary* Thing, but the *Moſaick Tranſit* muſt ſtill remain a Miracle, until we find as good *Hiſtorians* to vouch for a Paſſage over the *Red-Sea*. *Nicholls*'s Conference, Part II.

(*z*) In Alexand. p. 674.

* The Words of *Joſephus* are theſe, ——— "I have been more particular in theſe Relations, becauſe I find them "in Holy Writ; and let no Man think this Story incredible of the Sea's dividing to ſave the *Hebrews*, for we find "it in antient Records, that This hath been ſeen before, whether by God's extraordinary Will, or by the Courſe of "*Nature*, it is indifferent. The ſame Thing happen'd one Time to the *Macedonians*, under the Command of *Alex*-"*ander*, when, for Want of another Paſſage, the *Pamphylian* Sea divided to make them Way, God's Providence mak-"ing Uſe of *Alexander*, at that Time, as his Inſtrument for deſtroying the *Perſian* Empire." Lib. ii. c. 16. But it is evident, that *Joſephus* was ignorant of the Account of the above-cited Hiſtorians, otherwiſe he wou'd have ſaid nothing of the *Pamphylian* Sea's dividing for the Paſſage of the *Macedonian* Army, when the Matter of Fact was no ſuch Thing.

* One affirms that the Sea is *ſix Leagues* wide, at this Place; another makes it but 15 *Furlongs*; one ſays it is narrow, and long like a River, and another allows it to be the Breadth of one *League*. *Thevenot* makes it *eight* or *nine Miles* in Breadth, but *Andricomius* will have it to be no more than *ſix*. Thoſe however, who are minded to conſult the Authors, who treat of this Subject among many others, may turn to *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. iii. *Strabo*, Lib. ii. *P. Bellon*'s Obſervat. Lib. ii. *Petro della Valle*, Tom. I. Ep. 11. Voyage de Levant, and Theatrum Terræ Sacræ.

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this Time, we are told, was an *Eaſt-Wind*, whereas it muſt have been a *Weſt*, or *North-weſt* Wind, to have driven the Water, from the Land's-End, into the main Body of the Sea, as any one, who looks into a Map, may eaſily perceive. But now the *Eaſt Wind* blows croſs the Sea, and the Effect of it muſt be, to drive the Waters partly up to the Extremity of the Bay, and partly down to the Ocean, which probably is the Meaning (if we muſt allow an *Hyperbole* in the Expreſſion) of the Waters *being a Wall to the* Iſraelites *on their Right-hand, and on their Left*, becauſe they ſo defended them on both Sides, that the *Egyptians* cou'd no Way come at them, but by purſuing them in the ſame Path, which they took.

Why they ventur'd to purſue the *Iſraelites*, the ſacred *Hiſtorian* ſeems plainly to intimate, when he tells us, (*a*) that *the Angel of the Lord, which went before the Camp, removed, and went behind them: It came between the Camp of the* Egyptians, *and the Camp of* Iſrael, *and was a Cloud and Darkneſs to the one, but gave Light by Night to the other:* So that the true Reaſon, why *the* Egyptians *went in after the* Iſraelites *into the Midſt of the Sea*, was, that they knew not where they were. They imagin'd, perhaps, that they were ſtill upon the Land, or at leaſt upon the Shore, whence the Sea had retir'd; the Darkneſs of the Night, and the *preternatural* Darkneſs of the Cloud, not ſuffering them to ſee the Mountains of Water on each Side. But (*b*) *when the Lord looked on the Hoſt of the* Egyptians *through the Pillar of Fire*, i. e. when he turn'd the bright Side of the Cloud upon them, to let them ſee the Danger they were in, and, at the ſame Time (as *Joſephus* adds) pour'd out a Storm of Thunder, and Lightning, and Hail-ſtones upon them from the Cloud; (*c*) *let us flee*, cry'd they, *from the Face of* Iſrael, *for the Lord fighteth for them.*

It is not to be queſtion'd, but that *Moſes* was a Perſon of excellent Judgment: By his being ſo long a *General* of an Army, he cou'd not but know the proper Advantages, that might be made in Marches and Retreats; and yet he ſeems to give no great *Specimen* of his Skill, by declining the Mountains, which poſſibly were inacceſſible to the Chariots and Horſemen, and marching his Men along the Sea Coaſts, where *Pharaoh*'s Army might make after him, (as we find they did) had not God commanded him to take this Rout, and foretold him the Event. Upon the Approach of the *Egyptian* Army, *Moſes* has ſufficiently deſcrib'd the Conſternation, which the *Iſraelites* were in; and, can any one ſuppoſe, that ſuch a Situation of Things was Matter of their own Choice, or that their Leader wou'd, of his own Head, have brought them into a Place, where there was no Poſſibility of eſcaping the Fury of their Enemies, without croſſing the Sea? (*d*) Had *Pharaoh* laid hold of this Advantage, (and Nothing but a miraculous Interpoſition cou'd have hinder'd him) how cou'd *Moſes*, with all his *ſweet Words*, and Addreſs, have prevail'd with his People to run into the Sea? Or, (ſuppoſing he truſted to the Tide at *Ebb*) how cou'd he know for Certainty, that this Ebb wou'd begin preciſely at the *Cloſe* of the Day, and that the *Egyptians* wou'd allow him Time to decamp, without their Guards giving Intelligence, or their Forces purſuing them in his Retreat; which had they done, to what diſmal Extremities muſt he and his People have been reduc'd? If we ſuppoſe that this was an haſty Reſolution, which the Difficulties, he found himſelf in, compell'd him to take; yet we ſhall ſtill be at a Loſs to know, how he cou'd poſſibly anſwer for the Event, or with what Face he cou'd promiſe the People, that (*e*) *the Lord would fight for them*; *that they ſhould ſtand ſtill, and ſee the Salvation, which he would ſhew them*; and *that the* Egyptians, who had given them ſo much Moleſtation, *they ſhould ſee them again no more for ever?*

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

He

(*a*) Exod. xiv. 19, 20. (*b*) Ver. 19. (*c*) Ver. 25. (*d*) *Calmet*'s Diſſert. ſur le Paſſage de la Mer Rouge. (*e*) Exod. xiv. 13, 14.

A. M. 2513, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1491, &c.

HE might not be ignorant perhaps of the Courſe of the Tide, and might eaſily diſcern the favourable Diſpoſition of the Wind: But was there never a Man in all the great Army, which *Pharaoh* brought with him, of equal Obſervation and Skill? It is incongruous to think, that the *Egyptians*, who excell'd, at that Time, all other Nations, in their Knowledge and Obſervation of *celeſtial* Bodies, ſhou'd be ignorant of the *Fluxes* and *Refluxes* of the Sea, in their *own* Country, in their *own* Coaſt, and in their *own* moſt trading and frequented Ports and Havens: And, if they were not ignorant of the Time of the Reflux, it is hardly to be imagin'd, that any Eagerneſs of Purſuit wou'd have made them venture into the *Gulf*, when they cou'd not but be ſenſible, that, in Caſe they *miſcomputed*, the returning Waves wou'd devour, and ſwallow them up.

BUT the Truth is, their taking the Tide *at the Ebb* wou'd ſerve the Purpoſes, neither of the *Iſraelites* eſcaping, nor the *Egyptians* purſuing them. That it badly anſwer'd the Deſign of the *Egyptians* is plain from the Event; and that the *Iſraelites* cou'd promiſe themſelves no Security by it, is evident from the Nature of its Motion. *(f)* Every one knows, that, in the *Flux* of the Sea, its Waters come on *gradually*, and, for the Space of ſix Hours, ſwell higher and higher upon the Banks; and then, continuing in this State for about a Quarter of an Hour, they ſink by Degrees for ſix Hours more, and retreating from the Shores (which is call'd the *Reflux*) they remain at their loweſt Ebb, as long as they had done at their higheſt *Flux*, and then begin to change their Courſe, and creep in towards the Shore again; and in this Revolution they always go on, with the Variation only of three Quarters of an Hour, and ſome Minutes, in each Tide.

THAT the *Red-Sea* does ebb and flow, like other Seas, that have Communication with the *Main Ocean*, we readily grant; but then we are told by thoſe, who have made the exacteſt Obſervations, that the greateſt Diſtance, that it falls from the Place of High-Water, is not above three hundred Yards, and that theſe three hundred Yards, which the Sea leaves uncover'd at the Time of *Low-Water*, cannot continue *ſo* above half an Hour at moſt, becauſe, during the firſt ſix Hours, the Sea does only retire by Degrees, and, in leſs than half an Hour, it begins to flow again towards the Shore: So that, upon a moderate Computation, the moſt, that can be allow'd, both of Time and Space of paſſable Ground, is but about two hundred Yards, during ſix Hours, and an hundred and fifty, during eight. But now it is plain, that a Multitude of above two Millions of Men, Women, and Children, encumber'd with great Quantities of Cattle and Houſhould-ſtuff, cou'd never be able to croſs, even though we ſuppoſe it to be that *Arm* or Point of the Sea, which is not far diſtant from the Port of *Suez*, and allow them withal a double Portion of Time, and a double Space of Ground to perform it in; whereas the general Tradition is, that the Place where the *Iſraelites enter'd* the *Red-Sea* on the *Egyptian* Side, is two or three Leagues below this northern Point, at a Place call'd *Kolſum*; and the Place, where they *came out* of it, on the *Arabian* Side, is, at preſent, call'd *(g) Corondal*, where the Sea is about eight or nine Miles in Breadth.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

FROM the *Breadth* of the Sea, and the *Iſraelites* coming out of it at a Place *(h)* of the ſame Name, with that of their Entrance, ſome have imagin'd, that they did not croſs from Shore to Shore, but only took a ſhort Compaſs along the *Strand*, that was left dry at Low-Water, and ſo came out a little farther in the *Bay*, which the *Egyptians* attempting to do, by the unexpected Return of the Tide, were all loſt. Now, beſides the Incongruity (as we ſaid before) of ſuppoſing the *Iſraelites* better

Did not coaſt along the Strand, *but paſs'd quite through.*

(f) Calmet's Diſſert. ibid. Numb. xxxiii. 6, 8.

(g) Thevenot's Voyage de Levant.

(h) Compare Exod. xiii. 20. with

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better Judges of the Tide, than the *Egyptians* were, we do not find, that the Scriptures any where determine the Length of Time, which the former employ'd in paſſing this Sea. *In the Morning-Watch* (which continu'd from *two* to *ſix* in the Morning) it is ſaid indeed, that (*i*) *the Lord troubled the Hoſt of the* Egyptians, *and took off their Chariot-Wheels*; but how long the *Iſraelites* might have enter'd the Channel, before the *Egyptians* met with this Obſtruction, is no where ſaid; ſo that the Computation of Time will depend upon the ſuppos'd Breadth of the Sea.

Supposing then (as we ſaid before) that the Breadth of the Sea was about eight Miles in all, we cannot but imagine, that a People, *full of Strength and Vigour*, (as (*k*) the *Pſalmiſt* repreſents them) purſu'd by ſo dreadful and enrag'd an Enemy, wou'd make the beſt of their Way; nor can we ſee any Abſurdity in an Event, ſo abounding with Miracles, to ſuppoſe one more. (*l*) Now, if God interpos'd his Power to diſable the Chariots of *Pharaoh*, leſt the Return of the Waters ſhou'd excite the *Egyptians* Fears, and their Fears, by improving their Diligence, ſave them from Deſtruction; why might not God interpoſe the ſame Power (if there was Occaſion) to quicken and accelerate the *Iſraelites*, and make them perform their Paſſage in due Time? Nay, if we will allow his own Words to be a good Comment upon his Actions, we cannot but ſuppoſe, that he did ſo, when we find him, after all was over, recounting his Kindneſs to them thus: —— (*m*) *Ye have ſeen what I did unto the* Egyptians, *and how I did bear you on Eagle's Wings*, (where the Expreſſion certainly denotes ſome extraordinary Aſſiſtance given them in their Paſſage) *and brought you unto myſelf*. It cannot be deny'd indeed, but that ſome Ambiguity may ariſe as to the Place, where the *Iſraelites* came on Shore, (ſince they were at *Etham* but two Days before, and now landed in a Wilderneſs of the ſame Name) yet, if we will but ſuppoſe that there were two *Ethams*, the one a *Town*, where they encamp'd, on the *Egyptian* Side, and the other, on the *Arabian* Side, a *Wilderneſs*; or, if we will needs have the Wilderneſs of *Etham* denominated from the Town, ſuppoſing that the Town was ſituated near the Upper Part of the *Red-Sea*, and gave Denomination to a great *Deſart*, which ſurrounded the *Head* of the *Bay*, and reach'd down a conſiderable Space, on both Sides of it, we may eaſily perceive, that though the *Iſraelites*, in the *Evening*, march'd from the Wilderneſs of *Etham* croſs the Gulf, yet, upon their Landing in the *Morning*, they wou'd but be in another Part of the Wilderneſs of *Etham* ſtill. Upon the whole therefore it appears, that the *Iſraelites* coaſting it along the *Egyptian* Shore, in a Kind of *Semicircle*, is both a needleſs and groundleſs Suppoſition. For had this been *all*, upon the Return of the Tide, the drown'd *Egyptians* muſt have been brought back upon their own Shore; whereas the Scripture Account of this Matter is, —— that, as ſoon as (*n*) *Moſes ſtretched out his Hand over the Sea, it returned to its Strength, and the Waters returned, and covered the* Egyptians, *who fled againſt them*; which certainly can denote no leſs, than that the Mountains of Waters were firſt *diſſolv'd*, where they were firſt *congeal'd*, i. e. on the *Egyptian* Side; and that *there* beginning to re-unite, in order to ſtop the *Egyptians* Return, they came ruſhing upon them in *vaſt Inundations*, and, of Courſe, ſweep'd them away to the contrary, *i. e. Arabian* Shore, where all the Hoſt of *Iſrael* were ſafely arriv'd.

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

Thus we have endeavour'd to evince the Reality of this miraculous Event, and to examine the Pretences of thoſe, who have either compar'd it with others recorded in profane Story, or aſcrib'd it to natural Cauſes, or eſpied ſome ſeeming Contradictions

(*i*) Exod. xiv. 24, 25.
(*k*) Pſal. cv. 37.
(*l*) *Saurin's* Diſſert.
(*m*) Exod. xix. 4.
(*n*) Exod. xiv. 27, 28.

THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL WORSHIPPING THE MOLTEN CALF. Exod. XXXII. 1. 8.

Plate IX.

I Mynde sc.

To the Right Reverend Father in God FRANCIS Lord Bishop *of* CHICHESTER. *This Plate is most humbly inscribed by his Lordship's most dutifull son and Servant*

Thomas Stackhouse

A. M. 2513, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1491, &c.

Contradictions in it; and have nothing now more to do, but, with the grateful *Pſalmiſt*, to acknowledge, upon this Occaſion, (o) *Thy Way, O Lord, is in the Sea, and thy Paths in the great Waters, and thy Foot-ſteps are not known. Thou art a God, that doth Wonders, and haſt declared thy Power among the People.*

From Exod. xiii. to Chap. xxxiv. 24.

(o) Pſal. lxxvii. 19, 14.

CHAP. II.

From the Building of the TABERNACLE, *to the Death of* KORAH, &c.

The HISTORY.

A. M. 2514, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1490, &c.

FOR full forty Days and forty Nights *Moſes* continu'd upon Mount *Sinai*, as he had done before, without either Eating or Drinking; and when he came down from thence, his Face had contracted ſuch a *Luſtre*, by his holding ſo long a Conference with God, that the People were not able to approach him; and therefore, whenever he talk'd with *Aaron*, or any of them, he was accuſtom'd to put a Veil over his Face, as long as the Luſtre laſted, but never made Uſe of any, when he went into the Tabernacle to receive the divine Commands.

Moſes, *on the Mount receives Directions concerning the* Tabernacle, &c.

WHILE he was on the Mount, God gave him the *Ten Commandments* written in two *Tables*, and withal full Inſtructions, in what Manner the *Tabernacle*, intended for his own Habitation among them, and all its ſacred *Utenſils*, were to be made; which he now communicated to the People, and, at the ſame Time, exhorted them to bring in their ſeveral Offerings to that Purpoſe. This they did in ſuch Abundance, that he thought it convenient, by a publick Proclamation, to reſtrain their farther Liberality; and, having thus made a ſufficient Collection of all Kinds of Materials, he gave them to *Bezaleel* and *Aholiah*, the two great Artiſts in Building, and all Manner of Workmanſhip, whom God had before made Choice of.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb xviii.

IN leſs than ſix Months, the Tabernacle, and all its rich Furniture were finiſh'd; and, on the firſt Day of the firſt Month, in the ſecond Year after the *Iſraelites* Departure out of *Egypt*, it was ſet up: When, as ſoon as this was done, the *Pillar of the Cloud* († which is call'd the *Glory of the Lord*) cover'd, and quite fill'd it, ſo that

† *The Glory of the Lord* (what the *Jews* call SCHEKINAH) was a particular Manifeſtation of the Divine Preſence, appearing uſually in the Shape of a *Cloud*, but ſometimes breaking out into a bright and refulgent Fire. For we muſt not ſuppoſe that the *Cloud*, and the *Glory of God*, were two *different* Things, but one and the ſame, even as the *Pillar of the Cloud* and *Fire* were; for *outwardly* it was a Cloud, and *inwardly* a Fire. And, in like Manner here, the external Part of it cover'd the *Tabernacle* without, while the inward Part of it ſhone in full Glory within the *Houſe*; in which Senſe the Account of this *Appearance* (Exod. xvi. 10.) is to be underſtood: The Glory of *the Lord abode upon Mount* Sinai, *and the Cloud covered it* (i. e. cover'd *the Glory of the Lord*, not *the Mount*) *ſix Days*; for, on the *ſeventh* Day this Glory broke through the Cloud, and appear'd like a *devouring Fire* in the Sight of all the People, Exod. xxiv. 17. This wonderful Appearance, whether occaſion'd by the Preſence of *Angels*, or (as others imagine) by the Reſidence of the *ſecond Perſon* in the ever bleſſed *Trinity*, took Poſſeſſion of the Tabernacle, on the Day of its Conſecration, and (*as the* Jews *believe*) paſs'd into the *Sanctuary* of *Solomon*'s Temple, on the Day of its *Dedication*, where it continu'd to the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and the Temple by the *Chaldeans*; after which Time it was never more ſeen. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Schekinah*, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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that *Moſes*, for ſome Time, was not able to enter in. However, when he enter'd in, he receiv'd Inſtructions from God, which he communicated to the People, in what Manner (according to this new *Inſtitution*) he was to be worſhipp'd by *Sacrifices* and *Oblations*; what *Feſtivals* were to be obſerv'd, and how celebrated; what *Meats* were forbidden; what the Inſtances of *Uncleanneſs* were; and what the Degrees of *Conſanguinity* prohibited in Marriage. And having appointed theſe, and ſome other Ordinances, he ſolemnly conſecrated *Aaron* to the *High-Prieſt*'s Office; his Sons, and, in them, their Poſterity, he made Prieſts; and to theſe he adjoin'd the whole Tribe of *Levi*, to ſerve in the Tabernacle, with particular Allowances for their Subſiſtence, and ſome reſtraining Laws, as to their Perſons, their Conduct, and Marriages.

Conſecrates Aaron *and his Sons.*

EIGHT Days after his Conſecration, *Aaron* offer'd his firſt *Burnt-Sacrifice* for himſelf and the People, which God was pleas'd to manifeſt his Acceptance of, in the Sight of all the People, by ſending down Fire from Heaven, which, by conſuming the Offering, ſtruck them with ſuch Reverence, that they all fell proſtrate in humble Adoration before the Divine Majeſty. The Fire, thus miraculouſly kindled, was, (*a*) by the divine Command, to be ‡ kept perpetually burning, and no other to be us'd in all the Oblations that were made to God. But *Nadab* and *Abihu*, two unhappy Sons of *Aaron*, unmindful of this Command, took common Fire on their Cenſers, and ſo, entering the Tabernacle, began to offer Incenſe; but, by this their profane Approach, they ſo offended God, that he immediately ſtruck them dead with Lightning; and, to inject Terror to the reſt, order'd them to be carry'd forthwith out of the Camp, and there bury'd without any Mourning, or funeral Pomp. And, much about the ſame Time, he gave another Inſtance of his Severity againſt Sin, in a certain Perſon, the Son of an *Iſraelitiſh* Woman indeed, but whoſe Father was an *Egyptian*, who, for his *curſing* and *blaſpheming* the Name of God, was by him directly order'd to be ſton'd to Death; from which it became a ſtanding Law, († though there was no expreſs Precept to that Purpoſe before) that whoever was guilty of the like Offence, whether *Stranger* or *Iſraelite*, was to undergo the ſame Puniſhment.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb xviii.

Whereof two are kill'd with Lightning, and ſome other Offenders puniſh'd.

NAY, and not long after this, another Inſtance of the divine Severity, was upon a Man, who *by a poſt-fact-Law*, was likewiſe adjudg'd to be ſton'd to Death, for violating the *Sabbath* (which God had ſo ſtrictly injoin'd to be obſerv'd) by gathering ſome Sticks on that Day. There was

(*a*) Lev. vi. 12, 13.

‡ If it be aſked, how this Fire cou'd be preſerv'd, when both the *Tabernacle*, and the *Altar* whereon it burnt, were in Motion? (as they evidently were, when the *Iſraelites* journey'd in the Wilderneſs) I ſee no Reaſon, why we may not ſuppoſe, that, upon theſe Occaſions, there might be a certain *portable Conſervatory* of this *ſacred Fire*, diſtinct from the *Altar*: And that there was ſome ſuch Veſſel made Uſe of, ſeems manifeſt from the Injunction, that, at ſuch Times, *the Aſhes ſhould be removed from off the Altar, and a purple Cloth ſpread over it*, Numb. iv. 8. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. IV. Occaſion. Annot. 2.

† The Criminal, and his Offence, are only thus recorded by *Moſes*: ——— *The Son of an* Iſraelitiſh *Woman whoſe Father was an* Egyptian, *and a Man of* Iſrael, *ſtrove together in the Camp, and the* Iſraelitiſh *Woman's Son blaſphemed the Name of the Lord, and curſed*, Lev. xxiv. 11: But the *Jews*, in explaining theſe Words, have follow'd either that ſuperſtitious Reſpect, which they pay to the Name JEHOVAH, or their wonted Humour of ſupplying the Silence of the ſacred Hiſtory with Circumſtances, no where to be found, but in their own Imaginations. In purſuance to their *Superſtition*, they fancy, that the Crime of this *Blaſphemer* conſiſted ſimply in his pronouncing the Name JEHOVAH, foraſmuch as they ſuppoſe, that there can be no Blaſphemy without ſuch Pronunciation; and, in purſuance to their Humour of ſupplying the *Silence* of Scripture, they have invented a *Genealogy* for this Blaſphemer. For they tell us, that he was the Son of one of thoſe Taſk-maſters, who were ſet over the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*, and of that very Taſk-maſter, who, by perſonating her Huſband, violated the Chaſtity of the *Jewiſh* Matron *Shelometh*, and was afterwards ſlain by *Moſes*, for uſing the ſame Huſband with great Barbarity; that the Son, who is here mention'd, quarrelling with a Man of the Tribe of *Dan*, becauſe he wou'd not let him encamp in the ſame Diſtrict, brought his Cauſe before *Moſes*; but that, being condemn'd at his *Tribunal*, he began, out of mere Rage and Madneſs, to *blaſpheme*. Of all this however *Moſes* himſelf ſays nothing, out of a Scruple (as we may well ſuppoſe) to relate the Circumſtances of a Crime, which his very Thoughts deteſted. *Saurin*'s Diſſertations 58.

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was no Penalty annex'd to the Violation of this Commandment; and therefore the People, who brought him before *Moſes*, were order'd to keep him in Cuſtody, until he ſhou'd know the divine Pleaſure concerning *Sabbath-breakers*; and, when he acquainted them, that ſuch Tranſgreſſors were to be puniſh'd with Death, (*b*) they immediately led him out of the Camp, and there ſton'd, and bury'd him.

The Iſraelites *muſter'd, and their Manner of encamping and marching.*

WHILE the *Iſraelites* lay encamp'd in the Wilderneſs of *Sinai*, God appointed *Moſes* firſt, † to renew the Ordinance of the *Paſſover*, and then, with the Help of *Aaron*, and the *Heads* of each Tribe, to make a general *Muſter* of the Men, that were able to bear Arms; which accordingly was done, and the whole Number (excluſive of the Tribe of *Levi*, which were appointed to attend the Service of the *Tabernacle*) amounted to ſix hundred and three thouſand, five hundred and fifty Men; and, upon this Muſter, God appointed their Encampment, ever after, to be in this Manner.

THE whole Body of the People were diſpos'd under four large *Battalions*, ſo plac'd, as to incloſe the Tabernacle, and each under * one general *Standard*. The Standard of the Camp of *Judah* was firſt. It conſiſted of the Tribes of *Judah*, *Iſſachar*, and *Zebulun*, the Sons of *Leah*, which pitch'd on the *Eaſt-ſide* of the Tabernacle, towards the Riſing of the Sun. On the *South-ſide* was the Standard of the Camp of *Reuben*, under which were the Tribes of *Reuben*, and *Simeon*, the Sons of *Leah* likewiſe, and that of *Gad*, the Son of *Zilphah*, her Maid. On the *Weſt-ſide* was the Standard of the Camp of *Ephraim*, under which were the Tribes of *Ephraim*, *Manaſſeh*, and *Benjamin*. And on the *North-ſide* was the Standard of the Camp of *Dan* and *Naphthali*, the Sons of *Bilhah*, *Rachel*'s Maid, and that of *Aſher*, the Son of *Zilphah*. Between theſe four great Camps and the Tabernacle, were pitch'd the four leſs Camps of the *Prieſts* and the *Levites*, who had their Attendance about it. On the *Eaſt-ſide* encamp'd *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and *Aaron*'s Sons, who had the Charge of the *Sanctuary*. On the *South-ſide* were the *Kohathites*, a Part of the *Levites*, deſcended from *Kohath*, the ſecond Son of *Levi*. On the *Weſt-ſide* were the *Gerſhonites*, another Part of the *Levites*, deſcended from *Gerſhon*, *Levi*'s eldeſt Son; and on the *North-Side* were the *Merarites*, the remaining Part of the *Levites*, who ſprang from *Merari*, *Levi*'s youngeſt Son.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

THIS was the Order of the *Iſraelites* encamping; and, in like Manner, the Method of their marching was thus —— When-

(*b*) Numb. xv. 31, &c.

† During the Sojourning of the Children of *Iſrael* in the Wilderneſs, they ſeem to have had a divine Diſpenſation from obſerving the Ordinances both of Circumciſion and the Paſſover. *Circumciſion* did not conſiſt with their itinerant Courſe of Life, and for the Celebration of the *Paſſover* they had not, in every Encampment, all the Materials that were neceſſary: But, having now reſted in the Confines of the holy Mount for almoſt the Space of a whole Year, after the Tabernacle was ſet up, the High-Prieſt conſecrated, and his firſt Oblation honour'd with a gracious Acceptance, God thought it not an improper Time to re-ordain the Celebration of the Paſſover, that ſo remarkable a Deliverance, as their Eſcape out of *Egypt* (which, by their repeated Deſires of returning thither, ſeem'd, in a great Meaſure, to have been forgotten) might not altogether be obliterated. And if it ſhou'd be aſk'd, whence they cou'd have a Sufficiency of Lambs and Kids for ſo vaſt a Multitude to feaſt on; there is no Reaſon to deny (even ſuppoſing they had not a Supply of their own) but that they might traffick with the *Iſhmaelites*, and antient *Arabs* inhabiting theſe Parts, for ſuch a Number of ſmall Cattle, and being not far diſtant from *Midian* (Exod. iii. 1.) by the Intereſt of *Jethro*, might from thence be furniſh'd with ſuch a Quantity of Meal for unleaven'd Bread, as this one Paſſover (as this was the only one they kept in the Wilderneſs) may be preſum'd to require. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

* All the twelve Tribes were diſtinguiſh'd from one another by particular *Standards*, and each Standard is ſuppos'd by ſome to have been of the Colour of that Stone in *Aaron*'s *Pectoral*, upon which the Name of the Tribe, whereunto it belong'd, was written. The Figures on the Standards of the four principal Tribes, that we have mention'd, are theſe —— In that of *Judah* was borne a *Lion*; in that of *Ephraim*, an *Ox*; in that of *Reuben*, the Head of a *Man*; and in that of *Dan*, an *Eagle*, and a *Serpent* in his Talons; which are indeed the four moſt perfect Animals, foraſmuch as the *Lion* is the moſt noble among wild *Beaſts*; the *Ox* among *Beaſts of Labour*; the *Eagle* among *Birds*; and the *Man* among all other Creatures. *Lamy*'s Introduction, Lib. 1.

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Whenever they were to decamp, (which always was, when the *Pillar of the Cloud* was taken up from the Tabernacle) the Trumpet ſounded, and, upon the firſt Alarm, the Standard of *Judah* being rais'd, the three Tribes which belong'd to it ſet forward; whereupon the Tabernacle was immediately taken down, and the *Gerſhonites* and *Merarites* attended the Waggons, with the Boards and Staves of it. When theſe were on their March, a ſecond Alarm was ſounded, upon which the Standard of *Reuben*'s Camp advanc'd with the three Tribes under it; and after them follow'd the *Kohathites* bearing the *Sanctuary*, which, becauſe it was more *holy*, and not ſo cumberſome as the Pillars and Boards of the Tabernacle, was not put into a Waggon, but carry'd upon their Shoulders. Next follow'd the Standard of *Ephraim*'s Camp with the three Tribes belonging to it; and, laſt of all, the other three Tribes, under the Standard of *Dan*, brought up the Rear.

Moſes *appoints 70 Elders to aſſiſt him in the Government.*

After that the *Iſraelites* had, for ſome Time, continu'd in Eaſe and Reſt, not far from the Skirts of Mount *Sinai*, the *Pillar of the Cloud* gave them a Signal to decamp; but they had not march'd above three Days into the Wilderneſs, before they began to complain of the *Wearineſs* of their Journey, and to murmur againſt God; which ſo provok'd him, that he † ſent down *Fire*, and deſtroy'd the *Loiterers*, and ſuch as were found in the extreme Parts of the Camp; ſo that, though upon *Moſes*'s Interceſſion, the Fire ceas'd, the Place nevertheleſs obtain'd the Name of *Taberah* which ſignifies *Burning*.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

This freſh Inſtance of the People's *Stubbornneſs* made *Moſes* apprehenſive, that, though he had certainly eas'd himſelf, in ſome Meaſure, by conſtituting ſuch Magiſtrates, as *Jethro*, his Father-in-law, had adviſ'd him to; yet the Work of governing ſo numerous, and ſo mutinous a People, wou'd ſtill be an Over-match for him; and therefore, by God's immediate Direction, † he made choice of Seventy of the chief of the Elders of the People, Men of Renown for their Wiſdom and Integrity, and every Way fit to be erected into a *ſupreme Court*.

The People murmur for Want of Fleſh.

To theſe God imparted a Portion of the ſame Spirit, that he had given unto *Moſes*, which enabled them to be highly aſſiſtant to him in the Government of a People, which, almoſt every Day, were diſcovering a Spirit of Diſcontent. For no ſooner were they remov'd from *Taberah*, but they began to murmur at the *Manna* they had ſo long eat, and to regret the *Fleſh-Pots* of *Egypt*, they had parted with; and hereupon they beſet *Moſes*'s Tent on all Sides, and, in a tumultuous Manner, demanded

† The Fire, which God ſent upon the *Iſraelites*, came either immediately from Heaven, like Lightning, or did iſſue from the Pillar of the Cloud, which went before the Tabernacle; or, (according to the Conjecture of a learned Commentator) that, which is here call'd Fire, might be an hot, burning Wind, in theſe deſart Places not unuſual, and many Times very peſtilential, and, on this Occaſion, *preternaturally* rais'd in the Rear of the Army, to puniſh the *Stragglers*, and ſuch, as out of a Pretence of Wearineſs, lagg'd behind. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† It may be ſuppos'd indeed, that *Moſes* had no occaſion for any more *aſſiſting* Magiſtrates, after what had been conſtituted by the Advice of *Jethro*, his Father-in-law: But it is highly probable, that thoſe of *Jethro*'s adviſing were appointed to hear and judge only in ſmaller Cauſes, whereas all weighty and difficult Points, as well as laſt Appeals in ſmaller Matters, ſtill were left upon *Moſes*; and that it was to eaſe himſelf of this Burthen, that he made Choice of theſe *Seventy*, as Men of ſuperior Capacity and Underſtanding, and who were to be aſſiſted by the Spirit of God in their Judgments and Determinations. This Aſſembly of the *Seventy* Elders, not only the *Jews*, but even *Grotius*, and ſome other *Chriſtians*, will needs have to be the ſame with that famous *Council*, which afterwards obtain'd the Name of Sanhedrim. The *Rabbins* have left no Stone unturn'd to prove, that the *Sanhedrim* did conſtantly ſubſiſt ever ſince its firſt Inſtitution by *Moſes*, and that the Members of it always aſſembled themſelves before the Tabernacle, where-ever that was ſet up, either in the Wilderneſs, or in the promis'd Land, till the erecting of the Temple by *Solomon*, who, at the ſame Time, built them a ſtately Room or Hall to convene in. They add farther, that this *ſupreme* Court was continu'd in *Babylon*, during their Captivity there, and that, at their Return, it had the ſame Place rebuilt in the *ſecond* Temple, and ſo continu'd till its total Extinction under the *Romans*. But as they bring no Authority for theſe, and many other Particulars relating to this Aſſembly, but merely their own *Traditions*, they are juſtly rejected by the major Part of *Chriſtians*, who can find no Foot-ſteps of any ſuch high Court, either in the Times of *Joſhua*, of the *Judges*, or of the *Kings*, nor indeed after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, till the Time of the *Maccabees*. *Calmet*'s Diſſertations, ſur la Police des anciens Hebreux, and Univerſal Hiſtory, Lib. 1. c. 7.

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demanded of him a Supply of Fleſh, inſtead of *Manna*; which, how unreaſonable ſoever it was for them to requeſt, God nevertheleſs promis'd *Moſes* to perform: And, accordingly, caus'd the *South-Wind* to ariſe, which drove vaſt Quantities of *Quails* from the Sea-Coaſts to within a Mile of the Camp, where they lay, about a Yard thick, upon the Ground. But while they were regaling themſelves with theſe Dainties, the Anger of the Lord fell upon them, and ſmote a great Number of them with a ſore Diſeaſe, whereof they ſuddenly dy'd, in Memory of which the Place came to be call'd *Kibroth-Hattaavah*, i. e. the *Graves*, or *Sepulchres* of *Luſt*, and *Concupiſcence*.

And Aaron *and* Miriam *againſt* Moſes.

FROM this Place the People took their Journey to *Hazeroth*, where another unhappy Accident befel them. For *Aaron* and his Siſter *Miriam*, obſerving what great Power their Brother *Moſes* had with the People, and that God chiefly made uſe of him in the Delivery of his Oracles to them, began to envy him; but, to give ſome Colour to their Quarrel, they pretend to fall out with him upon Account of his marrying a Foreigner, whom they call'd in Comtempt an *Ethiopian*. This *Moſes* cou'd not but perceive: But, as it was a perſonal *Pique*, he took no Notice of it. God however wou'd not ſuffer it to go off ſo; and therefore calling *Moſes*, *Aaron*, and *Miriam* before the Door of the *Tabernacle*, he ſharply rebuk'd the two latter. He gave them to underſtand the Diſparity, † in Point of *divine Revelation*, between them and him, and (to leave a Brand upon their contumacious Affecting an *Equality*) he immediately ſmote *Miriam* † with a Leproſy; and though, upon *Moſes*'s Interceſſion, he promis'd to remove it, yet, becauſe the Offence was *publick*, he order'd her to be turn'd out of the Camp for ſeven Days, in the Manner of any common Leper, that others might be deterr'd from the like *ſeditious* Practices. After ſeveral Encampments, the People came at length to † *Kadiſh-Barnea*, on the Frontiers of *Canaan*, where *Moſes* was commanded to chuſe twelve fit Men, out of each Tribe one, (among whom were *Joſhua* and *Caleb*) to take a View of the Country: And, accordingly, having receiv'd their Inſtructions from him, to examine diligently into

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He ſends Spies into the Land of Canaan.

† The *Jewiſh* Commentators make the Difference between *Moſes*, and other Prophets, to conſiſt in theſe Particulars. 1ſt, That God ſpake to others by a *Mediator*, i. e. (as they explain it) by ſome Angel; but to him by himſelf, without the Intervention of any other. 2dly, That they never propheſy'd, but their Senſes were all bound up either in Viſions, or in Dreams; whereas he was perfectly awake, as we are, when we diſcourſe one with another. 3dly, That after the Viſion was over, they were oftentimes left ſo weak and feeble, that they cou'd ſcarce ſtand upon their Feet, (as appears from *Dan.* viii. 18.) whereas *Moſes* ſpake with the divine Majeſty without any Conſternation, or Alteration. And 4thly, That no Prophet, but he, cou'd know the Mind of God, when he pleas'd, becauſe he communicated himſelf to them only when he thought proper; whereas *Moſes* might at any Time have Recourſe to God to enquire of him, and receive an Anſwer. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† A *Leproſy*, as well as all other Diſtempers (ſuch as the *Scurvy*, *Ring-worm*, *Itch*, &c.) which bear Reſemblance to it, does proceed originally from a previous ill Diſpoſition both in the Blood and Juices, but the more immediate Cauſe of it is an Infinity of *ſmall imperceptible Worms*, that inſinuate themſelves between the Fleſh and Skin, which firſt prey upon the *Scarf-Skin*, then upon the *inner Skin*, and afterwards upon the Extremities of the *Nerves* and *Muſcles*, from whence ariſes a total Corruption of the whole Maſs of Blood, and all the other Symptoms attending it. But the Leproſy here inflicted upon *Miriam* was ſudden and inſtantaneous. The Juices of her Body were not corrupted by a gradual Decay, but turn'd at once into theſe corroding *Animals*. And, as this was a fit Puniſhment for her Pride and Detraction, ſo, by its being inflicted on her, and not on *Aaron*, it ſeems not improbable, that ſhe was firſt in the Tranſgreſſion, and drew *Aaron* (who ſeems, in ſome Inſtances, to be a Perſon of too much *Facility*) over to her Party. *Aaron* indeed, by his Office, was appointed to judge of Leproſy, which he cou'd not have done, had himſelf been infected with it; and as he was lately conſecrated his High-Prieſt, God, for the Preſervation of his Authority, might not think it proper to make him ſo ſoon become vile and contemptible in the Eyes of the People, as this Diſtemper was known to make Men. *Calmet*'s Diſſertation, *ſur la Nature*, &c. *de la Lepre*, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Moſt *Commentators* and *Geographers* are of Opinion, that whatever is ſaid of *Kadeſh*, in the Travels of the *Iſraelites*, is to be underſtood of one and the ſame Place; whereas the ſacred Hiſtory plainly makes mention of two Places of the ſame Name; one, adjoining to the Wilderneſs of *Paran*, which is mention'd, *Numb.* xiii. 26. and the other lying in the Wilderneſs of *Sin*, mention'd in *Numb.* xx. 1. and xxxiii. 36. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

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into the Strength of its Cities and Inhabitants, the Nature and Fertility of its Soil, and the like, they ſet out upon their Progreſs, and finiſh'd it in forty Days.

At their Return they paſs'd through a Valley, which, for its Fertility in Vines, is call'd the Valley of *Eſhcol*, which ſignifies a *Cluſter of Grapes*; and here they cut down a Branch, with but one Cluſter upon it, which, * by Reaſon of its immoderate Largeneſs, as well as to preſerve the Grapes from being bruis'd, they hung upon a Pole, and carry'd between two Men's Shoulders. Nor was this the only Product of that happy Soil; the golden Fig, and beautiful Pomegranate adorn'd the Trees, and a Variety of other Fruits (of which they brought *Samples* along with them) loaded the luxuriant Branches.

Being at length happily arriv'd in the Camp, they went, and made their Report to *Moſes* and *Aaron*, in the Preſence of the Elders, and of all the People. They began indeed with extolling the Riches of the Land, and ſhew'd them a *Specimen* of ſome of the Fruits, which it produc'd; but when they perceiv'd that this Account had fir'd the People with a Deſire to become the happy Poſſeſſors of it by a ſpeedy Conqueſt, *ten* of them then began to alter their *Tone*, and to repreſent it as a Thing impoſſible, both by Reaſon of the Strength of its fortify'd Towns, and the Valour, and *gigantick* Stature of its Inhabitants.

Upon their Report, the People are for returning to Egypt, *and the falſe Spies are ſlain.*

Joshua and *Caleb* were the only two, that remain'd true to their Report, and gave them all imaginable Encouragement, that the Enterprize was practicable; but the cowardly Account of the other ten had got ſuch a powerful Poſſeſſion of them, that they cry'd out, one and all, that they cou'd never hope to overcome ſuch powerful Nations, in Compariſon of which they look'd upon themſelves as mere *Graſhoppers*, and *Reptiles*; and their Murmuring, in ſhort, grew to ſuch an Height by the next Morning, † that a Return to *Egypt* was thought more adviſeable, than to face ſuch an Enemy. Nay, in the Hearing of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, of *Caleb* and *Joſhua*, (who endeavour'd to diſſuade them all they cou'd, even to the Hazard of being ſton'd by them) they were deliberating upon a proper Perſon to re-conduct them into the Land of their former *Thraldom*; when, all on a ſudden, the *Glory of God* appear'd in a brighter Luſtre than ordinary, in the Tabernacle, and from thence was heard to ſpeak to *Moſes* in ſuch *threatning* Terms, as gave the People Cauſe to fear, that ſome ſpeedy and terrible Judgment wou'd be the Reward of their Rebellion and Ingratitude.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

Here *Moſes* was forc'd again (as at ſeveral other Times) to become their *Interceſſor*, and made uſe of ſuch powerful Arguments, and Expoſtulations, as did, in ſome Meaſure, avert the divine Vengeance: But, as their Ingratitude and Infidelity were become intolerable, notwithſtanding God's conſtant Care in providing againſt their Wants, ſkreening them from their

* That there are Vines and Grapes of a prodigious Bigneſs in thoſe *eaſtern* and *ſouthern* Parts of the World, is a Matter recorded by ſeveral Writers. *Strabo* tells, that in *Margiana*, and other neighbouring Countries, there were Vines ſo very thick about, that two Men cou'd ſcarce fathom them, and that they produc'd Bunches of Grapes of two Cubits long. *Pliny* informs us, that in the *Inland* Parts of *Africa* there are Bunches of Grapes bigger than young Children. *Olearius*, in his Travels into *Perſia*, acquaints us, that, not far from *Aſtracan*, he ſaw Vines, which a Man cou'd hardly graſp with both his Arms; and the learned *Huetius* affirms, that in *Crete*, *Chios*, and other Iſlands in the *Archipelago*, there are Bunches of Grapes, from ten, to forty Pounds in Weight. Quæſt. *Alnet.* Lib. 2. and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† Though they might, in their raging Fits, ſpeak of returning into *Egypt*; yet it is an amazing Thing, that they ſhou'd continue in their Madneſs, and deliberate about it, nay actually appoint them a *Leader*, as *Nehemiah*, ix. 17. ſays they did. For how cou'd they get thither without Food, which they cou'd not expect that God wou'd ſend from Heaven, when they had thus ſhamefully forſaken him? How cou'd they hope to find their Way, when the Cloud, which directed them, was withdrawn from them, or think of *coping* with ſuch Nations, as wou'd oppoſe their Paſſage, in Caſe they ſhou'd hit upon the right Way? And, after all, if they came into *Egypt*, what Reception cou'd they expect from a People, whoſe King, and Princes, and *Firſt-born* had lately been deſtroy'd upon their Accounts? Nothing can be ſaid in Anſwer to theſe Queſtions, but that outrageous Diſcontent infatuates Mens Minds, and will not ſuffer them to conſider any Thing, but that which grieves them. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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their Enemies, and preſerving them from all Dangers; he ſolemnly declar'd, that none of that Generation, above twenty Years of Age, except * *Joſhua* and *Caleb*, (who receiv'd his Commendations for their Fidelity) ſhou'd enter into the promis'd Land, but ſhou'd wander, from Place to Place, in the Wilderneſs, for the Space of † forty Years: And as for the falſe *Spies*, the immediate Authors of this Rebellion, they were all deſtroy'd by a ſudden Death (*c*), and became the firſt Inſtances of the Puniſhment denounc'd againſt the whole Nation.

The Iſraelites *defeated.*

THIS ſevere Puniſhment, join'd with the Sentence of *Excluſion* from the promis'd Land, gave the Humours of the People ſoon another Turn: For, ſuppoſing that their *Forwardneſs* now wou'd make ſome Atonement for their former *Cowardice*, they aſſembled themſelves together next Morning, and offer'd to go upon the Conqueſt. *Moſes* endeavour'd, what he cou'd, to diſſuade them from ſo raſh an Enterprize, by telling them, that it was contrary to God's expreſs Command, and therefore cou'd not proſper; that, by their late undutiful Behaviour, they had forfeited his Aſſiſtance and Protection, without which it was impoſſible for them to ſucceed; and that, as the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* had gain'd the Paſſes of the Mountains before them, there was no fighting them *upon the Par*. But all this Admonition had no Weight with them: Notwithſtanding the *Ark of the Covenant* went not with them, notwithſtanding *Moſes*, their *General*, was not at the Head of them; yet out they march'd to the Top of the Mountains, where the Enemy ſurpriz'd, defeated, and, having ſlain many of them, purſu'd the reſt, as far as *Hormah*.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb xviii.

The Rebellion of Korah, *&c. and the Deſtruction that attended it.*

WHILE the People continu'd in the Wilderneſs, many remarkable Occurrences befel them, and Seditions, almoſt innumerable, were daily fermenting; but *one* in particular was hatch'd (with the utmoſt Deliberation) in the Breaſt of one of the *Chiefs* of the Tribe of *Levi*, and countenanc'd by ſome of the moſt conſiderable Men in the whole Camp.

† *KORAH*, the great Grandſon of *Levi* by his Father *Jahar*, and, conſequently, one of the Heads of that *Tribe*, impatient

* *Joſephus* introduces *Joſhua* and *Caleb*, (in order to pacify the tumultuous People) delivering themſelves in Words to this Effect. "How is it poſſible for you, *good People*, to diſtruſt the Veracity and Goodneſs of God, and, at the "ſame Time, to give Credit to Stories and Amuſements about the Land of *Canaan*, that are propagated on purpoſe "to abuſe you? Why ſhou'd not you rather believe and follow thoſe, who have taken ſo much Pains to put you "into the Poſſeſſion and Enjoyment of the Bleſſings you deſire? What's the *Height* of Mountains, or *Depth* of Rivers "to Men of undaunted Spirits, and of honourable Reſolutions; eſpecially, when God is both their Protector and "Defender? Wherefore let us advance, and attack the Enemy, without ever queſtioning the Event. Only truſt "God for your Guide, and follow us, where we ſhall lead you." *Jewiſh* Antiquities, Lib. 3. c. 14.

† *Moſes* here makes uſe of a round Number, in Alluſion to the forty Days of the Spies ſearching the Land; though it is plain, that the *Children* did enter into the Land of *Canaan* in leſs than thirty-nine Years, after this Sentence was pronounc'd againſt their *Fathers*. The Truth is, *Moſes* reckons the Time paſt ſince they came firſt into the Wilderneſs, which was a Year and an Half; ſo that the Meaning of the Sentence is, ——— That they ſhou'd wander for forty Years *in all*, before they went out of the Wilderneſs, which however is not to be underſtood ſo preciſely, as to want nothing at all of it: For ſince they came out of *Egypt* on the 15th Day of the *firſt Month*, and arriv'd in *Canaan*, and pitch'd their Tents in *Gilgal*, on the *tenth Day* of the *firſt Month* of the one and fortieth Year after their Departure out of *Egypt*, Joſh. iv. 19; it is plain that there wanted five Days of full forty Years. Univerſal Hiſtory, Lib. 1. c. 7. and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

(*c*) Numb. xiv. 36, 37.

† At what Time, or in what Encampment, this Rebellion of *Korah* and his Adherents happen'd, the ſacred Hiſtory has not inform'd us; but, as the general Opinion is, that the Cauſe of the Mutiny was his Reſentment upon the Advancement of *Aaron*, and his Family, to the Office of the High-Prieſt; ſo we find *Joſephus* introducing him, as addreſſing himſelf to his Accomplices in Words to this Purpoſe: "A Scandal it is, and a Thing not to be endur'd, "for *Moſes* to take upon him at this Rate; to carry on his Ambition thus, under the Maſk of Holineſs and Religion, "and by that Means to raiſe himſelf a Reputation to the Wrong of other Men. He gave lately the Prieſthood, "and other Dignities to his Brother *Aaron*, without any Right or Colour for it. No Conſent of the People was "aſk'd, nor any Pretence of Authority produc'd, ſave only his own arbitrary Will and Pleaſure: ——— For what "has he to ſay for himſelf for ſo doing? If God has annex'd the Honour to the Tribe of *Levi*, I myſelf may pre-"tend a Right to the Preference, being of the ſame Stock with *Moſes*, and his Superior both in Riches and Years: "Or, if it be to paſs by *Seniority*, it belongs to the Tribe of *Reuben*, viz. to *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and *Phalu*, who are "the *Seniors* of that Tribe, and Men of eminent Credit every Way among them." *Jewiſh* Antiq. Lib. 4. c. 2.

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impatient to behold *Aaron*, and his Family rais'd to the higheſt Office in the *Prieſthood*, to which he thought himſelf had an equal Title, was always caballing againſt him, until he had drawn a conſiderable Number of eminent Perſons into his Intereſt, and, among theſe, *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and *Hur*, who were Heads of the Houſe of *Reuben*. As ſoon as Things were ripe for an open Rupture, *Korah* appear'd at the Head of the Faction, and publickly upbraided *Moſes* and *Aaron* with an unjuſt Ambition, in uſurping upon the Liberties of the People, in ingroſſing all Power into their own Hands, and excluding every Body elſe.

Surpriz'd at the Boldneſs of this Accuſation, *Moſes*, for Concern, fell proſtrate upon his Face; but when he roſe again, he deſir'd that the Determination of their Controverſy might be left to God, and, for that Purpoſe, appointed them to appear, on the Morrow, at the Door of the Tabernacle, with every Man his Cenſer in his Hand: And then addreſſing himſelf to *Korah*, and the reſt of the *Levites*, he put them in mind of their Ingratitude and Arrogance, in not being content with the Dignity and Privileges, which God had annex'd to their Tribe, without aſpiring at the *High-Prieſthood*, which he had reſerv'd to *Aaron*, and his Poſterity.

DATHAN and *Abiram* were at ſome Diſtance, when *Moſes* thus talk'd with the reſt; and therefore, ſuppoſing that they had been drawn into the Conſpiracy by *Korah*'s Inſinuations, he ſent privately to them, with a Deſign to argue the Caſe more calmly with them: But, inſtead of a civil Anſwer, he receiv'd an haughty Meſſage, wherein they upbraided him with a Non-performance of his Promiſe, and "that he had decoy'd the whole Nation, "from the rich and fertile Land of "*Egypt*, under the Pretence of bringing "them into a much *better*, but, inſtead "of that, had only detain'd them in "a barren Wilderneſs, there to domineer "and tyrannize over them." At which Meſſage *Moſes* was ſo highly provok'd, that he appeal'd to God againſt the Injuſtice of it, and, at the ſame Time, requeſted of him not to regard the Prayers and Offerings of ſuch ungrateful Wretches. From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

Early next Morning *Moſes* and *Aaron* went towards the Tabernacle, whither *Korah*, at the Head of his Party, with each Man a † Cenſer in his Hand, (attended with a vaſt promiſcuous Multitude, which came, in all Probability, to be Spectators of this famous Conteſt) fail'd not to repair. The firſt Thing that drew their Eyes, was, the amazing Splendor, which iſſu'd from the Cloud over the Tabernacle, from which God call'd to *Moſes* and *Aaron* to withdraw from that rebellious Crew, leſt they ſhou'd be ſwallow'd up in the Deſtruction, which he was going to bring upon them. Hereupon *Moſes*, having firſt requeſted of him not to ſlay the Innocent with the Guilty, adverti's'd the People (if they conſulted their own Safety) to ſeparate themſelves from the Company of theſe wicked Men; and then beſpake the Aſſembly to this Purpoſe: —— "That, if theſe Rebels dy'd in the "common Way of Nature, he wou'd "give them leave to call in queſtion his "*divine* Miſſion; but that, if the Earth "did immediately open itſelf in a miracu-"lous Manner, and ſwallow them up "alive, he then hop'd that they wou'd "look upon him, only as an Inſtrument "in God's Hand, and ſufficiently autho-"ris'd for all he did." And no ſooner had he ended theſe Words, but the Earth clove aſunder under their Feet, and ſwallow'd them up alive, together with their Families,

† The two hundred and fifty Princes had not, as yet, offer'd any Incenſe, becauſe they were prevented by Death; however it may be preſum'd, that they had lighted their Cenſers at the *holy Fire*, by which they obtain'd (at leaſt in the Opinion of the People) a Kind of *Conſecration*: And therefore, to keep up among them a Reputation and Eſteem for Things *conſecrated*, as well as to ſhew the Difference between his own Inſtitution, and Men's Contrivances, God order'd all theſe brazen Cenſers to be wrought into broad Plates, and to cover the Altar with them; that being poliſh'd bright they might, by their Luſtre, put the People in Mind of the Offence of thoſe, who were once Owners of them, and ſo caution others againſt the like Offence. *Howell*'s Hiſtory of the Bible, Lib. 2.

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Families, and all their Subſtance; while at the ſame Time, *Korah*, and his Company, (who ſtood with their Cenſers before the Court of the Tabernacle) were all deſtroy'd by a miraculous Fire from Heaven: And, to perpetuate the Memory of this Judgment, as well as to deter, for the future, any, but the Sons of *Aaron*, from preſuming to burn Incenſe before the Lord, *Eliezar* was order'd to gather up the Cenſers of the Dead, and to have them beat into broad Plates for a Covering of the *Altar*.

Great Numbers ſlain by the Plague.

So terrible a Puniſhment, one wou'd think, might have been ſufficient, for ſome Time at leaſt, to have kept the *Iſraelites* within the Bounds of their Obedience; but, no ſooner were they recover'd from their Fright, than they began to murmur afreſh, and to accuſe *Moſes* and *Aaron* for having *murther'd the People of the Lord*, as they were not aſham'd to call that ſeditious Crew. *Moſes* and *Aaron* were well aware of the unruly Temper of the People, and therefore, fearing to what Degree of Madneſs and Outrage they might proceed, they took Sanctuary in the Tabernacle; where they had no ſooner enter'd, but God threaten'd to deſtroy all the reſt of the Congregation, as it were, in a Moment, and had already ſent out a Plague amongſt them; which *Aaron*, at his Brother's Directions, endeavour'd to aſſwage by his interpoſing, with a Cenſer of Incenſe, between the Dead and the Living; but the Plague, in this ſhort Time, had rag'd ſo violently, that no leſs than fourteen thouſand and ſeven hundred Perſons (beſides thoſe, that periſh'd in the Sedition of *Korah*, and his Company,) were carry'd off by it.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

THIS was enough, in all Reaſon, to eſtabliſh the Authority, *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical*, in the Hands of the two Brothers: However, to put *Aaron*'s Claim beyond all Manner of Diſpute, God was pleas'd to confirm it by one Miracle more. *Aaron*, on the one Side, and the *Heads* of every Tribe, on the other, were order'd to bring each Man his Rod, with their reſpective Names written upon them, and theſe were to be depoſited in the Tabernacle, until the next Morning; by which Time God wou'd decide in Favour of that Family, on whoſe Rod ſome miraculous Change ſhou'd be ſeen. Accordingly, when they came to examine them next Morning, † *Aaron*'s Rod alone was found, not only to have budded, but bloſſom'd likewiſe, and brought forth ripe Almonds: In Memory of which remarkable Deciſion, God order'd the Rod to be laid ‖ up in the *Ark of the Covenant*, and gave an expreſs Prohibition, that none, but the Sons of *Aaron*, ſhou'd preſume to come into the Tabernacle, under Pain of Death.

And Aaron's *Prieſthood confirm'd to him by a Miracle upon his* Rod.

The

† Some will needs have this Rod of *Aaron*'s to have been the ſame with that of *Moſes*'s, wherewith he wrought ſo many Miracles in *Egypt*, and at the *Red-Sea*; but there is this Argument againſt them, that the Miracle of its *Bloſſoming* had not been a ſufficient Conviction to the *Iſraelites*, if ſo be that *Aaron*'s Rod had not been of the ſame Kind with the reſt. For, whatever had come to paſs, they might have aſcrib'd it to the ſingular Quality and Virtue of the Rod (eſpecially had it been *Moſes*'s *Wonder-working* Rod) and not to the ſpecial Hand of God interpoſing to eſtabliſh the Authority of *Aaron*; whereas, on the contrary, we find that the Miracle had its intended Effect, and ſilenc'd for ever the Pretences of other People to the Prieſthood. It is preſum'd therefore by ſome learned Men, that the Rods, which the ſeveral Princes brought *Moſes*, were neither their common *Walking-ſtaves*, nor any ſuch Wands, as were a Badge of their Power and Authority in their reſpective Tribes, but rather certain *Twigs*, that were cut off from ſome *Almond-Tree*, and not improbably from one and the ſame Tree, that there might be no manner of Difference between them. The Difference, however, next Morning, appear'd in this: ——— That on the *Twig*, which bore *Aaron*'s Name, there was, in ſome Places, an Appearance of Buds coming forth; in others, the Buds were open'd, and ſhot forth into Bloſſoms; and in others, the Bloſſoms were knotted, and grown into Almonds. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

‖ It is made a Matter of ſome Enquiry, whether this Rod of *Aaron*'s was put *within* the Ark of the Covenant, or only *by* it. God commanded *Moſes* to put it only in the Tabernacle (*Numb.* xvii. 4.) to be preſerv'd there; but St *Paul*, in *Heb.* ix. 4. ſays, that it was plac'd *within* the Ark, with a Pot of Manna, and the Tables of the Law. Others aſſirm, that it was not put *within*, but only *by the Side* of the Ark; and for their Opinion they alledge a Paſſage, in 1 *Kings* viii. 9. which ſeems to intimate, that there was nothing in the Ark, but the Tables of the Law: But then their Adverſaries contend, that St *Paul*, in that Paſſage to the *Hebrews*, is to be underſtood *literally*; that there cou'd be no Hindrance for its being put into the Ark, ſince the Ark was five Foot long, and cou'd not but be

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From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

The Objection.

" *Moses*, no doubt, was a peculiar Favourite of God, and his " Admiſſion to an intimate Converſation " with him, on the *ſacred* Mount, was " a Vouchſafement of an extraordinary " Nature; but it ſeems a little irreconcileable to our Thoughts, how human " Nature, in its preſent Situation, cou'd " be able to ſubſiſt *forty Days and forty* " *Nights* without any Manner of Suſtenance; nor can we conceive, how the " Countenance of *Moſes* came to contract " a bright and radiant Luſtre, by converſing with the Deity, at this Time, " more than it did, when he went up " to the Mount before. The *Iſraelites*, " without all Queſtion, were a very obſtinate and perverſe Sort of People; " but (to magnify himſelf) *Moſes* ſeems " to have repreſented them in blacker Colours, than they did deſerve; becauſe " it is hardly to be imagin'd, how they " cou'd, after having been *Eye-Witneſſes* " of ſo many Miracles wrought for their " Preſervation, go on ſtill in diſtruſting, " and complaining of God; nor can we " deviſe any Reaſon, why they were not " puniſh'd a Year before, as well as *now*, " for *aſking Fleſh for their Luſts*, ſince, " at both Times, their Crime was equally the ſame.

" (*d*) *God's Hand cannot wax ſhort*, as " himſelf told *Moſes*, neither can his Power admit of any Diminution; and yet " it ſeems to ſavour of ſome Defect in " that Reſpect, and to be a Derogation " from the Greatneſs of the Miracle, that " we find *Quails* (which they had before) " ſent here again, upon their ſecond Complaint. Quails, no doubt, are excellent " Food; but a *Diverſity*, one wou'd " think, had been more agreeable to the " *Generality*, and more expreſſive of God's " Sovereignty over the World; becauſe a " *Repetition* of the ſame Diet to a People " he was minded to gratify, ſeems as incongruous a Thing in him, as it wou'd " be in a *Clerk of the Kitchen* to be always " ſending up the *ſame Bill of Fare*.

" (*e*) *Whatever goeth in at the Mouth*, " we muſt allow, *defileth not the Man*; " and therefore we may juſtly wonder, " why God ſhou'd exact (*f*) a Prohibition " of ſeveral Kinds of Food, which have " no Relation to inward *Purity*, and to " many of which Mankind ſeem to have " a natural Averſion, without a divine " Interdiction: And tho' the *Apoſtle* to " the *Hebrews* has inform'd us, that " ſeveral Things, relating to the *Tabernacle*-Service, were Types of *Chriſt*, " yet we are ſtill at a loſs to know, why " the great *Myſteries* of Man's Redemption ſhou'd be *prenotify'd* by ſuch dark " *Shadows* and *Emblems*, and not rather " diſcover'd in the plaineſt *Predictions*, " and Expreſſions imaginable.

" Grief for the untimely Death of " a Child, is what a good-natur'd Parent " cannot refrain, and therefore how much " ſoever we may ſuppoſe, that the two " young Men, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, de" ſerv'd to ſuffer for their Indiſcretion; " yet it ſeems to be an unreaſonable Re" ſtraint upon the innate Paſſions of hu" man Nature, for God to forbid *Aaron* " to

of Capacity enough to hold it: and therefore, when the Scripture ſays, that there was nothing in the Ark but the Tables of the Law, they conceive that it may be underſtood with this Limitation. ——— That nothing elſe was *originally* in it, becauſe the Ark was *primarily* intended for that Uſe; but this need not hinder but that, afterwards, other Things likewiſe might be put in it. How long this wonderful Rod continu'd in this *Repoſitory*, is no where mention'd in Scripture. When the Ark was brought into *Solomon*'s Temple, 1 *Kings* viii. 9, there is no Notice taken of it; and yet it ſeems reaſonable to think, that it ſhou'd have been preſerv'd for ſome conſiderable Time, and preſerv'd in that very *Verdure*, wherein it now appear'd, with its Buds, Bloſſoms, and Fruit, for the Conviction of Poſterity. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Rod*.

(*d*) Numb. xi. 23. (*e*) Matth. xv. 17, 20. (*f*) Lev. xi. 13.

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" to make any Moan or Lamentation for " them. Nor can we think it any In- " ſtance of *Moſes*'s Prudence and Modeſty, " to commend himſelf ſo highly *for being* " *very meek, above all the Men that were* " *upon the Face of the Earth*, or to relate " the Difference between him, and his " Brother and Siſter, who ſeem to have " had ſufficient Reaſon to quarrel with " him, for marrying another *Ethiopian* " Woman, and ſo diſgracing their Fa- " mily, by a baſe and *idolatrous* Alli- " ance.

" FIT however it was to bring the " Matter to a ſpeedy Accommodation, " otherwiſe the Defection of *Korah* might " have prov'd more dangerous, and the " Juggle of *Aaron's fructifying* Rod " (which, according to the Hiſtory, was " certainly under *Moſes*'s Management, " and who, by Slight of Hand, might ea- " ſily have ſubſtituted an Almond Branch " in the room of it) cou'd not have been " carry'd on ſo dextrouſly. But to make " Almighty God interpoſe in a Family- " Quarrel, and condeſcend ſo far, as to " call the ſeveral Parties before him, is " certainly debaſing the divine Majeſty, " and giving it an Employ a little below " its Dignity."

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing the Reaſons of Moſes's *Faſting.*

IN this State of our Infirmity indeed, we are oblig'd to repair the gradual Decays of our Bodies with a Supply of daily Food; but in that of a greater Perfection, there will be no Occaſion for theſe weak Supports of human Nature. In the mean Time we are aſſur'd, that (*g*) *Man doth not live by Bread alone, but by every Word that proceedeth out of the Mouth of God*, by whoſe Coammand our natural *Perſpiration* may be ſo ſhut up, and the Inſtruments of our *Digeſtion* ſo retarded, as to make a ſmall Quantity of Meat ſubſiſt us for a conſiderable Time. *Elijah*, we read, had (*h*) but *a Cake baken on the Coals*, and a *Cruſe of Water* for his whole Repaſt, even when he was going to undertake a long Journey; and yet we find, that, both under the Fatigue of Body, and Expence of Spirits, which Travelling muſt neceſſarily occaſion, he was enabled to *go in the Strength of that Meat forty Days and forty Nights*. And for the like Reaſons we may ſuppoſe, that *Moſes* being now receiv'd within the Cloud on Mount *Sinai*, might find no uneaſy Cravings of Appetite, during his Stay, and long Converſation with God.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

THE *Jews* have a Proverb with Relation to this long Faſting of his, (*i*) which tends to this Purpoſe, " that *above*, where " there is neither Eating nor Drinking, " *Moſes* ſtay'd eighty Days, (*viz.* at two " different Times) and became like the " Angels; and *below*, where Men do eat " and drink, *miniſtering* Angels come " down, and eat and drink, like them." Whereby they ſeem to impute this Alteration of Appetite in both to a Change of *Climate*, rather than a *Miracle*. But whether the Climate contributes to it or no, it is certain, that God, by Influences and Emanations from himſelf, can ſupport a Man, as long as he thinks fit, and keep up his Spirits in their juſt Height, without the common Recruits of any Kind of Aliment.

IT is another Notion of the *Jews*, (*k*) that, as Eating and Drinking are Actions, which prejudice the Underſtanding, God, who intended to prepare his *Servant* for the Reception of the Revelations he was going to communicate, withheld all Meat and Drink from him, that, by depreſſing his *bodily* Faculties, he might exalt his *intellectual*. In the Caſe of *Daniel*, it is certain, that, in order to diſpoſe him for the heavenly Viſion, (*l*) *he did eat no pleaſant Bread, neither came Fleſh or Wine in his Mouth, for three whole Weeks together*, as himſelf teſtifies; And therefore, conſidering the many wonderful Things, which God intended to impart to *Moſes*, there ſeems to be a *Propriety* at leaſt, if not an abſolute *Neceſſity*, of his being put under the like *Regimen*, to enable him,

(*g*) Matt. iv. 4. (*h*) 1 Kings xix. 6, 8. (*i*) Vid. *Buxtorf*. (*k*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*l*) Dan. x. 3.

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him, with more Facility, to comprehend them.

St *PAUL* is suppos'd to speak of himself, (though Modesty makes him conceal it) when he expresses his Visions in these Words:——(*m*) *I knew a Man in Christ, above fourteen Years ago, (whether in the Body, I cannot tell, or out of the Body, I cannot tell, God knoweth) such an one caught up to the third Heaven; and I knew such a Man (whether in the Body, I cannot tell, God knoweth) how he was caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable Words, which it is not lawful,* or (as the marginal Note has it) *not possible for Man to utter.* Now, wherever the divine *Presence* is, there is *Paradise*, and there is *Heaven*: And therefore, if St. *Paul*, when he was in a Vision, and thought himself translated to the Regions above, in the Contemplation of the wonderful Things, he saw and heard there, lost all Sense of his Body, and Perception of its Affections; why may we not suppose, that the Joy and Exstasy, wherewith *Moses* was transported, upon the like Occasion, made him never think of once eating or drinking?

A MAN must be a Stranger to deep Study and Meditation, who has not experienc'd in himself a total Forgetfulness, for some Time, not only of the *nimble Minutes*, as they pass'd away, but of the *Necessities of Nature* likewise, as they came upon him; and even found, at length, that his Recollection, and Sensation of these Things, proceeded from an Imbecility of his Mind, which was not able to endure a continu'd Intention, or Stretch of Thought, more than any natural *Call*, which seems to have been suspended, as long as his superior Faculties were thus agreeably employ'd. With much more Reason therefore we may conclude, that, in the Presence of God, where the Mind might be impregnated with a Power to sustain the Fatigue of close, perpetual Thinking, the Variety of Objects, which presented themselves, wou'd be so great, and the Entertainment of its intellectual Faculties so very strong, as wou'd quite absorb all corporal Desires and Appetites. From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

HAD *Moses* therefore been employ'd in no farther Capacity, than barely in contemplating the many amazing Wonders of God's infinite *Being*, which the Irraditions from his *beatifick* Presence must have transfus'd upon his Mind; this had been enough to suspend all other Operations, and engross, as it were, the whole *Complex* of his Faculties. But besides this, the Scripture informs us, that (*n*) he took a Review of the *Model* of the Tabernacle, and its Furniture, which God had shewn him when he was with him before, and (as we may suppose) receiv'd *fresh* Instructions from God. This cou'd not but take up some Proportion of his Time; as most of the Remainder of it seems to have been spent in (*o*) Prayer and Intercession with God for the People, that he wou'd restore them entirely to his Favour, and bring them, in his good appointed Time, to their Inheritance.

UPON the whole therefore it appears, that, as *Moses* was in the *Presence* of God all the while that he continu'd on the *Mount*; had a full *Employ* for his Mind and Thoughts, during that Time; and, by the divine Influence, had his *Spirits* sustain'd in their proper Height, and his *animal* Part preserv'd without wasting; he cou'd have no Leisure to think of eating and drinking, or, that (had he thought thereon) he cou'd find in himself no *Call* or Occasion for it.

Why Moses's *Face did not shine, at the* first *going up to the* Mount.

THE Word *Karan*, which our Translators have made *shining*, is by the *Vulgat* render'd *cornutus*, or *horned*; and, from this Misapplication of Ideas, *Painters* very probably have been induc'd to draw *Moses* with a Pair of Horns branching, as it were, out of his Forehead; whereas the proper Representation of him shou'd be, with a *Glory*, covering his Head, in the Manner that the Saints are painted in the *Roman*

(*m*) 2 Cor. xii. 2, &c. (*n*) From the Beginning of the xxvth Chap. of *Exodus* to the End of the xxxth Chapter. (*o*) Deut ix. 18, 19, 25, 26. and x. 10.

A. M. 2514. &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1490. &c.

Roman Church: For it is not improbable, that the Hair of his Head was interſpers'd with Rays of Light, at the ſame Time that a certain beauteous Luſtre proceeded from his Face, and dazzled the Eyes of its Beholders.

MOSES was certainly in this, as well as many other Things, an eminent *Type* of our Saviour *Chriſt*, and the *Change* of his Countenance an *Emblem* of our Lord's *Tranſfiguration* upon the Mount, when (*p*) *his Face* (as the *Evangeliſt* relates the Matter) did *ſhine as the Sun, and his Raiment was white as the Light*. In both Caſes, it was the glorious *Being* (*q*) within the Cloud, that transfus'd this radiant Splendor around his *Son* and *Servant*: But the Reaſon, why *Moſes*, at his firſt Time of being upon the Mount, and converſing with God, did not contract this wonderful Brightneſs, ſeems to be this; —— That he had not then ſeen the *Divine Majeſty* in ſo great a Splendor, as he did now. He was oblig'd then to keep at a more awful Diſtance from the tremendous *Throne* of God, and not come within the *Circle* of its Refulgency; but now, upon his humble Petition, God was pleas'd to vouchſafe him ſuch a Sight of his *Glory*, as his human Nature cou'd bear. So that, by being permitted to come within the Circumference of it, he carry'd off (tho' unknown to himſelf) * ſuch a *beamy Luſtre* from the divine *Refulgency*, as (like the *lambent Fire*, wherewith the Poets adorn the Temples of their *Heroes*) *play'd* about his Head and Face, and there was permanent for ſome conſiderable Time: For, *Moſes* being now to bring down the Tables of the *Covenant* from the Mount, that the People might not ſuſpect him of any Fallacy or Colluſion, or think that his Pretence to a Correſpondence with the *Deity* (as that of ſome ſubſequent Lawgivers prov'd) was vain and fictitious, God was pleas'd to ſend along with him this *Teſtimony*, as it were, of his having held Communion with God. For the miraculous *Radiency*, wherewith he was adorn'd, ſhew'd in what Company he had been during his Abſence; confirm'd his Meſſage to the People; and, in every Reſpect, carry'd new *Credentials* in it.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

Why the Iſraelites *were ſo apt to murmur and mutiny.*

IT may ſeem a little ſtrange indeed, why a People, ſo immediately under the Guidance of God, ſhou'd, every Day, ſtand in need of ſo many new *Credentials*, and, upon every little Emergency, fall a murmuring and rebelling againſt the God of *Iſrael*, and his Servant *Moſes*. St *Stephen*, in quoting the Prophet *Amos*, has let us into the Cauſe of this People's frequent Prevarications: (*r*) *O ye Houſe of* Iſrael, *have ye offered to me ſlain Beaſts and Sacrifices, by the Space of forty Years in the Wilderneſs? Yea, ye took up the Tabernacle of* Moloch, ‡ *and the Star of your God* Remphan, *Figures which ye made, to worſhip them.* By *Moloch* the Learned are pretty well agreed, that we are

(*p*) Matth. xvii. 2. (*q*) Ver. 5.

* It was a Cuſtom amongſt the antient *Heathens*, and probably deriv'd from what here befel *Moſes*, to repreſent the Gods with a *beamy Glory* around their Heads, ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀκτῖνας φορέειν, *to carry Rays about their Heads*, as *Lucian de Deâ Syriâ* has it: And hence it was, that the *Roman Emperors*, who were rais'd ſo much above the reſt of Mankind, that they were honour'd as a Sort of *Deities*, were thus repreſented; as appears from the Teſtimony of *Pliny*, (among many more) who, in his *Panegyrick* to *Trajan*, makes the *Radiatum Domitiani Caput* the Subject of ſome Banter. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

(*r*) Acts vii. 42, 43.

‡ Thus the *Septuagint*, from whom St *Stephen* took this Paſſage in *Amos*, tranſlate it; but the Import of the *Hebrew* Text is this, *Ye have borne the Tabernacle of your Kings, and the Pedeſtal* (ſo the Word *Chiun* ſignifies) *of your Images, the Star of your Gods, which ye made to yourſelves.* So that it ſeems very probable, that the LXX read *Rephan* or *Revan*, inſtead of *Chiun* or *Chevan*, and thereby miſtook the *Pedeſtal* for a *God*. *Kircher* however, and *Salmaſius* aſſert, that *Kiion* is *Saturn*; that his Star is call'd *Keiran* among the *Perſians* and *Arabians*, and that *Remphan*, or *Rephan* ſignify'd the ſame Thing among the *Egyptians*; and therefore they ſuppoſe, that the *Septuagint*, who made their Tranſlation in *Egypt*, chang'd the Word *Chiun*, into that of *Remphan*, becauſe they had the ſame Signification. *Remphan* is generally ſuppos'd to have been an *Egyptian* God; and *Hammond*, in his Notes upon *Acts* vii. 43. is of Opinion, that this was the Name of a certain King of *Egypt*, who, after his Death, was deify'd by his Subjects: But of what Make and Figure the Image of this *Idol* was, or in what Manner he was worſhipp'd, we can no where learn. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Words *Chiun* and *Remphan*.

A. M. 2514, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1490, &c.

are to underſtand the Image of the *Sun*, and by *Remphan*, that of the Planet *Saturn*; and that the Worſhip of theſe Idols was a common Thing among the *Iſraelites*, in the Time of their Sojourning in the Wilderneſs, is manifeſt from that Paſſage of the *Prophet*, where he introduces God, thus complaining of the Perverſeneſs of that People: (*s*) *In the Day, that I choſe* Iſrael, *and lifted my Hand unto the Seed of the Houſe of* Jacob, *to bring them forth out of the Land of* Egypt, *unto a Land that I had eſpied for them, flowing with Milk and Honey, then ſaid I unto them,* "*Caſt ye away every Man the Abomina-*" *tions of his Eyes, and defile not yourſelves* "*with the Idols of* Egypt: *I am the* "*Lord your God.*" *But they rebelled againſt me, and would not hearken unto me; they did not every Man caſt away the Abominations of their Eyes, neither did they forſake the Idols of* Egypt. Nay, ſo far were they from forſaking the Idols of *Egypt*, that we find them adopting ſtrange Gods from every other neighbouring Nation, which occaſion'd that ſevere Commination in God: (*t*) *I will ſet my Face againſt that Man, and will cut him off from among his People, becauſe he has given of his Seed unto* † Moloch, *to defile my Sanctuary, and to profane my holy Name.* And if any one fail to puniſh this Idolater, *then will I ſet my Face*, ſays God, *againſt that Man, and againſt his Family, and will cut him off, and all, that go a whoring after him, from among their People.*

Now if Idolatry was a Practice, which the *Iſraelites* retain'd, and, in ſome Inſtances, improv'd, after their Departure out of *Egypt*, there is great Reaſon to preſume, that theſe *Idolaters* were the very *Murmurers* alſo, who infected the Camp with their *Infidelity*. They might believe (becauſe they ſaw ſo many Manifeſtations of it) the Reſidence of a God amongſt them; but then it is not unlikely, that they thought of him (as moſt of the *Heathens* thought of their Gods) that he was a *local* and *limited* Deity, who had done ſomething for them indeed, but cou'd not do all they wanted; who had brought them into the *Wilderneſs*, but had not the Power to conduct them into *Canaan*.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

In this Manner it is, that the *Pſalmiſt* repreſents them reaſoning with themſelves. (*u*) *Shall this God of ours prepare us a Table in the Wilderneſs? He ſmote the ſtony Rock indeed, that the Water guſhed out, and the Streams flowed withal; but can he give Bread alſo, and provide Fleſh for his People?* Many of theſe Miracles they ſaw wrought before their Eyes; but then they might look upon *Moſes*, who did them, (*x*) to be no more than a meer *Magician*, though perhaps of a better Sort, than thoſe of *Egypt*; and, conſequently, might be apprehenſive, that, upon every new Turn and Exigence, his Art wou'd fail him: And therefore, having no better Notions of God, and ſo groſs a Conception of their *Leader*, it is no Manner of Wonder that they ran into Murmuring and Diſcontent, into Riot and Diſorder, upon

(*s*) Ezek. xx. 5, &c. (*t*) Lev. xx. 3, &c.

† The *Rabbins* aſſure us, that the Idol *Moloch* (which was the ſame as *Baal*, the *Sun*, or Lord of Heaven, worſhipp'd by all the People in the *Eaſt*) had its Image made of Braſs, ſitting upon a Throne of the ſame Metal, having the Head of a Calf, adorn'd with a royal Crown, and his Arms extended, as it were, to embrace any Thing: But what the Children's *paſſing through the Fire* means, they are not ſo well agreed. Some of them are of Opinion, that Parents, in the Worſhip of this Idol, did not actually burn their Children, but only caus'd them to leap through Fire that was lighted before it, or to paſs between two Fires plac'd oppoſite to each other, by Way of Luſtration; but the Expreſſions of *David* are a little too ſtrong to admit of this Interpretation. For, when he tells us, that *they ſacrificed their Sons and Daughters unto Devils*, and *that they ſhed innocent Blood, even the Blood of their Sons and Daughters, whom they ſacrificed to the Idols of* Canaan, *Pſal.* cvi. 37, 38. we cannot but infer, that they did actually murder their Children in this execrable Way. ——— When any Infants were to be ſacrific'd, the Idol was made hot by kindling a great Fire in the Inſide of it; and when it was heated to a moſt intenſe Degree, the miſerable Victim was put into its Arms, and ſoon conſum'd by the Violence of the Heat; but, that the Cries of the Children might not be heard in their Extremities, the People were wont to make a great Noiſe with Drums, and other Inſtruments, about the Idol. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, and Diſſertations.

(*u*) Pſal. lxxviii. 20, 21. (*x*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. IV. Occaſ. Annot. 5.

A. M. 2514, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1490, &c.

upon every little Difficulty, that preſs'd them.

Why God ſent Quails *among them twice.*

TWO Times we find them complaining for the Want of ſuch Food, as they deſir'd; once (*y*) in the Wilderneſs of *Sin*, a few Days after their Paſſage of the *Red-Sea*, and again, at the Encampment (*z*) of *Kibroth-Hattaavah*, not long after their Departure from Mount *Sinai*; and, at both of theſe Times, God thought proper to ſend them *Quails*: Not out of any Deſtitution or Scarcity of other Proviſion, (*for* (*a*) *all the Beaſts of the Foreſt are his, and ſo are the Cattle upon a thouſand Hills; he knows all the Fowls upon the Mountains, and the wild Beaſts of the Field are in his Sight*) but for this very Reaſon, —— That how willing ſoever he might be to ſupply his People's Neceſſities, he had no Deſign to pamper their Appetites with a needleſs Variety, or to multiply Miracles without any juſt Occaſion. And therefore, as both theſe Events happen'd in the *Spring*, when Quails (which are found in great Quantities upon the Coaſts of the *Red-Sea*) are accuſtom'd to paſs from *Aſia* into *Europe*, God caus'd a Wind to ariſe, which, in their Flight, drove them towards the Camp of the *Iſraelites*, and (*b*) (as the *Eaſtern* Tradition has it) was ſo very *violent*, that it broke their Wings, and made them fall at a convenient Diſtance, and in a proper Condition to be taken up.

THAT *Quails*, among us, are very excellent Food, cannot be deny'd; but the ſame Tradition informs us, that theſe Birds, in *Arabia Fœlix*, do vaſtly ſurpaſs all others, and (as our Author expreſſes it) have *neither Bones, Veins, nor Sinews in them*, i. e. are very fat and tender, ſomething like our *Fig-peckers*, and *Ortolans*. And therefore, tho' God refus'd to gratify their Palates with a profuſe Variety of Dainties, yet is there no Fault to be found with his Proviſion, ſince the Food he ſent them was delicious in its Kind, and a whole Year had now interven'd between the former and latter Flight of *Quails*, to *whet* their Appetites, and prevent any Danger of being cloy'd with the ſame Diſh.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

Why he was angry at their ſecond Murmuring, tho' not at the firſt.

SOMETHING however there was in their Behaviour, which provok'd God, in this their *latter*, more than their *former* Complaint for Want of Fleſh, to puniſh them ſo ſeverely. (*c*) The Deſire of Fleſh for Food is, in itſelf, but *natural*, and, abſolutely ſpeaking, far from being *criminal*, or provoking to the Author of Nature, who created every Appetite of Man, as well as his Underſtanding: But when this breaks out into Murmuring, Mutiny, and Diſorder, the Caſe is then entirely alter'd. In the *former* of theſe Caſes, the People were in Want of Bread, and really pinch'd with Hunger; but in the *latter*, they had *Bread from Heaven* in Abundance, and may therefore be ſaid to complain not out of *Need*, but *Wantonneſs*. Their Diſcontent in the former Caſe was expreſs'd comparatively, in modeſt Terms; but here their Tone is, (*d*) *Who ſhall give us Fleſh to eat? We remember the Fiſh, which we did eat in* Egypt *freely, the Cucumbers, and the Melons, and the Leeks, and the Onions, and the Garlick; but now our Soul is dried away; there is nothing at all, beſides this Manna, before our Eyes.* This ſame Contempt of the *Manna*, which God ſo miraculouſly ſent from Heaven, eſpecially in Perſons ſo well inſtructed in the divine Will, was ſuch an Inſtance of Baſeneſs and Ingratitude, as juſtly deſerv'd the Puniſhment it met with.

IN the former Time of their Complaining, God wink'd at their Ignorance, and pitied their Diſtreſs: He had not then given them his Laws for the Rule of their Actions and Appetites, and therefore, never looking *to reap, where he had not ſowed*, he was not ſo *extream as to mark what they had done amiſs*; but, after he had publiſh'd his Precepts from the *Holy-Mount*, and many more Inſtructions from the

(*y*) Exod. xvi. 3, 13. (*z*) Numb. xi. 34. (*a*) Pſal. l. 10, 11. (*b*) Vid. Bibl. Orient. p. 749. Col. 1. (*c*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. IV. Occaſ. Annot. 3. (*d*) Numb. xi. 5, &c.

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the *Tabernacle*, he then expected that their Obedience shou'd keep pace with their Knowledge, and was more provok'd at their Backslidings, than before, because they proceeded not from the Ignorance of their *Minds*, but the Perverseness of their *Wills*: For, this was the true and the just Cause of their (*e*) *Condemnation, that*, even when *Light* was *come into the World, they loved Darkness rather than Light, because their Deeds were evil.*

Why he prohibited the Use of certain Animals *for Food.*

In the 11th Chapter of the Book of *Leviticus*, we have a Catalogue of the Beasts, Fishes, and Fowls, which God either permitted, or prohibited the *Israelites* to eat. From his first making Choice of them, God's Purpose was to distinguish them from other Nations, and more especially from the *Egyptians*, among whom they had long liv'd, had contracted their Manners, and were too tenacious of their Customs: And therefore, in Opposition to these, he enjoin'd them to eat such Creatures, as were worshipp'd in *Egypt*, which wou'd be an effectual Means to render the Pretences of these *sham* Deities contemptible; as, on the contrary, he order'd them to abstain from *those*, that were held in the greatest Delicacy among them. And, because the *Egyptians* wou'd have nothing to do with such Animals, as had *Hoofs* and *Horns*; the *Jews* were allow'd to eat none, but what *parted the Hoof*, as well as *chew'd the Cud*.

It is to be observ'd farther, that, in the very *Make* and *Nature* of some Animals, there are certain *Qualities*, which prejudice Mankind against them, and seem, as it were, to *desecrate* their Use; that some, for Instance are monstrously big, others very ugly and deform'd; some come from *heterogeneous* Mixtures, others feed upon dead Bodies; and to others most Men have an inbred Antipathy; so that, in the Main, what the Law forbad the *Jews* in this Regard, was Nature's Aversion before: But then the Question is——Why the Things, which they were naturally averse to, and wou'd have refrain'd without it, were made the Matter of a divine *Interdiction*?

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

Now, if we trace the History of these People, we shall find, that they had their Seasons of Affliction and Scarcity, as well as of Prosperity and Plenty. At the very Time, when these Prohibitions were given them, they were travelling, and were to continue travelling for many Years in a waste and barren *Desart*, which, being destitute of the Conveniences and Necessaries of Life, might tempt them to make Experiment upon the Flesh of some of those Animals, that they naturally abhorr'd, but, upon this Occasion, as they thought, might innocently make use of: And therefore, to set a stronger Guard upon human Nature, God thought proper to confirm this their innate Aversion, by the Sanction and Establishment of Laws, which were to last beyond the Term of their Continuance in the Wilderness.

The Truth is, this People, by their gross Impieties, and Prevarications with God, brought frequently upon themselves Famines, and Sieges, and other Calamities, wherein they suffer'd very grievously. To pass by the Famines, which happen'd, (*f*) in *Judea*, (*g*) in the Time of the *Judges*, and (*h*) in *David's* Days; in the Reign of *Ahab*, there was (*i*) a dreadful one in *Samaria*, when an *Ass's Head was sold for fourscore Pieces of Silver, and the fourth Part of a Cab of Doves-Dung* (it shou'd be render'd *Pulse*) *for five Pieces of Silver*; and (what is more lamentable still) when Mothers enter'd into Compact about eating their own Children. But the most *tragical* Account of all is that, which their own Historian has recorded of them, at the Siege of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, when Wives snatch'd the Necessaries of Life from their Husbands, Children from their Parents, and Parents from their Children; (*k*) when *Mothers* were forc'd, for their own Support, to defraud their *Infants* of the little *Milk*, that was in their Breasts, while

(*e*) John iii. 19. (*f*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* Vol. III. Occasional Annot. 3. (*g*) Ruth i. 1. (*h*) 2 Sam. xxi. 1. (*i*) 2 Kings vi. 25. (*k*) *Joseph.* de Bello Jud. Lib. v. c. 10.

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while the *Infants* were dying in their Arms for want of it; when Hunger and Neceſſity turn'd every Thing into Victuals, and (what is ſhocking to human Nature but barely to think on) (*l*) made one *Jewiſh* Lady of Quality eat her own Child.

Now the Uſe, that I wou'd make of this melancholy Part of their Hiſtory, is this: —— That, as to God's Preſcience, were preſent from Everlaſting all the Wickedneſſes, and Rebellions of this People; ſo were thoſe Penalties and Judgments, which his infinite Wiſdom determin'd to be moſt ſuitable to them. For what Method can be thought more proper, to make an Impreſſion upon thoſe that forſake God, than that he ſhou'd forſake them, *i. e.* ſo far, at leaſt, as to withdraw the Succours of Life from them? And, conſidering his Prohibition of certain Animals for Food under this View, it was certainly a kind and generous Warning to his People, not to bring themſelves, in Conſequence of theſe Provocations, (which he foreknew, and againſt which he had ſo ſtrictly caution'd them) into ſuch Circumſtances, as wou'd oblige them, either to forbear the very laſt Means of ſuſtaining Life, or to break more of God's Commandments, than they had done before.

BUT there is a farther Reaſon, ariſing from the Quality of Animals, why God might enact a Diſcrimination of Meats, and that is —— to give his People therein a *myſtical Syſtem of Morality*. Thus the Birds, which were allow'd to be eaten, (the Pigeon, the Dove, the Partridge, for Inſtance) were either tame, or of gentle Nature, feeding on Grain or Pulſe; whereas all the *Species*, that liv'd on Prey, and ſuch as gorge themſelves with Fleſh and Blood, were utterly forbidden, thereby to bring into Reputation Juſtice, and Mercy, and Moderation, and, at the ſame Time, to diſcountenance the contrary Diſpoſition to Rapine, Oppreſſion, and Cruelty. It is a noted *Allegory*, That in *Homer*, of *Circe*'s changing *Ulyſſes*'s Friends into Hogs. By *Circe*, the Poet intends that we ſhou'd underſtand *ſenſual Pleaſures*; by *Ulyſſes*, *Reaſon* and *Diſcretion*; and by his *Retinue*, the inferior Faculties, and Powers: And, in like Manner, the Prohibition of Swines Fleſh was deſign'd to reſtrain the *Jews* from ſuch Luſts, as *war againſt the Spirit*, as pollute and debaſe human Nature, like another Creature's *wallowing* in the Mire: For (as a learned Author obſerves) (*m*) the *Jewiſh* Law was more remarkably ſtrict in its Prohibitions of Things, that were ſordid and ſlovenly; wherein it ſeems to have had an eſpecial Aim to the training and forming of a People, that had liv'd uncultivated, by Reaſon of their long Slavery in *Egypt*, and their dirty Work in Clay and Bricks, to an Elegancy and Politeneſs of Manners, as well as a Deteſtation of all filthy and brutal *Luſts*, that, *being ſet free from Sin*, (as the Apoſtle expreſſes it) (*n*) *they might glorify God in Purity and Holineſs, both in their Bodies, and in their Spirits, which were his.*

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

THE ſame Apoſtle, in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, has inform'd us, *that* (*o*) *the Law made nothing perfect, but the Bringing in of a better Hope, by which we draw nigh unto God, did.* The *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt was a Type of our bleſſed Saviour, and his Entrance into the *Holy of Holies*, of our Lord's Aſcenſion into Heaven, after his Reſurrection. The Sacrifices, which were offer'd under the *Levitical* Law, were previous Repreſentations of the Death of Chriſt; and the Redemption of Mankind by the Effuſion of his Blood was exhibited, every Day, in the ſeveral Oblations in the Tabernacle: (*p*) *For if the Blood of Bulls, and of Goats, and the Aſhes of an Heifer, ſprinkling the Unclean, ſanctifieth to the purifying of the Fleſh; how much more ſhall the Blood of Chriſt,*

Why God made uſe of Types in the Jewiſh *Service.*

(*l*) *Joſeph.* de Bello Jud. Lib. vi. c. 3. (*m*) *Spencer*, de Legibus Heb. (*n*) 1 Cor. vi. 20.
(*o*) Chap. vii. 19. (*p*) Heb. ix. 13.

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who, through the eternal Spirit, offer'd himself without Spot to God, purge the Conscience from dead Works, to serve the living God? Now, besides the Arguments, which might be drawn from the *Grossness* of the *Jews* Understanding, and their Incapacity to receive a more *spiritual* Dispensation, God might have this farther Design in setting before them the *Mystery* of Man's Redemption under such *typical* Representations, *viz.* that thereby he might excite their Industry, and give a fuller Scope to the Exercise of their Faith. For, that the Faith, and Hope, and other Graces of the Patriarchs, and devout *Jews*, were more effectually prov'd by the Exhibition of Things ambiguous and obscure, than if they had been altogether open'd in the fullest and plainest Propositions, is a Matter that can hardly be contested. To rest assur'd, that God wou'd bring to pass what he had expressly and circumstantially foretold, shew'd indeed a sincere and true Faith in *general*; but to be persuaded, that faint Resemblances, and the remotest Hints were pregnant with Certainty and Solidity, and wou'd, in their proper Time, be gloriously compleated, (how unintelligible soever they might be at present) was (if we may so call it) a *special Advance of heroick Faith*, and render'd their Dependance and Resignation as compleat as possible. And, accordingly, the *Apostle*, having enumerated several ancient *Worthies*, who, by Faith extended their Views, and look'd upon the Dispensation they were under, as no more than a *System of* Types and *Shadows of the good Things to come*, concludes their Character in the following Manner: (*q*) *And these all, having obtained a good Report through Faith, received not the Promise: God having provided some better Thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.* So that the *Jewish* Religion and Worship was, in some Respects, adapted to the Capacity, and Genius both of the *Learned* and *Ignorant*: Of the *Ignorant*, as being made up of Pomp and Shew enough to attract their *Attention*; and of the *Learned*, as abounding with *Shadows*, and *Emblems* of higher Matters, enough to exercise their deepest *Contemplation*.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

The Nature of Nadab *and* Abihu's *Transgression.*

What the Sin of *offering strange Fire before the Lord was*, and, upon what Account it rais'd the divine Indignation against *Nadab* and *Abihu*, the two Sons of *Aaron*, will best appear, by attending a little to the probable Occasion of it. After the Consecration of *Aaron* and his Sons to the priestly Office, we are told, that a miraculous *Fire from the Lord*, i. e. a Fire, which either came immediately down from Heaven, or out of the Cloud, which cover'd the *Tabernacle*, consum'd the first Victim, which *Aaron* offer'd for a Burnt-Offering; that God had expressly commanded, that (*r*) *the Fire, which was upon the Altar*, shou'd not be suffer'd to *go out*, which (according to the Consent of most Interpreters) signifies, that the said miraculous Fire, which had confirm'd the Installation of *Aaron* and his Sons after so surprizing a Manner, shou'd be kept *alive*, and burning with the utmost Care; and that, as, at this very Fire *Aaron* was (*s*) requir'd to light the *Incense* which he offer'd to God *in the most holy Place*, on the great *Day of Expiation*; so may we take it for granted, that the like Injunction was impos'd on the *inferior* Priests, with Relation to the Incense, which they were to offer every Day before God in the *holy Place*. We have indeed no mention made of such a Law, but the History, we are commenting upon, gives us strong Presumption, that the Use of this Fire *only* was permitted; and therefore the Words (*t*) in the Text, *which he commanded them not*, is thought to imply an express Prohibition of *any other*.

The Crime then of *Nadab* and *Abihu* consisted in their kindling the *Incense*, which their Office of Priests oblig'd them to offer every Morning and Evening, with Fire, different from that which was continually

(*q*) Heb. xi. 39, 40. (*r*) Lev. vi. 12. (*s*) Ibid. xvi. 12. (*t*) Lev. x. 1.

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tinually on the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, and conſequently, different from what God order'd them to uſe. † Other Offences indeed have been laid to their Charge. Some pretend, that they endeavour'd to intrude into the *moſt holy Place*, which was not permitted them to enter; becauſe, immediately after the Recital of the Manner of their Death, *Moſes* in another Place relates, that God commanded him to ſpeak unto *Aaron*, (*u*) *that he ſhou'd not come, at all Times, into the holy Place, within the Veil, before the Mercy Seat, that he died not*; but others inſinuate, that they were guilty of Intemperance, at the Entertainment made at their *Inſtallation*, becauſe, after the Account of their fatal End, *Moſes*, by God's Order, gives this Injunction to *Aaron*, and the Remainder of his Sons: (*x*) *Do not drink Wine, nor ſtrong Drink, thou, nor thy Sons with thee, when ye go into the Tabernacle of the Congregation, leſt ye die. It ſhall be a Statute for ever through your Generations, that ye may put Difference between Holy and Unholy, between Unclean and Clean.* But theſe are no more than bare Surmiſes, that have no proper Foundation in the foregoing Texts, nor is there any Occaſion to hunt out for Paſſages to augment theſe Offenders Crime.

NADAB and *Abihu* had not only been admitted, in common with the reſt of their Brethren, to the Honour of the *Prieſthood*, which, among the *Jews* was a Dignity of no ſmall Eſteem; but had particular Motives, which the others had not, to the Obſervance of all God's Commandments, as having had the Privilege of ſeeing the *Symbols* of the Divine Preſence, (on the *formidable* Mount, from whence his Laws were promulg'd) without being *conſum'd*. The higher therefore their Station was, and the more diſtinguiſhing the Favours they had receiv'd, the more provoking was their Affront, in attempting to adulterate an Ordinance of God's Inſtitution. *Common Fire*, they thought, might ſerve the Purpoſe of burning Incenſe, as well as that which was held more *ſacred:* At leaſt, in the *Gaiety*, or rather *Naughtineſs* of their Hearts, they were minded to make the Experiment, even in Oppoſition to the divine Command; and therefore (*y*) it was juſt and requiſite in God (eſpecially in the Beginning of the Prieſthood, and when one Alteration of a divine Precept might, in Proceſs of Time, be productive of many more) to inflict an *exemplary* Puniſhment, that others might *hear, and fear, and not commit the like Abomination.*

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

AND for this Reaſon, *viz.* the Injection of Terror into others, *Moſes* is commanded to make no Lamentation, or funeral Pomp for them; which, among the *Jews*, who, of all other Nations, were ſo very ſumptuous in their *Obſequies* of their deceas'd Friends, was accounted a ſore Judgment. In the Caſe of *Jehoiakim* the King of *Judah*, the Commination of God is thought very terrible. (*z*) *They ſhall not lament for him*, ſaying, *ah my Brother, or ah Siſter: They ſhall not lament for him*, ſaying, *ah Lord, or ah his Glory. He ſhall be buried with the Burial of an Aſs, drawn, and caſt forth beyond the Gates of* Jeruſalem. Temporal Judgments however are not always ſure Indications of the final Condemnation of the Perſons on whom they fall, and therefore *Aaron* had no Occaſion utterly to deſpond: On the contrary, he might preſume, that the Juſtice of God, being ſatisfy'd with the *preſent* Puniſhment of his Sons, might be appeas'd, with Relation to their eternal State;

Aaron's *Behaviour thereupon.*

† The Author of the *Connection*, ſo often cited, ſuppoſes another Kind of Innovation to have been the Occaſion of their untimely Death. God as yet, ſays he, had given no Law for the offering of Incenſe in *Cenſers*; all that had been commanded about it, was, that *Aaron* ſhou'd burn it upon *the Altar of Incenſe* every Morning and every Evening, but theſe Men took upon them to begin, and introduce a Service into Religion, which was not appointed, and which, if it had been ſuffer'd, wou'd have open'd a Door to great Irregularities; and therefore God, by an exemplary Judgment upon the firſt Offenders, put an effectual Stop to it. *Shuckford*, Vol. III. Lib. xi.

(*u*) Lev. xvi. 2. (*x*) Ibid. x. 9, 10. (*y*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*z*) Jer. xxii. 18, 19.

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State; and that tho' their (*a*) *Fleſh was deſtroyed, yet their Spirits might be ſaved in the Day of the Lord.* He knew too, how much himſelf had offended in the Matter of the *golden Calf*, and might juſtly think, that God had call'd his Sin to Remembrance in the Deſtruction of his two Sons. He acknowledg'd therefore the Righteouſneſs of God, in all that he had brought upon him, and, in the Phraſe of Scripture, (*b*) *was dumb, and opened not his Mouth, becauſe it was the Lord's doing.*

The Occaſion of the Difference between Moſes and his Brother and Siſter.

What the Occaſion of the Difference between *Moſes* and his Brother *Aaron*, and Siſter *Miriam* was, is not ſo very evident: The Hiſtory indeed tells us, that (*c*) *they ſpake againſt* Moſes, *becauſe of the* Ethiophian, *or rather* Arabian *Woman, whom he had married.* The Generality of Interpreters ſuppoſe this Woman to be *Zipporah*, the Daughter of *Jethro*, whom he married in *Midian*; for thoſe, who imagine her to have been another, can hardly get over this Difficulty —— Why *Moſes* ſhou'd ſet ſo bad an Example, as to marry, at two ſeveral Times, a *Foreigner*, rather than one of the Daughters of his People. The firſt Time indeed, that he did ſo, was, when he liv'd in a State of *Exile*, but was nevertheleſs kindly receiv'd in a Family of the beſt Diſtinction in the Place, which might be Inducement enough for his matching himſelf with one of the Daughters, ſince no expreſs Precept againſt Matches of this Kind was then in Force. But now, that he was ſet at the Head of a People, who were to be ſeparated from the reſt of Mankind, and was conducting them into a Country, with whoſe Inhabitants they were to have no *matrimonial* Intercourſe, for fear of introducing Idolatry, it wou'd have been highly indecent, and unpopular, an Affront upon his own Country-Women, as well as a dangerous Inlet to Impiety, for him to have marry'd into an *idolatrous* Nation; nor wou'd his Brother and Siſter have been the only Perſons to clamour againſt him, but the whole *Congregation* wou'd have riſen up in Arms, upon ſo notorious a Provocation. Since therefore we hear of no ſuch Commotion, we may reaſonably conclude, that this *Cuſhite*, or *Arabian* Woman, was the ſame *Zipporah*, whom he had marry'd ſome forty Years before. But then why they ſhou'd quarrel with him upon her Account, at this Time, and no ſooner, is the Difficulty.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

Now to reſolve this we muſt obſerve, that when *Jethro*, his Father-in-law, was in the Camp, it was by his Advice that *Moſes* (*d*) inſtituted Judges to determine leſſer Cauſes; and that he found his Son *Hobab* ſo very ſerviceable to him in the Capacity of a *Camp-maſter-general*, that ‖ he earneſtly entreated him to continue with him, and receiv'd him, no doubt, into great Confidence. It is to be obſerv'd farther, that, in the foregoing Chapter, we have an Account of the Creation of the *ſeventy Elders* to aſſiſt in the Adminiſtration, and that theſe Elders were nominated by *Moſes*, without ever conſulting *Aaron* or *Miriam*. As therefore this Story of their quarrelling with him is immediately ſubjoin'd, it ſeems very likely, that, taking themſelves to be neglected, in ſo great an Alteration made in the Government without their Advice, they were very

(*a*) 1 Cor. v. 5. (*b*) Pſal. xxxix. 9. (*c*) Numb. xii. 1. (*d*) Exod. xviii. 21, 22.

‖ *Moſes*'s Words to *Hobab* are theſe: —— *Leave us not, I pray thee, foraſmuch as thou knoweſt how we are to encamp in the Wilderneſs, and thou mayeſt be to us inſtead of Eyes.* Numb. x. 31. But if the Being, which reſided in the miraculous Cloud, was their Guide, what Need was there for *Hobab*'s Stay? Now the Deſign of the Cloud was to direct the People when to decamp, and where to encamp again; but for the ſecuring of their Camp againſt all hoſtile Force they were left to human Means: And therefore *Hobab*, having liv'd long a Borderer upon the Wilderneſs, was well acquainted with every Part of it, and the better able to adviſe them both whence to provide themſelves with ſuch Things as they wanted, and how to ſecure themſelves againſt any neighbouring Powers, that ſhou'd attempt to aſſault them; and for theſe Reaſons *Moſes* was ſo preſſing for his ſtaying with him, though the *Septuagint* underſtand the Paſſage, as if he deſir'd him to continue to be what he had hitherto been in the Wilderneſs, *viz.* a good Adviſer, like his Father *Jethro*, and withal aſſur'd him, that he would look upon him as an *Elder*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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very angry; but, not daring to charge *Moſes* directly, they fell foul upon his Wife, giving her opprobrious Names, and complaining to the People very probably, that ſhe, and her Brother, had too much Power and Influence over *Moſes*.

Why Moſes *mentions it.*

JOSEPHUS, in his *Jewiſh* Hiſtory, makes no mention of this Family-Difference, as thinking that it might reflect Diſcredit upon his Nation; but *Moſes* was an Author of more *Veracity*, than to conceal any Action, which was proper for Mankind to know, even though it tended to the laſting Diſgrace of his own Family. For he does not affect to aggrandize the Thing, or to make his Family appear more conſiderable, when he introduces God as arbitrating the Difference between them; but purely to acquaint us, that, as the *Iſraelites* liv'd then under a *Theocracy*, God himſelf, being their *immediate* King, undertook to decide their Controverſies depending between ſuch his chief *Miniſters*, as were not accountable to any other *Judge*; nor was the divine Majeſty any more *debas'd* in condeſcending to make this Deciſion, than any earthly *Prince* wou'd be, by interpoſing his Authority to determine a Controverſy between two of his great and powerful Subjects.

Why Moſes *might commend himſelf, without endangering the* Authentickneſs *of his Writings.*

MOSES indeed inſerts a Paſſage, to ſhew, that the Occaſion of this Family-Quarrel was not from him; that he was a Man of a meek and peaceable Diſpoſition, and therefore not addicted to Strife and Contention, eſpecially with thoſe of his own Kindred; and why might he not inſert this, when it was no more than what was due to his Character, and perhaps, at that Time, neceſſary for his own Vindication. St *Paul*, to clear himſelf from ſome Aſperſions, which the Malice of his Enemies had caſt upon him, enters upon his own Commendation tho' it be with ſome Reluctancy, and to give it a better *Gloſs*, tries all the Powers of Eloquence in working it up. (*e*) *Whereinſoever any is bold*, ſays he, *I ſpeak fooliſhly, I am bold alſo. Are they* Hebrews? *So am I. Are they* Iſraelites? *So am I. Are they the Seed of* Abraham? *So am I. Are they Miniſters of Chriſt? I ſpeak as a Fool, I am more: In Labours more abundant, in Stripes above Meaſure: In Priſons more frequent: In Deaths often. —— In Perils of Waters, in Perils of Robbers, in Perils by my own Countrymen, in Perils by the Heathen, in Perils in the City, in Perils in the Wilderneſs, in Perils in the Sea, in Perils among falſe Brethren: In Wearineſs and Painfulneſs, in Watchings often; in Hunger and Thirſt, in Faſtings often; in Cold and Nakedneſs; beſides thoſe Things, that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the Care of all the Churches.* Theſe are the Words of our Apoſtle, ſetting off the faithful Diſcharge of his Miniſtry; and yet no one ever ſuſpected the *Genuineneſs* of this his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* upon that Account: As little Reaſon have we therefore, to call in Queſtion the *Authentickneſs* of this Book of *Moſes*, becauſe we find a Paſſage or two that ſpeaks favourably of him.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

THAT all Hiſtorians, both *antient* and *modern*, when they come to ſpeak of the Part, and Concern, they had in ſuch and ſuch Actions, are commonly accuſtom'd to ſpeak in the *third* Perſon; and that the modeſteſt Man upon Earth may ſometimes ſee Occaſion to magnify his Office, or vindicate himſelf, without deſerving the Imputation of Vanity or Arrogance, cannot be deny'd. Now conſidering what Share it was, that *Moſes* himſelf bore in the Facts which he relates, and that the Narrations, Laws, and Admonitions which he recorded, were not deſign'd for that Age only, but directed to all ſucceeding Generations of the World; and withal conſidering, that the ſeditious and turbulent Behaviour of his Brother and Siſter at that Time oblig'd him to juſtify and clear himſelf; there was no imaginable Way more proper for him to expreſs himſelf in, than that which he made Uſe of, even had it been a Matter of his own Study and Contrivance:

(*e*) 2 Cor. xi. 21, &c.

A. M. 2514, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1490, &c.

trivance: But then, if we ſuppoſe, that he wrote by divine Inſpiration, the Commendation that is given of his natural Lenity and good Nature, muſt be look'd upon, rather as the *Holy Ghoſt*'s Teſtimony concerning *Moſes*, than *Moſes*'s Teſtimony concerning himſelf.

That there was no Juggle in Aaron's Rod's bloſſoming.

Tho' *Moſes* was certainly a good-natur'd Man, and therefore cou'd not live long at Variance with his Brother *Aaron*, yet we can hardly ſuppoſe, that his Love and Affection for him wou'd ever prevail with him to enter into any fraudulent Meaſures, in order to raiſe him to the *Pontificate*. The *Rod*, which gave *Aaron* the Preference, was not (as we noted before) *Moſes*'s wonder-working Rod, but, in all Probability, one of the ſame Tree, from whence the Princes of the other Tribes cut theirs. All theſe Rods, with the Names of the ſeveral Tribes engrav'd upon them, were deliver'd to *Moſes* in the Face of the whole Congregation, and by him were inſtantly carry'd into the Tabernacle: And, that he did not palm upon the People, when his Back was turn'd, and put *an Almond Twig* into the Place of *Aaron*'s Rod, is evident from what is related of it, *viz.* that it had Leaves, Buds, Bloſſoms, and ripe Fruit upon it, all at one Time, which no Tree of any Kind ever was known to have before.

Some of the Vulgar and leſs Curious might perhaps, at a curſory View, have been impos'd upon, by a ſham Appearance of theſe Things painted on *Aaron*'s Rod: But *Moſes* knew very well that he had the *Heads* of each Tribe to deal with; Men of Sagacity, and Obſervation, and who were too nearly concern'd in the *Experiment* to let any Pretence to a Miracle go unexamin'd: And therefore we may very well imagine, that when he brought forth all the Rods the next Morning, they ſurvey'd every one very carefully, and made diligent Search into the Alteration, which had paſs'd upon that, which belong'd to *Aaron*; and had they found any Deception in it, wou'd have expos'd the two Brothers to Contempt and Ridicule, or rather have depos'd them from all Rule and Power for the Future, as a Couple of vile and impious *Impoſtors*. But, inſtead of that, we find that this Miracle ſilenc'd all Cavils for ever after againſt *Aaron* and his Family; confirm'd the Authority of *Moſes*; and made the People (when he told them, that, by God's Appointment, he had laid up *Aaron*'s Rod to be a Witneſs againſt them, that, if they murmur'd any more, they ſhou'd moſt certainly be deſtroy'd) break out into this doleful Complaint; *(f) Behold we die, we periſh, we all periſh, and ſhall be conſumed with dying:* For they began now to believe God's Threatnings, and to fear, that at one Time or other they ſhou'd experience ſome heavy and ſevere Puniſhment, as, by this *new Sign*, he had convinc'd them that they juſtly deſerv'd it. From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

Thus I have endeavour'd to anſwer moſt of the material Objections, which have induſtriouſly been rais'd againſt the *ſacred* Hiſtory of this *Period*; and were it any farther Confirmation of its Truth and Authority, I might add, *(g)* that the whole Matter of *Korah*, how he rebell'd againſt *Moſes*, and made a Defection among the People, for which he ſuffer'd the very Judgment that the Scripture relates, was doubtleſs of ſtanding Tradition in the *Eaſt*, which the *Mahometans* have borrow'd, and given us at ſecond Hand: That the Conſumption of *Aaron*'s Sacrifice *(h) by the Fire which came from the Lord*, rais'd the Report, *(i)* that, in ancient Times, Men did not kindle Fire upon their Altars, but call'd it down from Heaven by Prayer, and that the Flame was produc'd by the Deity, to whom the Sacrifice was offer'd: That the Irradiation of *Moſes*'s Face, when he came down from the

(f) Numb. xvii. 12, 13. *(g)* *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Korah*. *(h)* Lev. ix. 24.

(i) *Servius* in Æneid. Lib. xii. ver. 200, and *Patrick*'s Commentary in Locum. From the Fire of the Altar, which, in the *Moſaick* Language, was call'd *the Fire of the Lord*, as it came down from Heaven, and was perpetually kept burning, 'tis obvious at firſt Sight, that the *Greeks* deriv'd, in the Way of Etymology, their ἑστία, and the *Romans* their *Veſtal Fire*, ſo famous in all Hiſtory. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* on *Numb.* Annot. 2.

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the Mount, introduc'd the Cuſtom among the Heathens, of adorning the Images of their Gods and Heroes with a beamy Glory about their Heads: That the Veneration paid to his Wonder-working Rod, eſtabliſh'd an Uſage, which prevails almoſt every where, (*k*) for the great Miniſters of State to carry in their Hands Wands, as Enſigns of their Office, whenever they appear at Court; and that the budding of his Brother *Aaron*'s Rod, in all Probability, gave Riſe to (*l*) the Fable of *Hercules*'s Club, when left in the Ground, ſtriking Root downward, and ſo reviving, and repullulating. But I chuſe rather, in this Place, to remark the great Affinity between the divine and human Laws, ſo far as they relate to what we call the *Decalogue*, inſomuch that, whatever the antient heathen Law-givers have enacted about theſe Matters, ſeems little more than a Tranſcript from the Ten Commandments, which *Moſes* deliver'd to the *Jews*.

THUS, the *Unity of God*, and the *Folly of making any* Image of him (which conſtitute the two firſt Commandments) was an (*m*) Inſtitution of *Numa*, which he took from *Pythagoras*, who maintain'd that there was only one ſupreme Being, and that, as he is perfectly ſpiritual, and the Object of the Mind only, no viſible Repreſentation can be made of him. *The Reverence of God's holy Name* (which is the Subject of the third) was recogniz'd by the Heathens in all their ſolemn Contracts, Promiſes, and Aſſeverations; and for this Reaſon, *Plato* (in his Book *de Legibus*) acquaints us, that *it is* (*n*) *an excellent Leſſon, to be very cautious and tender, in ſo much as mentioning the very Name of God.* The *ſetting apart one Day in ſeven*, and the Obſervation of it for religious Purpoſes, was a Practice ſo general in the Pagan World, that, according to *Philo*, this *ſeventh* Day was truly call'd Ἑορτὴ πανδημος, or *the univerſal Feſtival*, and by the *Athenians*, according to the Laws then in force, was obſerv'd with the utmoſt Strictneſs, and ſuch as admitted of no ſervile Work. The *Honour and Reſpect due to Parents*, was ſecur'd by that excellent Law made by *Solon*, which declares, (*o*) *that, if any one ſtrike his Parents, or does not maintain them, and provide them a Dwelling, and all Things neceſſary, let him be utterly diſregarded*, and baniſh'd from all civil Society. The *Prohibition of Murder* is confirm'd by the Laws of *Athens*, which make its Puniſhment *capital*, when wilfully committed; Baniſhment, when by Chance-medley, and for every Maim, deſignedly given, impoſes both a *Confiſcation* of Goods, and a *Proſcription* from the City, where the injur'd Perſon dwells. The *Prohibition of Adultery* was ſufficiciently enforc'd by *Solon*, when he left the guilty Perſons, when deprended in the Fact, to the Mercy of the injur'd Huſband, who, if he ſuffer'd them to eſcape with their Lives, had Licence to handle the Man very roughly, (*p*) and to divorce the Woman, who, for her Crime, was excluded all Places of publick Concourſe, and reduc'd below the Condition of a Slave. The *Prohibition of Theft* was ſupported by a Law of *Draco*'s, which made Felons of what Denomination ſoever loſe their Lives for their Crime; but this being thought too ſevere, *Solon*'s Inſtitution was, that every petty Larceny ſhou'd be puniſh'd with double Reſtitution, and ſometimes Impriſonment, but every greater Robbery, to the Value of fifty *Drachms*, with Death. The *Prohibition of falſe Witneſs* was (*q*) ratify'd by the *Athenian* Laws, which not only puniſh'd the Offenders with Fines, Confiſcation of Goods, and Baniſhment, but degraded them likewiſe from all Dignity, as Perſons extreamly ignominious, and who (according (*r*) to the Law of the *twelve Tables*) deſerv'd to be thrown from the *Tarpeian* Rock. The *Prohibition of Covetouſneſs of* all Kinds, (which is the Tenth and laſt Commandment)

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb xviii.

(*k*) Huet. Quæſt. Alnet. (*l*) Huet. ibid. (*m*) Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. v. and *Bibliotheca Bibl.* on *Exod.* xx. 4. (*n*) De Leg. Lib. ii. (*o*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* on Deut. Diſſert. 3. (*p*) Archbiſhop *Potter*'s *Greek* Antiquities. (*q*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* ibid. (*r*) A. Gell. Lib. xii. chap. 1.

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ment) no where occurs in the Edicts of any ancient Legiſlator; for (as (*s*) a pious Biſhop well obſerves) *all the Laws, that were ever made by any Governours upon Earth, reſpected only the Words and Actions, or the outward Carriage and Behaviour of their Subjects. None ever offer'd to give Laws to the Minds, or Hearts of Men, what they ſhou'd think, or love, or deſire, or the like; and it wou'd have been ridiculous and abſurd to have done it, becauſe they cou'd never have known, whether ſuch Laws were obſerv'd or no*; ſo proper is the Queſtion, which their great Law-giver puts to the *Jews*, (*t*) *what Nation is there ſo great, that hath Statutes and Judgments ſo righteous, as all this Law, which I ſet before you this Day?* So juſt the Commendation, which the Royal *Pſalmiſt* gives of it. *The Law of the Lord is an undefiled Law, converting the Soul: The Teſtimony of the Lord is ſure, and giveth Wiſdom unto the Simple —— Moreover by them is thy Servant taught, and in keeping of them there is great Reward.*

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the Jewiſh Tabernacle, &c.

FROM the very firſt Beginning of Time, God had always ſome Place appropriated to the ſolemn Duties of religious Worſhip. (*u*) Even during the ſmall Space of his Continuance in *Paradiſe*, *Adam* had (*x*) where to *preſent* himſelf before the Lord; and after his Expulſion from thence, *his Sons*, in like Manner, had (*y*) whither to *bring* their Oblations and Sacrifices. The *Patriarchs*, both before and after the Flood, us'd (*z*) Altars, and (*a*) Mountains, and (*b*) Groves, for the ſelf-ſame Purpoſe. Here they had their *Proſeuchæ*, or Places for Prayer, which were certain Plats of Ground, encompaſs'd with a Wall, or ſome other Encloſure, and open'd above. But ſince the firſt Place of this Kind, that made any conſiderable Figure, was the *Tabernacle*, which God order'd *Moſes* to erect in the Wilderneſs, as an Habitation for his Majeſtick Preſence to reſide in, it may not be improper, in this Place, to give ſome Account of it, and the other holy Things appertaining to it.

A Deſcription of the Tabernacle.

THE *Tabernacle* was a Tent, cover'd with Curtains and Skins, but much larger, than other Tents: It was in the Form of an oblong Square, thirty Cubits in Length, and ten in Height and Breadth, and was properly divided into *two Parts*, viz. the *Holy Place*, and *the Holy of Holies*. The *Holy Place* was twenty Cubits long, and ten wide, where ſtood the Table of Shew-Bread, the Golden Candleſtick, and the Altar of Incenſe. The *Holy of Holies* (which was likewiſe call'd the *Sanctuary*) was ten Cubits long, and ten broad, contain'd the *Ark of the Covenant*, and was ſeparated from the *Holy Place* by a *Veil*, or Hanging made of rich embroider'd Linnen, which hung upon four Pillars of *Shittim* or *Cedar* Wood, that were cover'd with Plates of Gold, but had their Baſes made of Braſs; and at the Entrance of the Tabernacle, inſtead of a Door, there was a Veil of the ſame Work, ſuſtain'd by the like Pillars, which ſeparated it from the outward Court.

THE Boards, or Planks, whereof the Body of the Tabernacle was compos'd, were in all forty-eight, each a Cubit and an half wide, and ten Cubits high. Twenty of them went to make up one Side

(*s*) Biſhop *Beveridge*, upon the Catechiſm. (*t*) Deut. iv. 8. and Pſal. xix. 7, &c. (*u*) Numb. xvii. 12, 13. (*x*) *Hooker*'s Eccleſ. Polity, Lib. v. (*y*) Gen. iii. 8. (*z*) Ibid. iv. 3. (*a*) Ibid. xiii. 4. (*b*) Ibid. xxii. 1. (*c*) Ibid. xxi. 33.

Ark of the Covenant

Altar of Incenſe

Table of Shew Bread

Brazen Laver

Golden Candleſtick

Brazen Altar

Brazen Sea

The Tabernacle with the Court

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

Jo: Mynde Sc.

To the Right Reverend Father in God HENRY Lord Biſhop of Hereford this Plate is moſt humbly Inſcribed by his Lordſhip's moſt Dutifull & Obedient Son and Servant

Thomas Stackhouſe

A. M. 2514, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1490, &c.

Side of the Tabernacle, and twenty the other, and at the *Weſt End* of it were the other eight, which were all let into one another by two *Tenons* above and below, and compacted together by Bars running from one End to the other; but the *Eaſt End* of it was open, and only cover'd with a rich Curtain.

THE *Roof* of the Tabernacle was a ſquare Frame of Planks, reſting upon their Baſes; and, over theſe, were Coverings, or Curtains of different Kinds. Of theſe the *firſt*, on the Inſide, was made of fine Linnen, curiouſly embroider'd in various Colours of Crimſon, and Scarlet, and Purple, and Hyacinth: The *next* was made of Goats Hair neatly wove together; and the *laſt* of Sheep and Badgers Skins, (ſome dy'd Red, and others of azure Blue) which were to preſerve the rich Curtains from wet, and to protect the Tabernacle itſelf from the Injuries of the Weather.

The Court. ROUND about the Tabernacle was a large oblong *Court*, an hundred Cubits long, and fifty broad, encompaſs'd with Pillars overlaid with Silver, and whoſe Capitals were of the ſame Metal, but their Baſes were of Braſs. Ten of theſe Pillars ſtood towards the *Weſt*, ſix to the *Eaſt*, twenty to the *North*, and twenty to the *South*, at five Cubits Diſtance from each other; and over theſe hung Curtains made of twined Linnen-thread, in the Manner of Net-work, which ſurrounded the Tabernacle on all Sides, except at the *Entrance* of the Court, which was twenty Cubits wide, and ſuſtain'd with four *Columns*, over-laid with Plates of Silver. Theſe Columns had their *Capitals* and *Baſes* of Braſs; were plac'd at proportionable Diſtances, and cover'd with a Curtain made of richer Materials.

The Altar of Burnt-Offerings. IN this Court, and oppoſite to the Entrance of the Tabernacle, ſtood the *Altar of Burnt-Offerings* in the open Air, that the Fire, which was kept perpetually upon it, and the Smoke ariſing from the Victims, that were burnt there, might not ſpoil the Inſide of the Tabernacle. It was five Cubits long, as much in Width, and three Cubits high; was plac'd upon a Baſis of Stone Work, and cover'd, both within and without, with Braſs Plates. At the four Corners of this Altar there was ſomething like four Horns, cover'd with the ſame Metal, and, as the Altar itſelf was hollow, and open both at Top and Bottom, from theſe Horns there hung a Grate made of Braſs, (faſten'd with four Rings and four Chains) whereon the Wood and the Sacrifice were burnt; and as the Aſhes fell through, they were receiv'd below in a Pan. At a very ſmall Diſtance from this Altar there ſtood, on the *South Side*, a brazen Veſſel, which on Account of its extraordinary Size, was call'd the *Brazen Sea*, in which the Prieſts were us'd to waſh their Feet, whenever they were to offer Sacrifice, or to go into the Tabernacle.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28 to Numb. xviii.

The Table of Shew-Bread. IN that Part of the Tabernacle, which was call'd the *Holy Place*, there was, on the *North Side*, a *Table* made of *Shittim* or *Cedar* Wood, cover'd with Gold, two Cubits long, one in Breadth, and one and an half in Length. About the Edge of it was an Ornament, or Border made of Gold, together with a Crown of Gold in the Middle, and, at each End was plac'd the Offering of the *Shew-Bread*, viz. ſix Loaves in a Pile to repreſent the twelve Tribes. The Bread was chang'd every Day, and not allow'd to be eaten by any but the Prieſts.

The Golden Candleſtick. OVER againſt this Table, on the *South Side*, ſtood the Candleſtick, which was made of pure Gold, upon a Baſis of the ſame Metal, and had ſeven Branches on each Side, and one in the Middle. Theſe Branches were, at equal Diſtances, adorn'd with ſix Flowers like Lillies, with as many Knobs like Apples, and little Bowls like half Almond-Shells, plac'd alternately; and upon each of theſe Branches there was a golden Lamp, which was lighted every Evening, and extinguiſh'd every Morning.

And the Altar of Incenſe. BETWIXT the Table and the Candleſtick, was plac'd the *Altar of Incenſe*, which was but one Cubit in Length and

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Breadth, and two Cubits high; but was cover'd with Plates of Gold, and had a Crown of Gold over it. Every Morning and Evening, the Priest in Waiting for that Week offer'd Incense of a particular Composition upon this Altar, and to this End carry'd a smoking Censer, fill'd with Fire, which he took from the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, into the Tabernacle, and so, placing it upon this other Altar, retir'd.

The High-Priest, and his Vestments.

THE Persons appointed to officiate about holy Things were of three Kinds, the High-Priest, Priests, and Levites: And, what is very remarkable in the first of this Order, is, the Singularity of his *Vestments*, which were the Breast-plate, the Ephod, the Robe, the Close-coat, the Mitre, and the Girdle. The *Ephod*, the *Robe*, and the *Close-coat* were all of Linnen, and cover'd the whole Body from the Neck to the Heel. Over these was a purple or blue *Tunick*, which reach'd not so low, but was curiously wrought all over, and, at the Bottom of it, had Pomegranates, and Bells, intermix'd at equal Distances. The Pomegranates were made of blue, purple, and crimson Wool, and * the Bells of Gold.

The Ephod.

THE *Ephod* was a Kind of Girdle, made of gold Thread, and other Threads of divers Colours, which, being brought from behind the Neck, and over the two Shoulders, was put cross upon the Stomach; then carry'd round the Waist, and brought back again about the Body did gird the *Tunick* like a *Sash*, and so fell down before, and hung as low as the Feet. Upon that Part of the *Ephod*, which came upon the High-Priest's Shoulders, were two large precious Stones, whereon were engraven the Names of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, on each Stone six; and, where the *Ephod* cross'd the High-Priests Breast, there was a square Ornament, call'd the *Pectoral*, or *Rational*, wherein were twelve precious Stones set, with the Names of the twelve Tribes engraven on them, on each Stone one. The *Mitre* was of fine Flax: It cover'd the Head; and on the Forehead was a Plate of Gold, whereon were engrav'd these Words, HOLINESS TO THE LORD, which was ty'd, behind the Head, with two Ribbons fasten'd to its two Ends.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

The Pectoral.

The Mitre.

The Habits of other Officers.

THESE were the chief of the solemn Ornaments, which belong'd to the High-Priest. The other Priests had only a simple *Tunick*, a Linnen *Mitre*, and a *Girdle*; but they all of them wore Linnen or Cotton *Breeches*, which cover'd their Legs and Thighs, and reach'd up to their Waist. The *Levites* had no peculiar Habit in the Ceremonies of Religion; but, about the sixty-second Year of *Christ*, they obtain'd of King *Agrippa* Leave to wear a Linnen *Tunick*, as well as the Priests.

The Office of the Priests.

THE *High-Priest* was at the Head of all religious Affairs, and the ordinary Judge of all the Difficulties, which related to them. He only had the Privilege of entering into the *Sanctuary* once a Year, which was on the Day of solemn *Expiation*, to

* What the Number of the Bells, worn by the High-Priest, was, the Scripture is silent, and Authors are not so well agreed, but the sacred Historian has let us into the Use and Intent of them in these Words; *And it shall be upon* Aaron *to minister: And his Sound shall be heard when he goeth into the* Holy Place *before the Lord, and when he cometh out, that he die not.* The Kings of *Persia* are said to have the Hem of their Robes adorn'd, like the *Jewish* High-Priest, with Pomegranates, and gold Bells. The Ladies, who were about his Person, and whose Business it is to please and divert him, have little gold Bells fasten'd to their Legs, their Neck, and Elbows, and when they dance, the Sound of these makes a very agreeable Harmony. The *Arabian* Princesses wear large hollow Gold Rings, which are fill'd with little Flints, and make a Sound, like little Bells, when they walk; and besides these, they have Abundance of little flat Bobs fasten'd to the Ends of their Hair, which make a Noise, as often as they stir, and give Notice that the Mistress of the House is going by, that so the Servants of the Family may behave themselves respectfully, and Strangers retire, to avoid seeing the Person that is passing. It was therefore, in all Probability, with a Design of giving Notice, that the High-Priest was passing by, that he too wore little Bells on the Hem of his Robe; or rather, it was (as it were) a Kind of publick Notice, that he was going into the Sanctuary; for, as in the King of *Persia*'s Court, no one was suffer'd to enter the Apartments, without giving Notice thereof by the Sound of something; so the High-Priest, out of Respect to the divine Presence, residing in the *Holy of Holies*, did, by the Sound of little Bells, fasten'd to the Bottom of his Robe, desire, as it were, Permission to enter, *that the Sound of the Bells might be heard, and he not punished with Death* for an unmannerly Intrusion. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Bell.*

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to make Atonement for the Sins of the whole People. The *ordinary* Prieſts attended the Service of the Tabernacle: They kept up a perpetual *Fire* upon the Altar of *Burnt-Offerings*; lighted, and extinguiſh'd the *Lamps* of the *golden-Candleſtick*; made the Loaves of Shew-Bread; offer'd them on the *golden Altar* in the Sanctuary; chang'd them every *Sabbath-day*; and every Day, at Night and Morning, carry'd in a ſmoking Cenſer of Incenſe, and plac'd it upon the golden Table, which upon this Account was likewiſe call'd the *Altar of Incenſe*.

The ſeveral Sorts of Sacrifices.

BUT the chief Buſineſs of the Prieſts was to offer Sacrifices, of which there were four Kinds. 1. The *Burnt-Offering*, which was totally conſum'd by Fire upon the Altar, after that the Feet and Entrails had been waſh'd. 2. The *Peace-Offering*, whereof the inward Fat, or Tallow, made up with the Liver and Kidnies, was only burnt upon the Altar: The Breaſt and right Shoulder was the *Perquiſite* of the Prieſts, who were oblig'd to eat them in the *Holy Place*; and the Remainder belong'd to the Perſon, who offer'd the Sacrifice. 3. The *Sacrifice for Sin*, committed either *wilfully* or *ignorantly*: And in this the Prieſt took ſome of the Blood of the Victim, dipp'd his Finger in it, and ſprinkled it ſeven Times towards the Vail of the *Sanctuary*. The ſame Parts of the Victim were burnt on the Altar, in *this*, as in the former Sacrifice. The reſt (if the Sacrifice was offer'd for the Sin of the *High-Prieſt*, or for the *People*) was carry'd without the Camp, and there burnt; but, if it was for a *private* Perſon, the Victim was divided (as was ſaid before) between the Prieſt, and the *Offerer*. 4. The *Sacrifice of Oblation* was either fine Flour, or Incenſe, Cakes of fine Flour, and Oil bak'd, or the firſt Fruits of new Corn. Oil, Salt, Wine, and Frankincenſe went always along with every Thing that was offer'd. All the Frankincenſe was caſt into the Fire; but of the other Things the Prieſt only burnt a Part, and the reſt he reſerv'd to himſelf.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb xviii.

THUS we have taken a curſory View of the *Jewiſh* Tabernacle, and its Utenſils; of the *Jewiſh* Prieſthood, and its Offices; and have nothing more to do, but to enquire a little for what * Ends and Uſes God was pleas'd to inſtitute theſe Things. To this Purpoſe, St *Paul* informs us, that the *Jewiſh* Law was an imperfect Diſpenſation from the very firſt, and (*d*) *added only becauſe of Tranſgreſſions, until the Seed ſhould come, to whom the Promiſe was made*: That, in great Condeſcenſion, it was adapted to the Weakneſs of the *Jewiſh* People, whom he compares to an Heir under a Tutor or Governor; for theſe are his Words: (*e*) *I ſay then, that an Heir, as long as he is a Child, differeth nothing from a Servant, tho' he be Lord of all: Even ſo we, when we were Children, were*

* *Joſephus*, having treated of the Tabernacle, and the ſeveral Things appertaining to it, makes the Uſe and Deſign of them a little too *myſtical* and *allegorical*. "Let but a Man conſider, ſays he, the Structure of the Tabernacle, "the ſacerdotal Veſtments, and the holy Veſſels, that are dedicated to the Service of the Altar, and he muſt of "Neceſſity be convinc'd, that our *Law-giver* was a pious Man. ——— For what are all theſe but the Image of "the *whole World*? The *Tabernacle*, conſiſting of thirty Cubits, and being divided into *three Parts*, whereof two "are for the Prieſts in general and of free Acceſs, reſembles the *Earth* and the *Sea*; while the *third*, where no "Mortal (except the *High Prieſt*) is permitted to enter, is an Emblem of *Heaven*, reſerv'd for God alone. The "*twelve Loaves of Shew-Bread*, upon the Table, ſignify the *twelve Months* in the Year. The *Candleſtick*, which is "made up of ſeventy Pieces, refers to the twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*, through which the ſeven *Planets* take their "Courſe; and the ſeven *Lamps*, on the Top of the ſeven Branches, bear an Analogy to the *Planets* themſelves. "The *Curtains*, with the *four Colours* that are wrought in them, repreſent the *four Elements*. ——— By the High-"Prieſt's *Linnen Garment* is deſign'd the whole Body of the *Earth*; and, by the Violet Colour, the Heavens. The "*Pomegranates* anſwer to *Lightning*; and the Noiſe of the *Bells* to *Thunder*. The *four-coloured Ephod* bears a Reſem-"blance to the very Nature of the *Univerſe*, and the interweaving it with *Threads of Gold*, to the *Rays of the Sun*, "which give us *Light*. The *Pectoral*, or *Rational*, in the middle of it, intimates the Poſition of the *Earth* in the "*Centre* of the World; the *Girdle*, about the Prieſt's Body, is the *Sea* about the *Globe* of the Earth; the two "*Sardonyx* Stones, on the Shoulders, repreſent the *Sun* and *Moon*; and, by the *twelve* other *Stones* on the *Breaſt*, "may be underſtood either the *twelve Months*, or the *twelve Signs* in the *Zodiack*." But all this is too light, and fanciful, one wou'd think, for ſo grave an Author, as *Joſephus*, had not this Way of *allegorizing* Things been the prevailing Cuſtom of the Age. *Jewiſh* Antiq. Lib. iii. c. 7.

(*d*) Gal. iii. 19. (*e*) Ibid. iv. 1, &c.

A. M. 2514, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1490, &c.

were in Bondage, under the Elements of the World; ſo that (*f*) *the Law was our School-maſter, to bring us unto Chriſt*, and, (*g*) *having only a Shadow of good Things to come, and not the very Image of the Things, it could never, with thoſe Sacrifices, which were offered, Year by Year continually, make the Comers thereunto perfect.* In order therefore to illuſtrate this Point, *viz.* that the *Jewiſh* Religion was, in a great Meaſure, intended to typify and prefigure the more perfect Diſpenſation of the Goſpel, we ſhall inſtance in ſome of its *Particulars* already enumerated.

Chriſt, and his Tranſactions, typified in the Tabernacle, and its Utenſils.

THUS the *Tabernacle* itſelf was a Type of our Redeemer dwelling in our Nature; for ſo St *John* tells us, that (*h*) *the Word was made Fleſh*, and ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, *dwelt among us*, as in a Tabernacle. The *Altar of Burnt-Offerings* in the *Court* pointed out the Death and Sacrifice (*i*) of our Lord, by the ſhedding of whoſe Blood our Sins are pardon'd, and we receiv'd into Mercy and Favour. The *Altar of Incenſe* within the *Holy Place* denoted our Lord's powerful Interceſſion for us, in his exalted State of Glory; and the *Ark of the Covenant* in the *Holy of Holies* was an eminent *Emblem* of him, from whoſe Mouth we receiv'd a Law, *founded upon better Promiſes*; by whoſe Interceſſion we have Acceſs to the *Throne of Grace with all Boldneſs*; and whoſe *Satisfaction* to the divine Juſtice is our true *Propitiatory*, or *Mercy-Seat*.

WHAT a manifeſt *Type* the *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt was of our Lord and Saviour, the Author to the *Hebrews* has declar'd in more Inſtances than one. The *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt was the only Man, who was permitted to enter into the *Holy of Holies*; and (*k*) *we have ſuch an High-Prieſt*, ſays the Apoſtle, *who is ſet on the Right-Hand of the Throne of the Majeſty in the Heavens, a Miniſter of the Sanctuary, and of the true Tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not Man.* The *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt offer'd a ſolemn Expiatory Sacrifice once a Year; our Lord (*l*) *appeared once in the End of the World to put away Sin by the Sacrifice of himſelf.* After the expiatory Sacrifice, the *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt went into the *Holy Place*, there to offer Incenſe on the golden Altar; our Lord, *when he had purged our Sins*, (*m*) *ſat down on the Right-Hand of the Majeſty on high*, there (*n*) to *appear in the Preſence of God*, and, by the Incenſe of his Merits, to make continual *Interceſſion for us.*

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

And in the ſeveral Sacrifices, which were offered.

IN like Manner, whether we conſider the ſeveral *Qualifications* of the Sacrifices under the Law, or the ſeveral *Sorts* of them, we ſhall find them to be *Types*, and Prefigurations of Chriſt. The Conditions of a *Jewiſh* Sacrifice were, —— That it ſhou'd be without Blemiſh, publickly preſented before the Congregation, ſubſtituted in the Sinner's Room, and the Iniquities of the Sinner laid upon him. With Relation to theſe *Properties*, our Saviour is ſaid to be *holy, harmleſs, undefiled, and ſeparated from Sinners.* That he might *ſanctify his People*, he is ſaid to *have* (*o*) *ſuffered without the Gate, bearing our Reproach*; and that (*p*) *he, who knew no Sin, became Sin for us, that we might be made the Righteouſneſs of God in him.*

AND ſo, if we look to the ſeveral *Sorts* of Sacrifices appointed under the Law, we ſhall ſoon perceive that theſe equally lead us to *Chriſt*. For he was the *Treſpaſs-Offering*, in that *he was made Sin for us*; the *Peace-Offering*, becauſe (*q*) *he made Peace by the Blood of his Croſs*; the *Meat and Drink-Offering*, for (*r*) *his Fleſh is Meat indeed, and his Blood is Drink indeed*; the *Scape-Goat*, for he hath carry'd away our Sins, (*s*) never to be more remember'd againſt us; the *Paſchal Lamb*, for (*t*) *Chriſt, our Paſſover, is ſacrificed for us*; the *great Sacrifice of Atonement*, for (*u*) *Jeſus Chriſt* the *Righteous, is* both our *Advocate*

(*f*) Gal. iii. 24. (*g*) Heb. x. 1. (*h*) John i. 14. (*i*) Heb. xiii. 10. (*k*) Ibid. viii. 1, 2. (*l*) Ibid. ix. 26. (*m*) Ibid. i. 3. (*n*) Ibid. 9—24. (*o*) Ibid. xiii. 12, 13. (*p*) 2 Cor. v. 21. (*q*) Col. i. 20. (*r*) John vi. 55. (*s*) Ibid. i. 29. (*t*) 1 Cor. v. 7. (*u*) 1 John ii. 1, 2.

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Advocate with the Father, and a Propitiation for our Sins: And, in fine, (*x*) *his Blood*, who, *thro' the Eternal Spirit offered himſelf to God, without Spot*, is more effectual, than *the Blood of Bulls and Goats, to purge our Conſciences from dead Works, to ſerve the living God.*

The Change *of the* Jewiſh *Religion conſiſtent with God's Attributes.*

THUS it appears, that the chief End of the ſeveral Inſtitutions, relating to the ceremonial Part of the Jewiſh Worſhip, was to prefigure the Perſon, and Tranſactions of our bleſſed Saviour, (*y*) *when the Fulneſs of Time was come, that God* ſhould *ſend forth his Son, made of a Woman, made under the Law, to redeem thoſe, that were under the Law, that we might receive the Adoption of Sons.* And therefore, ſince the Ceremonies of the *Jewiſh* Law cou'd never be of any Eſteem in the Sight of God, any otherwiſe, than as they promoted this End, and prepar'd Men's Minds for the Reception of a more perfect Inſtitution of Religion; it is manifeſt, that, when this more perfect Inſtitution was once ſettled, the former, and more imperfect was, of Courſe, to ceaſe; (*z*) *there being* neceſſarily *a diſannulling of the Commandment going before, for the Weakneſs and Unprofitableneſs thereof.*

AND from hence we may, finally, infer, that, tho' the *Eſſence* of Religion be eternally and immutably the ſame, yet the Form and Inſtitution of it may be, and often has been, chang'd. (*a*) The Eſſence of all Religion is *Obedience* to that *moral* and *eternal* Law, which obliges us to imitate the Life of God in Juſtice, Mercy, and Holineſs, *i. e. to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent World.* This is the Sum of all *natural* Religion, as appears from the Diſcourſes of thoſe wiſer *Heathens*, who were freeſt from Prejudice; and Superſtition. This was the Sum of the *Jewiſh* Religion, as appears from the frequent and earneſt Proteſtations of God to that People by his Servants the *Prophets:* And this likewiſe is the Sum of the *Chriſtian* Religion, as the Apoſtles every where inculcate. But, though Religion itſelf is thus immutably the ſame, yet the Form and Inſtitution of it may be different.

From Exod. xxxiv. 28. to Numb. xviii.

WHEN Natural Religion, by Reaſon of its Obſcurity, in this corrupt Eſtate of human Nature, prov'd ineffectual to make Men truly religious, God left them no longer to the Guidance of their Reaſon only, but gave them firſt the *Patriarchal*, and afterwards the *Moſaick* Diſpenſation; and when (through the Incumbrance with ſo many *ritual* Obſervances) this latter prov'd ineffectual to the ſame great End, God aboliſh'd this Form of Religion likewiſe, and inſtituted the *Chriſtian*. In all which Proceeding, there is no Reflection at all upon the *immutable* Nature of God. For, as the Divine Nature is, in the trueſt and higheſt Senſe, *unchangeable*; ſo Religion itſelf, in its Nature and Eſſence, is likewiſe unchangeable: But, as the Capacities, the Prejudices, and the Circumſtances of Men are different, ſo the *Inſtitution*, and outward *Form* of that Religion (which in its *Eſſence* is always the ſame) may, with the good Pleaſure of God, be chang'd; even as a careful Nurſe (to uſe a Scripture Compariſon upon this Occaſion) adapts the *Diet* to the Strength and Conſtitution of the Perſon ſhe attends: *For every one, that uſeth Milk* (as the Elements of the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation were) *is unſkilful in the Word of Righteouſneſs, for he is a Babe*; *but ſtrong Meat* (or a Religion of greater Perfection, as the *Chriſtian* is) *belongeth to them, that are of full Age*; *even thoſe, who, by Reaſon of Uſe, have their Senſes exerciſed to diſcern both Good and Evil.*

(*x*) Heb. ix. 13, 14. (*y*) Gal. iv. 4, 5. (*z*) Heb. vii. 18. (*a*) Dr *Samuel Clarke*'s Serm.

A. M. 2515, &c. Ant. Christ. 1489, &c.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of KORAH, *to the* ISRAELITES *Entrance into* CANAAN. *In all* 38 *Years.*

The HISTORY.

The Israelites sojourning in the Wilderness.

AFTER the Establishment of the High-Priest's Office in *Aaron*, and his Family, the *Israelites* mov'd about, from Place to Place, in the Deserts of *Arabia*, but chiefly about the Mountains of *Idumæa*, until God, * by shortening the Period of human Life, had taken away almost all that Generation, (*a*) *of whom he had sworn in his Wrath* (as the *Psalmist* expresses it) *that they should not enter into his Rest.* And indeed good Reason had he to be angry with them, since, during the Remainder of their Peregrination, they were guilty of many more Murmurings, and Idolatries, than *Moses* has thought proper to record, which are nevertheless mention'd, with no small Severity, (*b*) by other inspir'd Writers.

And engaging with the King of Arad.

As the Time however for their Entrance into the *Holy Land* now drew near, from *Ezion Geber* they advanc'd towards *Kadesh* in the Wilderness of *Sin*, designing very probably to enter the Country through those narrow Passages, which, at that Time, were call'd *the Ways of the Spies*; but (*c*) they were repuls'd by the King of *Arad*, who coming out against them with a strong Force, slew a considerable Number, and took from them much Booty. In their second Attempt however they succeeded better; for they defeated the King's Army, sack'd some of his Towns, and vowing at another Opportunity († which happen'd in the Time of (*d*) *Joshua*) the utter Destruction of the whole Nation; they took their Rout for the

* After the many Judgments and Calamities sent upon *Israel*, by Reason of their Rebellions against God, *Moses*, perceiving the divine Threatnings to be daily accomplish'd, by the frequent Deaths of those who came out of *Egypt*, and *whose Carcasses were to fall in the Wilderness*, compos'd the Ninetieth Psalm, wherein he mentions the Reduction of human Life to the Term of Years, wherein it has ever since stopp'd, and makes several wholsome Reflections thereupon: *The Days of our Age are threescore Years and ten; and though Men be so strong, that they come to fourscore Years, yet is their Strength then but Labour and Sorrow; so soon passeth it away, and we are gone. O, teach us therefore to number our Days, that we may apply our Hearts unto Wisdom!* Ver. 10, 12.

(*a*) Psal. xcv. 11. (*b*) Vid. Amos v. 26. Ezek. & Psal. passim, Acts vii. 43. (*c*) Numb. xxi. 1, 11.

† The *Jews* have a Tradition, founded on an express Text in *Deuteronomy* (Chap. xx. 10, &c.) that the *Israelites* were oblig'd to send an Herald to offer Peace in their Name, to every City and People, before they attempted to conquer them by the Sword; that, in Case they accepted it, they only became *Tributaries* to them; but, if they refus'd their Offer, they were then to be *vowed* to Destruction. *Maimonides* has taken great Pains to prove that those Nations, which were cut off by the *Israelites*, ow'd their Destruction to their chusing to try the Fortune of War, rather than accept of Peace upon such Terms. There is one Objection however, that seems to stand a little in his Way, and that is, ——— the Stratagem, which the *Gibeonites* made use of to obtain Peace from *Israel*, which wou'd have been *needless*, had the *latter* been oblig'd to offer it, before they began any Hostilities: But to this the learned *Rabbi* answers ——— that the Reason of the *Gibeonites* Policy was, that they had, in common with their Neighbours, refus'd the first offer of Peace, and were consequently doom'd to the same Fate with them; and that, for the Prevention of this, their Ambassadors feign'd themselves to come from a Country vastly distant from any of the other seven, and by that Means obtain'd the desir'd Peace. *Maimon.* ap. Cunæum, & *Basnag.* Rep. Heb. Tom. I. Lib. 2. c. 20.

(*d*) Josh. xii. 14.

A. M. 2515, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1489, &c.

The Death of Miriam, Moſes's *Offence, and* Aaron's *Death.*

the preſent another Way, and ſo arriv'd again at *Kadeſh*.

HERE it was, that *Miriam*, the Siſter of *Moſes* and *Aaron* (* who was older than either of them) in the hundred and thirty-third Year of her Age dy'd, was bury'd with great Pomp, and by the *Iſraelites* lamented for the Space of a whole Month. Here it was, that the People fell again into their old Way of murmuring for Want of Water, which God order'd *Moſes* to ſupply, by ſpeaking *only* to a certain Rock; but, ſome Way or other, he deviating from his Inſtructions, either through Impatience, or Diffidence, offended God to ſuch a Degree, as to deſerve a Denunciation, that neither he, nor his Brother *Aaron* (who ſeems to have been equally in the Offence) ſhou'd be permitted to enter into *Canaan*. Hence likewiſe it was, that *Moſes* ſent an Embaſſy to the King of *Edom*, deſiring a free Paſſage through his Country, and promiſing to commit no Hoſtilities, nor give the leaſt Moleſtation to any of his Subjects. But the haughty *Edomite* was ſo far from granting his Requeſt, that he came out with a ſtrong Army to oppoſe him; which *Moſes*, no doubt, wou'd have reſented as the Thing deſerv'd, had not God (whom he conſulted upon this Occaſion) order'd him, for the preſent, not to engage with the *Edomites*: So that, decamping from *Kadeſh*, he came to Mount *Hor*, not far from the Borders of *Edom*, where God gave *Aaron* Notice of his approaching Death, and, not long after, commanded *Moſes* to take him, and *Eleazar* his Son, (who was to ſucceed him in the Office of the High-Prieſt) to the Top of the Mount, and there to ſtrip *Aaron* of his *ſacerdotal* Robes, and put them upon his Son; which when *Moſes* had done, *Aaron* || died on the Top of Mount *Hor*, being an hundred and twenty three Years old; and when the People underſtood that he was dead, * they bewail'd him *thirty Days*.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

As

* *Miriam* was older than either *Aaron* or *Moſes*. *Moſes* was the youngeſt: And, when he was born, ſhe might probably be about twelve Years of Age, becauſe, when he was expos'd upon the Banks of the River *Nile*, ſhe, we find, had Addreſs enough to offer her Service to *Pharaoh*'s Daughter to go and fetch her a Nurſe, which can hardly be ſuppos'd of one younger. Some of the antient Fathers are of Opinion, that ſhe dy'd a *Virgin*, and was the *Legiſlatrix*, or Governeſs of the *Jewiſh* Women, as *Moſes* was of the Men; but the more probable Opinion is, that ſhe was marry'd to *Hur*, a Man of chief Note in the Tribe of *Judah*, and on ſeveral Occaſions a Perſon of great Confidence with *Moſes*; but it does not appear that ſhe had any Children by him. She was bury'd, as *Joſephus* tells us, with great Solemnity, at the Charge of the *Publick*, and her Sepulchre (as *Euſebius* reports) was extant in his Time at *Kadeſh*, not far diſtant from the City *Petra*, the Metropolis of *Arabia Petræa*. Univerſal Hiſtory, Lib. 1. c. 7. and *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

|| The Mount *Hor* was on the Coaſt of the Land of *Edom* towards the *Eaſt*, in ſome Part of that Tract, which was afterwards denoted by the Mount *Seir*. In *Deuteronomy* ii. 12. we are told expreſsly, *that the* Horims *dwelt in* Seir *before-time*, and accordingly we read, *Gen.* xiv. 6. that *Chedorlaomer*, King of *Elam*, with his Confederates, ſmote the *Horites in their Mount* Seir. Now it ſeems very probable, that, as Places, at firſt, were wont to take their Names from their *Inhabitants*, both this Place, and the People might derive their Names from one *Hor*, whom they deſcended from, and who, in the early Ages of the World, inhabited this Country; and that tho', in Proceſs of Time, the Name of Mount *Seir* came to be us'd to denote the ſame Tract, yet the old Name of Mount *Hor* was preſerv'd in that Part of it, where ſtood the Mountain here ſo call'd by *Moſes*, and on which *Aaron* dy'd. There ſeems to be however no ſmall Difficulty in reconciling this Paſſage in *Numbers* xx. 23—28. with what we read in *Deut.* x. 6. That *the Children of* Iſrael *took their Journey from* Beeroth, *of the Children of* Jaakan, *to* Moſera: *There* Aaron *died*, and *there he was buried*. So that *Moſes* ſeems to have forgot himſelf, when, in one Place, he tells us, that his Brother *Aaron* was bury'd on Mount *Hor*, and in another in *Moſera*. To reconcile this, ſome have ſuppos'd, that Mount *Hor* was ſo near to *Moſera*, where the *Iſraelites* had their Encampment when *Aaron* dy'd, that either Place might, with Propriety enough, be call'd the Place of his Death, and his Interment. It ſeems however, from the Account, which we have of their Encampments in *Numb.* xxxiii. very plain, that Mount *Hor* and *Moſera* were two diſtinct Places; and therefore others have maintain'd, that the ſixth and ſeventh Verſes in the tenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, in the *commom Hebrew* Text, have been extremely corrupted by the Ignorance of ſome Tranſcribers, becauſe the *Hebrew Samaritan*, or old *Hebrew* Text, makes the Account, in *Deut.* x. 6, 7. exactly agree with the Order of the Encampments, mention'd in *Numb.* xxxiii. 32, 38. and there is ſaid, that, *Aaron* dy'd, and was bury'd in Mount *Hor*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

* The Author of *Eccleſiaſticus*, having given us a long Commendation of *Aaron*, and his Veſtments, comes, at laſt, to tell us, that "God choſe him out of all Men living, to offer Sacrifices to the Lord, Incenſe, and ſweet

A. M. 2515, &c. Ant. Christ. 1489, &c.

The Brazen Serpent *set up.*

As ſoon as the Days of Mourning were over, they remov'd, and encamp'd at *Zalmanah*, which took its Name from the Image of the *Serpent*, which *Moſes* caus'd to be ſet up there. For the *Iſraelites*, being tir'd with the Length of their Journey, the Narrowneſs of their Paſſes, and the Barrenneſs of the Country, began to relapſe into their old Humour of murmuring and repining, which provok'd God to ſend great * Swarms of fiery Serpents among them; but, after the Death of ſeveral, and upon the Humiliation of the reſt, he commanded *Moſes* to caſt a * brazen Serpent, of the ſame Size and Figure with thoſe, that infeſted them, and to fix it upon a Pole, ſituate on ſome eminent Ground, that as many, as were bitten by the *living* Serpents, might look up to the *brazen* one, and be heal'd. Which accordingly was done, and had its intended miraculous Effect.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

The Iſraelites *overcome* Sihon *and* Og, *and ſeize on their Country.*

Several were the Marches and Encampments, which the *Iſraelites*, without committing the leaſt Hoſtilities, made between the Countries of *Moab* and *Ammon*, till they came, at length, to the Country of the *Amorites*. And from hence *Moſes* || ſent Ambaſſadors to *Sihon* their King, demanding a Paſſage through his Country, and offering to pay for all Manner of Neceſſaries, without giving him the leaſt Diſturbance,

" Savour, for a Memorial, and to make Reconciliation for his People; that he gave unto him the Commandments, " and Authority in the Statutes of Judgments, that he ſhou'd teach *Jacob* the Teſtimonies, and inform *Iſrael* in the " Laws; that Strangers conſpir'd together againſt him, and maligned him in the Wilderneſs —— this the Lord " ſaw, and it diſpleas'd him, and, in his wrathful Indignation, they were conſum'd: —— But he made *Aaron* more " honourable, and gave him an Heritage, and divided unto him the *firſt Fruits* of the Increaſe; ſo that he did eat " the Sacrifices of the Lord, which he gave unto him and to his Seed, &c." He dy'd in the Arms of *Moſes* his Brother, and *Eleazer* his Son, and Succeſſor in the High-Prieſthood. They bury'd him in ſome Cave belonging to Mount *Hor*, and kept the Place of his Interment from the Knowledge of the *Iſraelites*, perhaps from an Apprehenſion, that, in After-Ages, they might pay ſome ſuperſtitious Worſhip to him; or, rather, that the *Arabians*, among whom they then dwelt, might not, at any Time, take it in their Heads to violate the Sanctity of his Grave, *Eccluſ.* xlv. 13, &c.

* Some Authors are of Opinion, that theſe Serpents were only little Worms, which bred in the Skin, and were of ſo venomous a Nature, that they immediately poiſon'd thoſe, who were infected among them. But it is very evident, that not only the original Words, *Necaſhim Seraphim*, ſignify a *burning* or *winged* Serpent, but that theſe Creatures are very common both in *Egypt* and *Arabia*, inſomuch that there wou'd be no living in thoſe Countries, if theſe Serpents had not by Providence been debarr'd from *multiplying*, as other Serpents do. For the *Arabians* tell us, that, after they have coupled together, the *Female* never fails to kill the *Male*, and that her *young Ones* kill her, as ſoon as they are hatch'd. *Herodotus*, who had ſeen ſeveral of theſe Serpents, tells us, that they very much reſemble thoſe, which the *Greeks* and *Latins* call *Hydræ*; and *Bochart* has quoted a great Number both of antient and modern Authors to prove, that they really are the *Hydræ*. They are but ſhort, are ſpotted with divers Colours, and have Wings like thoſe of a *Bat*. The *Ibis* is their mortal Enemy: And *Herodotus* tells us, that, at *Butos* in *Egypt*, he had ſeen a vaſt Quantity of their *Skeletons*, whoſe Fleſh theſe Birds had devour'd. They love ſweet Smells, frequent ſuch Trees as bear Spices, and the Marſhes, where the *aromatick* Reed (or *Caſſia*) grows; and therefore, when the *Arabians* go to gather the *Caſſia*, they clothe themſelves with Skins, and cover all their Heads over, except their Eyes, becauſe their biting is very dangerous. *Bochart*, de Animal. ſacr. Part. II. Lib. 3. c. 13.

* This *brazen Serpent* continu'd among the *Jews* above ſeven hundred Years, even to the Time of *Hezekiah*, King of *Judah*; but, when it came to be made an Object of *Idolatry*, and the People, for ſome Time, had paid their Incenſe and Adoration to it, that pious Prince caus'd it to be broken in Pieces; and, by way of Contempt, call'd it *Nehuſhtan*, that is to ſay, *a brazen Bawble or Trifle*. At *Milan* however, in the Church of St *Ambroſe*, they pretend to ſhew you a Serpent made of Braſs, which they tell you is the ſame with that of *Moſes*. But every one may believe of this as he pleaſes. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Serpent*.

|| It may here be propos'd as a Difficulty, how *Moſes* came to offer the *Amorites* Terms of Peace, conſidering that the *Iſraelites* were commanded to deſtroy them, and to take Poſſeſſion of their Country. But to this it has been anſwer'd by ſome learned Men, that, notwithſtanding God had expreſsly doom'd this People to an Extermination, yet *Moſes* thought himſelf at Liberty to indulge his uſual Meekneſs, and to begin with gentle and amicable Meaſures, though he might at the ſame Time be perſuaded, that they wou'd avail nothing; and this probably at the Suggeſtion of God himſelf, to cut off all Occaſions or Pretence of Complaint from the *Amorites*, as if they had not been honourably and fairly dealt with, and that the Equity and Righteouſneſs of God's Proceeding with a *Prince* of ſo ſavage and obſtinate a Temper might appear in a ſtronger Light, when the Conſequence of his refuſing a free Paſſage to the *Iſraelites*, and bringing his Army into the Field againſt them, ſhou'd happen to be his own Defeat and Deſtruction. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* on *Numb.* xxi. 21.

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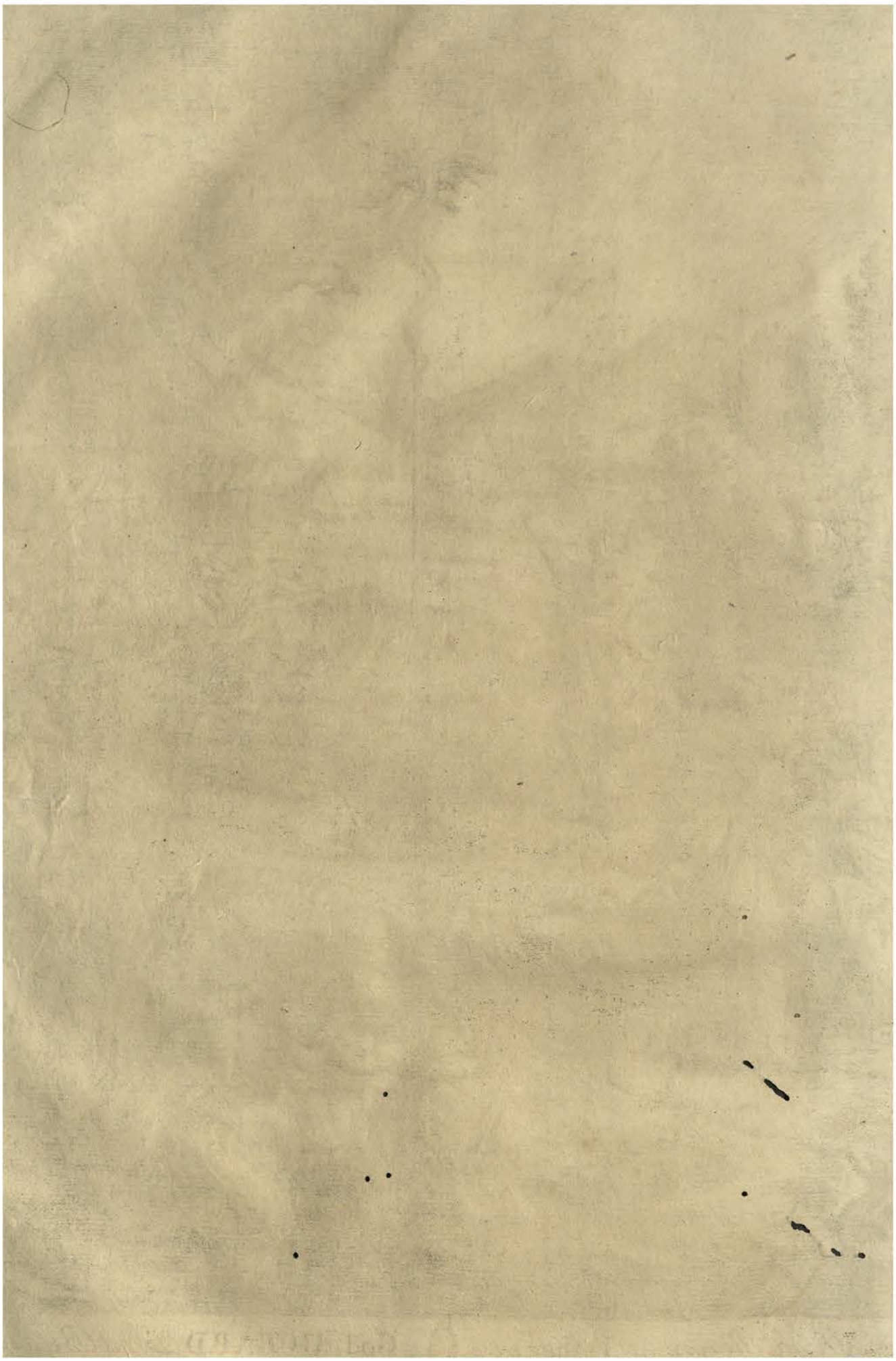
THE BRASEN SERPENT SET UP BY MOSES IN THE WILDERNESS. Num. XXI. v. 6.

Plate XI.

To the Right Reverend Father *in* God RICHARD *Lord Bishop of* LINCOLN *this Plate is most humbly Inscrib'd by his Lordsh.ps most Dutyfull Son & Servant* Tho.s Stackhouse.

J. Mynde sc.



A. M. 2515, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1489, &c.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

Diſturbance. But † the *Amorite* Prince, not thinking it ſafe to receive ſo numerous a People into the Heart of his Kingdom, not only deny'd them a Paſſage, but accounting it better Policy to attack, than to be attack'd, gather'd what Forces he could together, and march'd out to give them Battle. But not far from *Jahaz*, where the Engagement was, the *Iſraelites* overthrew him; and, having made themſelves Maſters of his Country, put all, both Man, Woman, and Child, to the Sword; And not long after this, *Og* †, King of *Baſhan*, † a Man of a prodigious gigantick Size, attempting to obſtruct their Paſſage, underwent the ſame Fate. For they ſeiz'd his Country, and utterly deſtroy'd the Inhabitants thereof, reſerving only the Cattle, and Spoil of the Cities, as a Prey to themſelves, as they had done before in the Caſe of *Sihon*,

Upon their entering the Borders of Moab, Balak *ſends for* Balaam.

ENCOURAG'D by theſe Succeſſes, the *Iſraelites* march'd to the Plains of *Moab*, and encamp'd on the Banks of the River *Jordan*, oppoſite to *Jericho*. This put *Balak* (who was then King of *Moab*) into a terrible Conſternation: For, ſuppoſing himſelf not able to engage the mighty Force of *Iſrael*, he had not only made a ſtrong Alliance with the *Midianites* and *Ammonites*, his Neighbours, in order to ſtop their Progreſs, but thought it adviſeable likewiſe, before he began any Hoſtilities againſt them, to try how far the Power of *Balaam*'s Enchantments (a noted Magician in *Pethor*, a City of *Meſopotamia*) might go, in turning the Fortune of the War towards his Side.

TO this Purpoſe he diſpatch'd a ſelect Number of his *Nobles*, with coſtly Preſents to ‖ *Balaam*, intreating him in the King's Name to come, and curſe him a People, who were arriv'd upon the Borders of his Territories; but God, for that Time, would

† *Grotius* (in his ſecond Book *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, Cap. 2. Sect. 13.) is of Opinion, that, according to the *Law of Nations*, the Highways, Seas, and Rivers of every Country ought to be free to all Paſſengers, upon juſt Occaſions. He produces ſeveral Examples from *Heathen* Hiſtory of ſuch Permiſſion being granted to Armies, and thence he infers, that *Sihon* and *Og*, denying the *Iſraelites* this Privilege, gave a juſt Ground of War; nor does he think, that the Fear, which theſe Princes might conceive, is any Excuſe at all for not granting the Thing, becauſe *no Man's Fear can take away another Man's Right*, eſpecially, when ſeveral Ways might have been found out to have made their Paſſage ſafe on both Sides. But, when all is ſaid, it ſeems not clear, that all Men have ſuch a *Right* as this great Man thinks they may claim. No Man, we know, can challenge a Paſſage through a *private* Man's Ground without his Leave; and every Prince has the ſame Dominion in all his Territories, that a private Man has in his Land. As for the Examples therefore of thoſe, who had permitted Armies to paſs through their Kingdoms, they are Examples of *Fact*, rather than of *Right*, and of ſuch as were not in a Condition to refuſe what was demanded of them. For the Thing is notorious, that ſeveral Countries have ſuffer'd very grievouſly by granting this Liberty; and therefore no Prince, who conſults his Subjects Safety, is to be blam'd for not granting it; nor was the War with the *Amorites* founded upon this Reaſon, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The Land of *Baſhan* was one of the moſt fertile Cantons of *Canaan*, which reach'd on the *Eaſt* to the River *Jordan*, on the *Weſt* to the Mountains of *Gilead*, on the *South* to the Brook *Jabbock*, and on the *North* to the Land of *Geſhur*. The whole Kingdom took its Name from the Hill of *Baſhan*, which is ſituate in it, and has ſince been call'd *Batanæa*. It had no leſs than ſixty wall'd Towns in it, beſides Villages. It afforded an excellent Breed of Cattle, and ſtately Oaks, and was, in ſhort, a plentiful and populous Country. Univerſal Hiſtory, Lib. 1. c. 7.

† The Deſcription of this *gigantick* King, who was the laſt of the Race of the *Rephaims*, or vaſt prodigious Men, we have in *Deuteronomy* iii. 11. and from the Size of his Bed (which was preſerv'd a long Time in the City of *Rabbal*, the Capital of the *Ammonites*) we may gueſs at his Stature. It was nine Cubits long, and four Cubits broad, *i. e.* fifteen Feet four Inches and a half long, and ſix Feet ten Inches broad. But the *Jewiſh* Doctors, not content with ſuch *Pigmy* Wonders, have improv'd the Story to their own liking. For they tell us, that this Bed of nine Cubits cou'd be no more than his Cradle, ſince himſelf was ſix Score Cubits high, when full-grown; that he liv'd before the Flood, and that the Waters of it, when at the higheſt, reach'd only up to his Knees; that however he thought proper to get upon the Top of the Roof of the Ark, where *Noah* ſupply'd him with Proviſion, not out of any Compaſſion to him, but that the Men, who came after the *Deluge*, might ſee, how great the Power of God was, who had deſtroy'd ſuch *Monſters* from the Face of the Earth. *Calmet* and *Munſter* in *Deut.* Chap. iii.

‖ In 2 *Pet.* chap. ii. ver. 15. *Balaam* is ſaid to be *the Son of* BOSOR, according to our Verſion; but as the Words, *the Son*, are not found in the Original, but were inſerted by the Tranſlators, to ſupply the Senſe, as they imagin'd;

A. M. 2515, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1489, &c.

would not permit him to go: Whereupon *Balak*, ſuppoſing either that the Number and Quality of his Meſſengers did not anſwer *Balaam*'s Ambition, or the Value of the Preſents his Covetouſneſs, ſent Meſſengers, of a more honourable Rank with larger Propoſals, and Promiſes of high Promotion, if he would but gratify him in this one Thing.

Balaam's Journey, and Behaviour when he arriv'd.

(*e*) *BALAAM loved the Wages of Unrighteouſneſs*; and therefore blinded with this Paſſion, he addreſs'd God for Leave to go; which God in his Anger granted, but under ſuch Reſtrictions, as would neceſſarily hinder all his *Faſcinations* from doing the *Iſraelites* any Harm.

WITH this Permiſſion he ſet forward with the Princes of *Moab*; but as he was on the Road, an Angel met him, whom (tho' he perceiv'd him not) his Aſs plainly ſaw, and therefore turn'd aſide into the Field to avoid him. With much ado, *Balaam* beat his Aſs into the Road again; but when the Angel ſtood in a narrow Paſſage between two Walls, which inclos'd a Vineyard, the Aſs for Fear ran againſt one of the Walls, and cruſh'd *Balaam*'s Leg, which provok'd him ſo, that he beat him again. At laſt, the Angel remov'd, and ſtood in a Place ſo very narrow, that there was no Poſſibility of getting by him, whereupon the Aſs fell down under his Rider, and would go no farther. This enrag'd the Prophet ſtill more; and, as he was beating and belabouring the poor Creature moſt unmercifully, God was pleas'd to give the Aſs the Faculty of *Speech*, wherein he expoſtulated the hard Uſage he had met with; and, as *Balaam* was going to juſtify himſelf, he was likewiſe pleas'd to open the Prophet's Eyes, and let him ſee the Angel ſtanding in the Way with a naked Sword in his Hand, which ſo terrify'd him, that he fell down upon his Face, aſk'd Pardon for his Treſpaſs, and offer'd to return home again, if ſo be his Journey was diſpleaſing to God.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

THAT his Journey was diſpleaſing to God himſelf, he could not be ignorant, becauſe, in his firſt Addreſs, God had expreſſly interdicted his going. Being reſolv'd however, out of the Man's wicked Inclination, to raiſe ſome Kind of Advantage, and to make him, who was hir'd to curſe, the Inſtrument of pronouncing a Bleſſing upon his People, God gave him now free Leave to proceed. When *Balak* underſtood that *Balaam* was on the Road, himſelf went to receive him upon the Confines of his Dominions; and having, in a friendly Manner, blam'd him for not coming at his firſt ſending, which *Balaam* excus'd upon Account of the *Reſtraint*, which God had laid on him, he conducted him to his *capital* City, and there entertain'd him *publickly*, with his Princes and Nobles that Day; and the next Morning, carry'd him to the high Places conſecrated to * *Baal*, that from thence he might take a View of the Extremity of the *Iſraelitiſh* Camp. Whilſt they were here, the Prophet order'd † ſeven Altars to be erected,

imagin'd; the Word *Boſor* may denote a *Place*, as well as a *Perſon*, and accordingly, *Grotius* underſtands St *Peter*'s Words, not as if *Boſor* was the *Father*, but the City of *Balaam*: For what was anciently call'd *Pethor*, the *Syrians*, in After-Ages, call'd *Boſor*, by an eaſy Change of two Letters, which is a Thing not unuſual. Univerſal Hiſtory, Lib. 1. c. 7.

(*e*) 2 Pet. ii. 15.

* The Word *Baal* ſignifies *Lord*, and was the Name of ſeveral *Gods*, both *Male* and *Female*, as *Selden* (*de Diis Syris*, c. 1.) ſhews. The God of the *Moabites* was *Chemoſh*, but here very probably is call'd by the common Name of *Baal*: And, as all Nations worſhipp'd their Gods upon high Places, ſo this God of *Moab*, having more Places of Worſhip than one, *Balak* carry'd *Balaam* to them all, that from thence he might take the moſt advantageous Proſpect of the *Iſraelites*. Theſe high Places were full of Trees, and ſhady Groves, which made them commodious both for the ſolemn Thoughts, and Prayers of ſuch as were *devout*, and for the filthy Inclinations and abominable Practices of ſuch as affected to be *wicked*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† According to the Account, which both *Feſtus* and *Servius* give us of antient Times, the Heathens ſacrific'd to the *Celeſtial* Gods only upon *Altars*: To the *Terreſtrial*, they ſacrific'd upon the *Earth*; and to the *Infernal*, in Holes digg'd in the Earth. And tho' the Number *ſeven* was much obſerv'd among the *Hebrews*, even by God's own Appointment, *Levit.* iv. 6. yet we do not read of more than *one* Altar built by the *Patriarchs*, when they offer'd their

A. M. 2515, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1489, &c.

erected, and ſeven Oxen, and ſeven Rams to be got ready; and having * offer'd an Ox and a Ram on each Altar, he left *Balak* to ſtand by the Sacrifices, while himſelf withdrew to conſult the Lord; and, upon his Return, acquainted the King, "How impoſſible it was for him "to do the Thing, that he might expect "from him, *viz.* the curſing a People "who were ſo ſignally under the Protec-"tion of Heaven; and ſo magnifying "their Proſperity and Increaſe, he con-"cludes with a Wiſh, that his Fate might "be theirs, both in Life and Death."

BALAK, at theſe Words, expreſs'd no ſmall Surprize; but ſtill not diſcourag'd he hop'd that the Change of the Place might poſſibly produce ſome better Luck: And therefore taking *Balaam* to the Top of Mount *Piſgah*, he try'd whether he might not be permitted to curſe them from thence. But all in vain. The ſame Number of Altars were erected, the Bullocks and Rams were offer'd, and the Prophet withdrew to conſult God, as before; but ſtill he return'd with no better News: For the Purport of his Declaration was, "That "God was fix'd and immutable in his "Favour to the *Iſraelites*; that he would "not ſuffer any bloody Deſigns, or any "Frauds, or Inchantments to prevail "againſt them, but would finally make "them victorious, wherever they came."

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

THIS was ſo great a Mortification to *Balak*, that, to ſilence *Balaam*, he forbad him either to curſe or bleſs; but he ſoon chang'd his Mind, and deſir'd him to make a farther Trial at another Place. Accordingly, another Place was made Choice of. Freſh Altars were rais'd, and freſh Sacrifices offer'd, but all to no Purpoſe: *Balaam*, perceiving that God was reſolv'd to continue bleſſing *Iſrael*, without retiring, as aforetimes, under Pretence of conſulting God, at the firſt Caſt of his Eye upon the Tents of the *Iſraelites*, brake out into Ejaculations of Praiſe; and then, in proper and ſignificant *Metaphors*, foretold their Extent, Fertility, and Strength, and that *thoſe that bleſſed them, ſhould be bleſſed, and thoſe that curſed them ſhould be curſed.*

His Prophecies concerning the Iſraelites.

BY this Time *Balak*, enrag'd to hear *Balaam*, whom he had ſent for to curſe the Children of *Iſrael*, thus three Times *ſucceſſively* bleſs them, could no longer contain himſelf, but ſmiting his Hands together, he bad him haſte, and be gone, ſince, by his fooliſh Adherence to God's Suggeſtions, he had both abus'd him, and defrauded himſelf. * *Balaam* had Recourſe to his old Excuſe, of not daring to tranſcend the

their Sacrifices, nor were any more than one allow'd by *Moſes*: And therefore we may well ſuppoſe, that there was ſomething of heathen Superſtition in this Erection of *ſeven* Altars, and that the *Moabites*, in their Worſhip of the Sun, (who is here principally meant by *Baal*) did at the ſame Time ſacrifice to the ſeven Planets. This was originally a Part of the *Egyptian* Theology; for as they worſhipp'd at this Time the Lights of Heaven, ſo they firſt imagin'd the ſeven Days of the Week to be under the reſpective Influence of theſe ſeven Luminaries. *Belus*, and his *Egyptian* Prieſts, having obtain'd leave to ſettle in *Babylon*, about half a Century before this Time, might teach the *Chaldeans* their Aſtronomy, and ſo introduc'd this *Egyptian* Notion of the Influence of the ſeven ruling Stars, which *Balaam*, being no Stranger to the Learning of the Age and Country he liv'd in, might pretend to *Balak* to proceed upon in his Divinations and Auguries. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary in Locum, and *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. xii.

* In the Text it is ſaid, that *Balak* and *Balaam offered on every Altar a Bullock and a Ram*, Numb. xxiii. 2. But, though it was cuſtomary, in thoſe early Days, for Kings to officiate as Prieſts, yet it is rather to be ſuppos'd, that *Balak* only *preſented* the Sacrifices, and that *Balaam* perform'd the Office of ſacrificing them; but then it may be made a Queſtion, to whom the Sacrifices were offer'd. And to this it may be anſwer'd, that they might both have a different Intention; that *Balak* might ſupplicate *Baal*, while *Balaam* was making his Addreſſes to the Lord, tho', with ſuch ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, as, it is likely, were us'd by the Worſhippers of *Baal*. Or why may not we ſuppoſe, that *Balaam*, telling *Balak*, that he cou'd effect nothing without the Lord, the God of *Iſrael*, perſuaded him to join with him at that Time in his Worſhip, that they might more powerfully prevail with him to withdraw his Preſence from the *Iſraelites?* For there is no Reaſon to imagine, that *Balaam* wou'd go *to enquire of the Lord*, immediately after he had ſacrific'd to other Gods. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* *Joſephus* brings in *Balaam* making his Apology for himſelf, in order to pacify *Balak*'s Rage, for his having bleſs'd the *Iſraelites*, inſtead of curſing them. "And does King *Balak* think, that, where Prophets are upon the "Subject of *Fatalities*, or Things to come, they are left to their own Liberty, what to ſay, and what not, or to

"make

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the divine Commands; but, being willing to gratify the King, and, in Compliance to his covetous Temper, to gain ſome Reward to himſelf, he offer'd to *adverti ſe* him of what the *Iſraelites* would do to his People in ſubſequent Ages; but ſtill, (againſt his own Inclination) he beſtow'd Bleſſings on *Iſrael*, and propheſy'd, "That "a *Star* ſhould come forth from *Jacob*, "and a *Rod* from *Iſrael*; that it ſhould "ſmite the *Chiefs* of *Moab*, and deſtroy "the *Children* of *Seth*; that *Edom* ſhould "fall under its Power; and that the "*Amalekites* and *Kenites* ſhould be extir-"pated: In fine, that the *weſtern* Nations, "the *Greeks* and *Romans*, ſhould vanquiſh "the *Aſſyrians*, deſtroy the *Hebrews*, and "periſh themſelves."

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

AFTER theſe Predictions, as if vex'd at his own Diſappointment in miſſing the Reward he expected, and with a Purpoſe to revenge himſelf on the *Iſraelites*, as the Occaſion of it, he inſtructed the *Moabites* and *Midianites* in a wicked * Device; which was, to ſend their Daughters into the Camp of the *Iſraelites*, in order to draw them firſt into Lewdneſs, and then into Idolatry, the ſure Method to deprive them of the Aſſiſtance of that God, who protected them. This Artifice ſucceeded; (for the very next Account we have of the *Iſraelites*, is, that they lay encamp'd at *Shittim*, where many of them † were deluded by theſe ſtrange Women, not only to commit Whoredom with them, but to aſſiſt at their Sacrifices, and worſhip their Gods, even * *Baal-peor*) and was a Crime ſo deteſtable to God, that he puniſh'd it with a Plague,

The Iſraelites *commit Whoredom and Idolatry with ſtrange Women, and are puniſh'd for it.*

"make their own Speeches? We are only the paſſive Inſtruments of the *Oracle*. The Words are put in our Mouths; "and we neither think, nor know what we ſay. I remember well, *ſays he*, that I was invited hither, with great "Earneſtneſs, both by yourſelf, and by the *Midianites*; and that it was at your Requeſt I came, and with a Deſire "to do all, that in me lay, for your Service. But what am I able to do againſt the Will and Power of God? I "had not the leaſt Thought of ſpeaking one good Word of the *Iſraelites* Army, or of the Bleſſings, which God hath "in Store for them; but, ſince God has decreed to make them great and happy, I have been forc'd to ſpeak, as "you have heard, inſtead of what I had otherwiſe deſign'd to ſay." *Jewiſh* Antiq. Lib. iv. cap. 6.

* Tho' *Moſes* makes no mention of this Contrivance, where he deſcribes the Interview between *Balaam* and *Balak*; yet, in the xxxiſt Chapter of *Numbers*, Ver. 16. he lays the whole Blame upon *Balaam*; and *Joſephus* accordingly informs us, that, after he had gone as far as the River *Euphrates*, he bethought himſelf of this Project, and, having ſent for *Balak*, and the Princes of *Midian*, he thus addreſs'd himſelf to them. "To the End that King *Balak*, *ſays* "*he*, and you the Princes of *Midian*, may know the great Deſire I have to pleaſe you, tho', in ſome Sort, againſt the "Will of God; I have thought of an *Expedient*, that may perhaps be for your Service. Never flatter yourſelves "that the *Hebrews* are to be deſtroy'd by Wars, Peſtilence, Famine, or any other of theſe common Calamities; for "they are ſo ſecure under God's ſpecial Providence, that they are never totally to be extinguiſh'd by any of theſe "depopulating Judgments: But, if any ſmall, and temporary Advantage againſt them will give you any Satisfaction, "hearken to my Advice. Send into their Camp a Proceſſion of the loveliеſt Virgins you can pick up; and, to im-"prove Nature, dreſs them up with all the Ornaments of Art, and give them their Leſſons, how to behave them-"ſelves upon all Occaſions of *Courtſhip* and *Amour*. If the young Men ſhall make Love, and proceed to any Impor-"tunities, let them threaten immediately to be gone, unleſs they will actually renounce their Country's Laws, and "the Honour of that God, who preſcrib'd them, and finally engage themſelves to worſhip after the Manner of the "*Midianites* and *Moabites*. This, *ſays he*, will provoke God, and draw Vengeance upon their Heads." *Jewiſh* Antiq. ibid.

† The *Jewiſh* Doctors tell us, that, on a great Feſtival, which the *Moabites* made in Honour of their God *Baal-peor*, ſome *Iſraelites*, who happen'd to be there, caſting their Eyes upon their young Women, were ſmitten with their Beauty, and courted their Enjoyment; but, that the Women would not yield to their Motion, upon any other Condition, than, that they would worſhip their Gods. Whereupon, pulling a little Image of *Peor* out of their Boſom, they preſented it to the *Iſraelites* to kiſs, and then deſir'd them to eat of the Sacrifices, which had been offer'd to him. But *Joſephus* tells the Story otherwiſe, *viz.* That the Women, upon ſome Pretence or other, came into the *Iſraelitiſh* Camp, and, when they had enamour'd the young *Hebrews*, according to their Inſtructions, they made a Pretence, as tho' they muſt be gone; but, upon paſſionate Entreaties, accompanied with Vows and Oaths on the other Side, the ſubtle *Enchantreſſes* conſented to ſtay with them, and grant them every Thing that they deſir'd, upon Condition that they would embrace their Religion. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Joſephus*, ibid.

* The *Jewiſh* Doctors are generally of Opinion, that this *Baal-peor* was the ſame with *Priapus*, the Idol of *Turpitude*; and that the Worſhip of him conſiſted in ſuch obſcene Practices, or Poſtures at leaſt, as were not fit to be named. Others have aſſerted, that this God was the ſame with *Saturn*, a Deity ador'd in *Arabia*; nor is it unlikely, that the Adventure related of *Saturn*, and his Caſtration by his own Son, may have introduc'd the Obſcenities, that are practis'd in the Worſhip of this *Idol*. But others, with great Aſſurance, maintain, that *Peor* was the ſame with *Adonis*, whoſe Feaſts were celebrated in the Manner of Funerals, but the People, who obſerv'd them, at that Time,

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a Plague, which, in a ſhort Time, carry'd off ‖ about twenty four Thouſand of the Offenders. This however was not the only Puniſhment, which God exacted: For he commanded *Moſes* ‡ to erect a Court of *Judicature* conſiſting of the Heads of all the Families, and to try and hang all, that had been guilty of this Whoredom and Idolatry, without Reſpect to Friendſhip or Kindred; which was accordingly done, and about one Thouſand more were in this Manner put to Death.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

The Impudence and Puniſhment of Zimri.

By this Time, the greateſt Part of the People, being come a little to themſelves, were bewailing their Folly and Wickedneſs, at the Door of the Tabernacle; when they were ſurpriz'd with * an Inſtance of the moſt unparallell'd Boldneſs in one of the Chiefs of the Tribe of *Simeon*, nam'd *Zimri*, who, in the Sight of *Moſes*, and the whole Congregation, had brought a young *Midianitiſh* Princeſs, whoſe Name was *Cozbi*, into the Camp, and was leading her into his Tent. Their Impudence however

committed a thouſand diſſolute Actions, particularly when they were told, that *Adonis*, whom they had mourn'd for as dead, was return'd to Life again. However this be, it is very probable, that as *Peor* was the Name of a Mountain in the Country of *Moab*, the Temple of *Baal* ſtood upon it, and thence he was call'd *Baal-Peor*. *Calmet*'s Commentaries and Diſſertations. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Selden* de Diis *Syris*.

‖ St *Paul*, in his Obſervations upon the Judgments, which befel the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs, tells us expreſsly, that the Number of thoſe, who were cut off in this Plague, was no more than *three and twenty Thouſand*, 1 Cor. x. 8. Whereas *Moſes* makes them no leſs than *four and twenty Thouſand*. But this Difference is eaſily reconcil'd, if we do but conſider, that in the *four and twenty Thouſand*, which *Moſes* computes, the Thouſand, who were convicted of *Idolatry*, and thereupon were ſlain with the Sword, *in the Day of the Plague*, (Numb. xxv. 5, 18.) are comprehended; whereas the Apoſtle ſpeaks of none, but thoſe, that died of the Peſtilence. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‡ According to our *Tranſlation*, the Command, which God gave *Moſes*, runs thus: ——— *Take all the Heads of the People, and hang them up before the Lord, againſt the Sun, that the fierce Anger of the Lord may be turned away from* Iſrael, *Numb.* xxv. 4. But unleſs we can ſuppoſe, that the *Heads* of each Tribe were guilty of this Lewdneſs and Idolatry, the Sentence here denounc'd wou'd have been highly unjuſt: And, what others alledge, that they were guilty of a ſhameful Neglect in not oppoſing the growing Miſchief, and puniſhing the Offenders; this might be very probably out of their Power, ſince even *Moſes* himſelf, very frequently, found them too headſtrong for him. It was ſomewhat ſtrange therefore, that our *Tranſlators* ſhou'd take the Paſſage in this Senſe, when the *Samaritan* Copy, the *Jeruſalem Targum*, moſt of the antient *Tranſlations*, and ſeveral later *Commentators* of great Note, have made the Word *Olham*, i. e. *them*, not to refer to the Heads of the *People*, but to ſuch as had *join'd themſelves to* Baal-peor: And ſo the Meaning of the Command will be, that the Heads of the People ſhou'd divide themſelves into ſeveral Courts of Judgment, and examine who had committed Idolatry, and, after Conviction, cauſe them to be hang'd, *i. e.* hang'd after they were ſton'd; for among the *Hebrews* none were hang'd alive, but in the Caſes of Idolatry, or Blaſphemy, were firſt *ſton'd*, and then hang'd up *againſt the Sun*, i. e. publickly and openly, that all the People might ſee, and fear to ſin. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* When the *Iſraelites*, at the Inſtigation of the ſtrange Women, they had receiv'd into the Camp, were fallen from Luſt into Idolatry, *Moſes* (according to *Joſephus*) perceiving that the Infection began to ſpread, call'd the People together, and, in a general Diſcourſe, reminded them how unworthy a Thing it was, and how great a Scandal to the Memory of their Anceſtors, for them to value the gratifying their Luſts and Appetites, above the Reverence, they ow'd to their God, and their Religion; how incongruous a Thing, for Men, that had been virtuous and modeſt in the Deſart, to lead ſuch profligate Lives in a good Country, and ſquander away that in Luxury, which they had honeſtly acquir'd in the Time of their Diſtreſs; and thereupon he admoniſh'd them to repent in Time, and to ſhew themſelves brave Men, not in the Violation of the Laws, but in the Maſtery of their unruly Affections. This he ſpoke without naming any one: But *Zimri*, who took himſelf to be pointed at, roſe up, and made the following Speech. " You are at Liberty, *Moſes*, *ſays he*, to uſe your own Laws: They have been a long Time in Exerciſe, " and Cuſtom is all that can be ſaid for their Strength or Credit. Were it not for this, you wou'd, to your Coſt, " have found long ſince, that the *Hebrews* are not to be impos'd upon; and I myſelf am one of the Number, that " never will truckle to your *tyrannical* Oppreſſion. For what's your Buſineſs all this while, but, under a bare Pre- " text, and Talk of Laws, and God, to bar us, not *only* from the Exerciſe, but the very Deſire of *Liberty?* What " are we the better for coming out of *Egypt*, if it be only in Exchange for a more grievous Bondage under *Moſes?* " You are to make here what Laws you pleaſe, and we to abide the Penalties of them, when at the ſame Time, 'tis " you only, that deſerve to be puniſh'd for aboliſhing ſuch Cuſtoms, as are authoriz'd by the common Conſent of " Nations, and ſetting up your own Will and Fancy againſt general Practice and Reaſon. For my own Part, what " I have done, I take to be well done, and ſhall make no Difficulty to confeſs and juſtify it. I have, *as you ſay*, " marry'd a *ſtrange Woman*. I ſpeak this with the Liberty of an honeſt Man; and I care not who knows it. I " never meant to make a Secret of it, and you need look no farther for an Informer. I do acknowledge too, that I " have chang'd *my Way of Worſhip*, and reckon it very reaſonable for a Man to examine all Things, that wou'd find " out the *Truth*, without being tied up (as if it were in a *deſpotick* Government) to the Opinion and Humour of one " ſingle Man." *Jewiſh* Antiq. Lib. iv. c. 6.

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however did not go unpuniſh'd; for *Phineas*, the Son of ELEAZAR the High-Prieſt, fir'd with a juſt Indignation and holy Zeal, follow'd them into the Tent, with a Javelin in his Hand, where, in the very Act of Whoredom *, he thruſt them both through the Body, and, by this Action not only obtain'd an high Commendation from God, but an Eſtabliſhment likewiſe of † the *Aaronical* Prieſthood in him, and his Poſterity, for ever after.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

The total Defeat and Slaughter of the Moabites *and* Midianites.

As ſoon as this Diſorder was quieted, and the Offenders puniſh'd, *Moſes* began to bethink himſelf of revenging the Indignity, which the *Moabites* and *Midianites* had put upon *Iſrael*; and, to this Purpoſe, commanded a Detachment of twelve Thouſand choice Men, *i. e.* * a Thouſand out of every Tribe, to go againſt them; among whom was the † gallant *Phineas*, who took with him the Ark, and what was repoſited therein, together with the ſacred

* Upon this Fact the *Jews* found what they call *the Judgment of Zeal*, which authoriz'd ſuch, as were full of this holy *Fervour*, to puniſh any violent Offenders, thoſe, to wit, who blaſphem'd God, or profan'd the Temple, *&c.* in the Preſence of ten Men of *Iſrael*, without any formal Proceſs. But this Example of *Phineas* countenances no ſuch Practice; nor can this Action, done upon an extraordinary Occaſion, by a Perſon in a publick *Authority*, mov'd thereunto by a ſtrong divine Impulſe, and (what is a Circumſtance, that ſome People add) in a Commonwealth not perfectly ſettled, be made a *Precedent* for private Men, under a different Situation, to invade the Office of the Magiſtrate, and, with enthuſiaſtick Rage, to perſecute even thoſe, that are moſt innocent; as we plainly find it happen'd among the *Jews*, when, in the latter Times of their Government, they put this Precedent in Execution; of which St *Stephen*, whom they inhumanly ſton'd, and St *Paul*, whom they vow'd to aſſaſſinate, without any Form of Juſtice, are notorious Inſtances. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† This however is to be underſtood with a certain Limitation; becauſe it is manifeſt, that, after ſome Succeſſions in the Line of *Phineas*, the Prieſthood came, for a while, into the Family of *Eli*, who was deſcended from *Ithamar*, the youngeſt Son of *Aaron*. The Reaſon of this Interruption is not mention'd in Scripture; but ſome great Sin, 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, provok'd God to ſet aſide the Line of *Eleazar* for ſome Years, till *Eli*'s Sons likewiſe became ſo wicked, that the Prieſthood was taken from them, and reſtor'd, in the Days of *Solomon*, to the Poſterity of *Phineas*, with whom it continu'd, as long as the Prieſthood laſted. And this is enough to verify the Promiſe of an *everlaſting Prieſthood*, ſince the Words, *Everlaſting*, *Perpetual*, and the like, in a general and indefinite Senſe, denote no more than a *long Duration*. But there is another Way of ſolving this Difficulty: God had, before this Time, limited the Prieſthood to *Aaron* and his Deſcendants, and to them it was to be *an everlaſting Prieſthood, throughout their Generations*, Exod. xl. 15. upon this Account it might properly enough be call'd, as limited to that Family, *the everlaſting Prieſthood*. So that, God does not here promiſe *Phineas, and his Seed after him, an everlaſting Grant* of the Prieſthood, as ſome *Commentators* take it; nor a Grant of *an everlaſting Prieſthood*, as our *Engliſh* Verſion renders it, but rather a Grant of *the everlaſting Prieſthood*, i. e. of the Prieſthood limited to *Aaron* and his Deſcendants by that Appellation. *Selden*, de Succeſſ. Pontif. Lib. i. c. 2. and *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. xii.

* The Scripture gives us no Account of the Order of Battle between theſe two Armies; but, in all Probability, they were diſpos'd according to the Method of the antient People of *Aſia*; and therefore we may range the *Iſraelites* upon one Line, form'd of twelve *Corps*, conſiſting of a Thouſand Men each, at the Head of which was the *Ark of the Covenant*, ſurrounded by the Prieſts and Levites, whoſe Buſineſs it was to ſound the Charge, as well as defend the Ark. The *Midianites*, we may ſuppoſe, were, in like Manner, rang'd in a *Phalanx*, upon one Line, and, as the *Iſraelites* were doubtleſs much inferior in Number to their Enemies, they made much larger Intervals between the Corps of a thouſand Men each, in order to penetrate the Enemies *Front* in different Places. This was the conſtant Practice of the *Jews*, whenever they were inferior in Number to their Enemies. *Calmet*'s Dictionary under the Word *Midianites*.

† Whether this *Phineas* was ſent to command the Troops, which were appointed by God to take Vengeance on the *Midianites*, or whether he went along with the Army, only to perform ſuch *ſacred* Offices, as ſhould be requir'd by the *General*, (who with more Probability perhaps is thought to be *Joſhua*) are Queſtions ariſing from the Silence of Scripture concerning the chief Commander. *Phineas* indeed was a Man of great Courage, and had lately perform'd a ſingular Piece of Service, which had gain'd him great Reputation; and from hence ſome have imagin'd, that he was the fitter Perſon to be ſent with an Army to *avenge the Lord of* Midian; as it is certain, that, in After-Ages, the *Maccabees* (who were of the Family of the Prieſts) were appointed chief *Commanders*. But then it muſt be conſidered, that theſe *Maccabees* were the ſupreme Governors of the People, and, as ſuch, had a Right to the *military* Command; that, in the War with the *Amorites*, *Moſes* had ſent the Forces under *Joſhua*'s Conduct; and that *Phineas*, in ſhort, had another Province appointed him, which was to take care of the *holy Inſtruments*: But what theſe Inſtruments were, is another Queſtion. Several Interpreters are of Opinion, that they were the *Urim* and *Thummim*, which *Phineas* might take along with him, in order to conſult God, in caſe of any Difficulty that might ariſe in the Management of the War; and to countenance this, they ſuppoſe that *Eleazar* was ſuperannuated, and his Son ſubſtituted in his Room. But it may be juſtly doubted, whether *Phineas*, being the only Son of the High-Prieſt, and not yet capable of that Office, could be ſubſtituted to perform this great Charge, which belong'd to the High-Prieſt alone: Nor do we find any Warrant for *conſulting the Lord by* Urim *and* Thummim, but only before the Tabernacle. It ſeems

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ſacred *Trumpets*, to blow in the Time of Action, in order to animate the Men. The *Jewiſh* Army was but ſmall in Compariſon of the vaſt Numbers they march'd againſt; but God, who put them upon the Expedition, bleſs'd them with ſuch Succeſs, that they ſlew five Kings, and, among them, the wicked Prophet *Balaam*; put every one to the Sword, except Women and Children; and return'd to *Moſes* with a very conſiderable Booty; one *fiftieth* Part of which he order'd to be given to the *Prieſts*, another fiftieth to the *Levites*, and the reſt to be divided among the *Soldiery*.

THE Remembrance however of what Damage the *Midianitiſh* Women had done, by alluring the *Iſraelites* to Idolatry, made him think it unſafe to ſpare their Lives; and therefore he order'd all thoſe, that had ever known Man, as well as all the † Male-children, to be immediately diſpatch'd, and none, * but Virgins, to be ſav'd alive; And yet (what ſhews the Greatneſs of the Victory) the Virgin-Captives amounted to two and thirty thouſand, and the Plunder of Cattle and Flocks conſiſted of ſix hundred and ſeventy five thouſand Sheep, ſeventy and two thouſand Oxen, and ſixty one thouſand Aſſes, beſides a great Quantity of rich Goods and Ornaments: And (what makes the Victory ſtill more miraculous) not * one Man on the *Iſraelites* Side (as appears from the Report of the Officers made upon the Muſter) was loſt in this Engagement.

THE *Officers* of the Army were very ſenſible, that, in ſaving the Captive-Women

therefore much more likely, that, by the *holy Inſtruments*, *Moſes* means the *Ark of the Covenant*, and what was included in it, which, in the following Ages, was wont to be carry'd into the Field, when the People went to fight againſt their Enemies. Nay, *Joſhua* himſelf, not long after this, order'd the *Ark* to be carry'd, with Prieſts blowing Trumpets before it, when he ſurrounded *Jericho*, (Joſh. vi. 4, &c.) And therefore, ſince the *holy Inſtruments* are here join'd with the *Trumpets*, it looks very probable, that they ſhould ſignify the *Ark*. Nor can we apprehend that *Moſes* ran any Riſque in venturing the Ark upon this Occaſion, becauſe God had aſſur'd his People, that they ſhould obtain a compleat Victory over the *Midianites*. It muſt be confeſs'd however, that the Ark is never thus expreſs'd in another Part of Scripture, and therefore perhaps they give as true a Senſe of the Words as any, who make the *holy Inſtruments* and *Trumpets* to be one and the ſame Thing, and the latter no more than an Explication of the former; which Trumpets the Prieſts were commanded to take with them, that they might ſound a Charge, when the Engagement begun, according to their Direction, *Numb.* x. 8, 9. and as the Practice was in future Ages, 2 *Chron.* xiii. 12.

† *Moſes* order'd the Male-children to be ſlain, that thereby he might extirpate the whole Nation, as far as lay in his Power, and prevent their avenging the Death of their Parents, in caſe they were ſuffer'd to live to Man's Eſtate. For it is no hard Matter to conceive, how dangerous ſuch a Number of Slaves, conſcious that they were born free, and had loſt their Liberty with the Maſſacre of their Parents, might have prov'd to a Commonwealth, every where ſurrounded with Enemies. Why he was ſo ſevere againſt the Women we need not wonder, if we do but conſider, that, either by proſtituting themſelves, or their Daughters, they had been the chief Inſtruments of drawing the *Iſraelites* into Idolatry.

——— Etſi nullum memorabile Nomen
Fœmineâ in pœnâ eſt, nec habet victoria laudem;
Extinxiſſe nefas tamen, & ſumpſiſſe merentis
Laudabor pœnas. ——— Virg. Æn. Lib. ii. ver. 583.

Bibliotheca Bibl. and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, on *Numb.* xxx. 17.

* The *Jews* have a Tradition, that, in order to find out who were *real* Virgins, the young Women were plac'd, at a proper Diſtance with other Women, and all commanded to fix their Eyes upon the High-Prieſt's *Mitre*; whereupon thoſe, who had *known Man*, turn'd inſtantly as pale as Aſhes, and thoſe, that had not, became as red as Fire. But there ſeems to be no great Occaſion for this Miracle, when either the Appearance of an unqualify'd Age, or the Examination of ſome ſelect Matrons might determine the Matter as well. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* on *Numb.* xxxi. 18.

* In the vth Chapter of the 1ſt Book of *Maccabees*, we have an Account of another Victory of the like Nature, when *Judas*, after having, ſeveral Times, defeated *Timotheus* the Heathen General, aſſaulted the City of *Ephron* a whole Day and a Night, and all without the Loſs of a Man. For *they went up to Mount* Sion *with Joy and Gladneſs, where they offered Burnt-Offerings, becauſe not one of them was ſlain, until they had returned in Peace.* And (if other Hiſtorians may be credited) the like has happen'd among other Nations. After the famous and bloody Battle of *Leuctra*, the *Lacedæmonians* and *Arcadians* had a very ſharp Engagement, in which the latter loſt many Thouſands of Men, and the former not one: And, in a Sea-Engagement, between the *Portugueſe* and the *Indians*, *Oſorius Luſitanus* tells us, that the *Portugueſe* Admiral, *Pacheco*, ſucceeded ſo well, that he kill'd above fifteen hundred of the Infidels, without the Loſs of one Man. *De Rebus Emman.* Lib. iii. But whether this had any Thing miraculous in it, or was only the Effect of God's ordinary Providence, we ſhall not pretend to determine. *Bibliotheca Bibl.* on *Numb.* xxi. 49.

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men alive, they had transgress'd their Commission; and therefore * they presented a great Quantity of Jewels, and other rich Spoils, both as an *expiatory Offering* to atone for their Offence, and for a *gratulatory Offering*, in Acknowledgment of God's Goodness, in giving them so great and signal a Victory.

Moses divides the Country of Canaan among the Tribes.

THE *Israelites*, by this Time, had made themselves Masters of the Country, that lay on the *Midianitish* Side of *Jordan*; and the Tribes of † *Reuben* and *Gad*, together with the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, observing that the Country was fertile, and stor'd with good Pasturage, desir'd of *Moses*, that they might be permitted to settle there, as a Place very commodious for them, who had large Stocks of Cattle; which (upon Condition that they should go over *Jordan*, and assist their Brethren in the Conquest of the Land of *Canaan*) *Moses* consented to. And, as they were now in the Neighbourhood of *Canaan*, and just ready to enter upon the Possession of it, he took this Opportunity to appoint the Limits of what they were to conquer, and the Distribution of it by † Way of Lot, which he committed to the Management of *Joshua* and *Eleazar*, at the Head of the *Chiefs* of each Tribe.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

JOSHUA was appointed by God to succeed *Moses* in his Commission; and therefore, to prevent any Contest after his Death, he first laid his own Hands upon him, and then presented him to *Eleazar* the High-Priest, who, in a solemn Form of Admission, and in the Presence of all the People, invested him with the Office of being the *Leader*, and *General* of all *Israel*, after *Moses* had given him several Directions relating to his Office, and one more especially, which concern'd his consulting of God by Way of *Urim* and *Thummim* upon every great Emergency. In the Division of the Country, *Moses* assign'd eight and forty Cities, together with

Makes Joshua his Successor in the Government.

* The *Jerusalem Targum* supposes, that, when these Officers made their Offerings, they address'd themselves to *Moses* in the following Manner. "Forasmuch as the Lord has deliver'd the *Midianites* into our Hands, and we have "subdu'd the Country, enter'd into their Chambers, and seen their fair and charming Daughters, took their Crowns "of Gold from off their Heads, their Rings from their Ears and Fingers, their Bracelets from their Arms, and their "Jewels from their Necks and Bosoms; therefore far be it from us to have turn'd our Eyes towards them. We had "no Manner of Concern or Conversation with them, lest we should thereby die the Death of the Wicked in *Ge-*"*henna*. And let this be had in Remembrance on our Behalf, in the Day of the *Great Judgment*, to make a *Recon-*"*ciliation* for our Souls before the Lord."

† In the Division of the Country, which the *Israelites* took from *Sihon* and *Og*, two vanquish'd Kings, that liv'd on the East Side of *Jordan*, and whose Dominions extended from the River *Arnon*, even as far as Mount *Hermon*, Deut. iii. 8. *Moses* gave to the Tribe of *Reuben* the *southern*, or rather the *South-west* Part of the Country, so that they were bounded to the *South* with the River *Arnon*; to the *West*, with *Jordan*; and to the *North* and *East*, with the Tribe of *Gad*. In this Tribe stood *Heshon*, the *capital* City of the Kingdom of *Sihon*, situate on the Hills over against *Jericho*, about twenty Miles distant from the River *Jordan*. The Tribe of *Gad* was bounded with the River *Jordan*, to the *West*; with the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, to the *North*; with the *Ammonites*, to the *East*; and with the Tribe of *Reuben*, to the *South*. In this Tribe stood *Astaroth*, the capital City of the Kingdom of *Og*, which very likely obtain'd its Name from an *Idol*, which was much worshipp'd in those Times and Parts. How the half Tribe of *Manasseh* came to chuse to stay on the *East* Side of *Jordan*, the sacred History makes no mention; but it is reasonable to suppose, that, after they found that the Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad* had succeeded in their Petition, they likewise might represent to *Moses* the great Stock of Cattle which they had; that the Country would be equally commodious for them, and was over large for two Tribes alone to occupy: Nor is it to be doubted, but that *Moses* was inclinable to listen to their Allegation, because the Sons of *Machir*, the Son of *Manasseh*, had, by their Valour, subdu'd a great Part of the Country, where they settled; which was bounded by the Tribe of *Gad*, to the *South*; with the Sea of *Cinnereth* (afterwards call'd the Lake of *Gennesareth*, or the Sea of *Galilee*) together with the Course of the River *Jordan*, from its Head to the said Sea, to the *West*; with Mount *Lebanon*, or more peculiarly Mount *Hermon*, to the *North*, and *North-East*; and with the Mountains of *Gilead* to the *East*. *Wells's* Geography of the Old Testament, Vol. II.

† Nothing could more prudently be contriv'd, than this Partition of the Country by *Lot*, and making *Joshua* and the *High-Priest* Superintendants of it; since it was the only one, that could effectually prevent all Murmurings and Quarrellings among such an obstinate People, as the *Jews* were. However, as the Lots were to bear a Proportion to the Bigness of each Tribe and Family, it is suppos'd from what follow'd, that every Tribe first drew its Lot for its own Canton, and that then there were proper Persons appointed to measure out the Quantity of Land for each Family, according to their Bigness: But whether this last was done by this or any other Method; whether the *Subdivisions* between the Families were likewise carry'd on by Lot, or otherwise, sure it is, that we read of no Broils or Jealousies, that it ever occasion'd among them. Universal History, Lib. 1. c. 7.

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with their Suburbs, for the *Levites* to live in, and withal order'd, that ſix of theſe ſhould be made *Cities of Refuge*, whither † the *innocent* Manſlayer, who had kill'd his Neighbour by Chance, might betake himſelf, and live; tho' at the ſame Time, he made all proper Proviſion, that the *wilful* Murtherer ſhould certainly be put to Death: But in this, and all other *capital* Caſes, he made it a Law, that none ſhould be convicted upon the Evidence of one ſingle Perſon.

Makes his Speeches to the People.

THE nearer that *Moſes* approach'd his Death, the more he expreſs'd his Concern for the Welfare of the People, and therefore, on the *firſt* Day of the eleventh Month, (which anſwers our *January*) and in the *fortieth* Year from their Departure out of *Egypt*, being then encamp'd on the Plains of *Moab* by the Banks of the River *Jordan*, he call'd them all together, and, at different Times, made two very tender and pathetick Speeches, wherein he briefly related to them all that had befallen their Fathers, ſince the Time they left *Egypt*; the gracious Dealings of God with them; their continual Murmurings, and Rebellions againſt him; and the many ſevere Judgments, that had follow'd thereupon, even to his *own* Excluſion from the promis'd Land. He gave them a *Summary* of all the Laws, which the divine Goodneſs had calculated for their Happineſs; and, having repeated the *Decalogue* almoſt Word for Word, he reminded them of the ſolemn and dreadful Manner, in which it was deliver'd from Mount *Sinai*, and of the manifold Obligations, they lay under, to a ſtrict Obſervance of it. He encourag'd them to be faithful to God, by aſſuring them, that if they kept his Commandments, they ſhould not fail of having innumerable Bleſſings heap'd upon them, and by threatning them with all Manner of Calamities, if ſo be they departed from them. He renew'd the Covenant, which their Fathers had made with God at *Horeb*; commanded them to proclaim, on * the Mountains of *Gerizim* and *Hebal* beyond *Jordan*, Bleſſings to thoſe, that obſerv'd, and Curſes to thoſe, that broke this COVENANT; and to erect an Altar there, whereon they were to † write, in a legible Character, the Terms and Conditions of it.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

THESE,

† The Perſon, who, without any premeditated Malice, kill'd his Neighbour *accidentally*, had the beſt Proviſion imaginable made for his Eſcape. For the Ways, that led to the Cities of *Refuge*, were to be made very plain and broad, and kept in good Repair. Two *Students of the Law* were to accompany him, that, if the Avenger of Blood ſhould overtake him, before he got to the City, they might endeavour to pacify him by wiſe Perſuaſions: and that he might not miſs his Way to the Place, whither he intended to flee, there were Poſts erected, where two or three Ways met, with the Word *Miklal*, i. e. the *City of Refuge*, inſcrib'd on them, to direct him into the right Road, that led to it. *Patrick*'s Commentary, on *Numb.* xxxv. 13.

† Theſe two Mountains are ſituate in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, near *Shechem*, in the Province of *Samaria*, and are ſo near to one another, that nothing but a Valley of about two hundred Paces wide parts them; ſo that the Prieſts, ſtanding and pronouncing the Bleſſings and Curſes, that were to attend the Doers or Violators of the Law in a very loud and diſtinct Manner, might well enough be heard by the People, that were ſeated on the Sides of the two Hills, eſpecially if the Prieſts were advanc'd upon Pulpits, (as *Ezra* afterwards was, *Nehem.* viii. 4.) and had their Pulpits plac'd at proper Diſtances. *Patrick*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentary, in *Deut.* xxvii.

† In this twenty-ſeventh Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, the *Iſraelites* were commanded to *write*, *upon* certain *Stones*, *all the Words of the Law very plainly*, ver. 8. How many theſe Stones were the Scripture makes no mention; but ſome are of Opinion, that they were *twelve*, according to the Number of the Pillars, which *Moſes* employ'd, (*Exod.* xxiv. 4.) when he made the Covenant between God and his People. Knew we for Certainty the Number of the Stones, we might better gueſs, what Part of the Law it was, which *Moſes* order'd to be engraven upon them; ſince, by Reaſon of this Uncertainty, ſome will have it to be the whole *Pentateuch*; others, no more than the *Decalogue*; ſome, that *Summary* of the Laws, which is contain'd in this Book of *Deuteronomy*; and others, the Curſes, which follow from *Deut.* xxvii. 15. to the End of Chap. xxviii. which ſeem to be more likely, becauſe they contain ſelect Precepts, and the laſt of them ſeems to comprize the whole Law, ver. 26. and *Joſh.* viii. 34. But however we underſtand this, it is certain, that before the Uſe of *Paper* was found out, the *Ancients*, particularly the *Phœnicians*, and *Egyptians*, were wont to write their Minds upon Stones, as ſeveral Authors mention'd by *Huetius* (Demonſtrat. Evang. Propoſ. 4. Chap. 2.) do abundantly teſtify. Nay, he obſerves, that this Cuſtom contin'd long after the Invention of Paper, eſpecially if Men deſir'd, that any Thing ſhould be publickly known, and tranſmitted down to Poſterity. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. l. 12. and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2513, &c. Ant. Christ. 1489, &c.

THESE, and several other Directions, relating to their future Conduct in the Land of *Canaan*, *Moses* not only deliver'd to the People by Word of Mouth, but order'd to be written in a Book, which he committed to the Care and Custody of the *Levites*, who, by God's Appointment, laid it up on the Side of the Ark, there to remain a Witness against the Children of *Israel*, in case they should rebel. And, that they might never want a proper Fund of Devotion, he compos'd a Song, or Poem, which he not only repeated to the People, but gave Orders likewise that they should all learn it by Heart: For therein he had express'd, in a very elegant Manner, the many Benefits and Favours of God to his People; their Ingratitude and Forgetfulness of him; the Punishment, wherewith he had afflicted them; and the Comminations of greater Judgments, if they persisted to provoke him by a Repetition of their Follies.

Moses takes a Farewel of the People, and goes up to Pisgah, *to take a View of the promis'd Land, and there dies.*

SUCH was the Care and Concern of the *Jewish* Law-giver for the Welfare of the People, after he was gone: And therefore, perceiving that the Time of his Dissolution was now at hand, he call'd them together; and, having taken a solemn Farewel of them, in a *prophetick* Blessing, which he pronounc'd upon each Tribe, as *Jacob* had done just before his Death, he went up * to the Top of *Pisgah*, over-against *Jericho*, from whence he might take a full View of the Country, which God had promis'd to *Abraham*'s Posterity. For, tho' he was an hundred and twenty Years old, yet his natural Strength and Vigour was not impair'd, nor had his Eye-sight in the least fail'd him; so that he was able to survey the beauteous Prospect, which the delightful Town and Plains of *Jericho*, and the fair Cliffs, and lofty Cedars of *Lebanon* afforded him; and, having done this, he resign'd his Soul into the Hands of *Seraphims*, who were waiting to convey it into an happier *Canaan*, than what he had been surveying; and, to prevent the Danger of the People's idolizing him when he was gone *, God himself took Care to bury his Body in so secret a Manner, in the Land of *Moab*, over-against *Beth-peor*, that the Place of his * Sepulchre was never yet discover'd.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

THUS

* The Mountains of *Abarim* were a Ridge of Hills between the two Rivers *Arnon* and *Jordan*. One Part of these Mountains was distinguish'd by the Name of *Nebo*, as it appears from *Deut.* xxxii. 49. and comparing this with *Deut.* xxxiv. 1. we shall find that *Nebo* and *Pisgah* were one and the same Mountain, and, that if there was any Distinction between the Names, it was probably this, that the Top of the Mountain was more peculiarly call'd *Pisgah*, because it comes from a Root, which signifies to *elevate*, or *raise up*, and so may very properly denote the *Top* or *Summit* of any Mountain. Not far from *Nebo*, was *Beth-peor*, which very probably was so call'd from some Idol of the same Name, that was worshipp'd there. But of all these Mountains it must be observ'd, that, tho' they are said to be in the Land of *Moab*, yet they really stood in the Territories of *Sihon*, King of the *Amorites*, however they retain'd their old Names, because once they belong'd to the *Moabites*. Numb. xxi. 26.

* This very Reason we have in R. *Levi Ben Gershom*. "Future Generations, says he, might perhaps have made "a God of him, because of the Fame of his Miracles: For do we not see how some of the *Israelites* err'd in the "*brazen Serpent*, which *Moses* made? And what then would they not have done, had they but known where his "Remains were laid?" For this Reason, very likely, it was, that, how much soever *Moses* was in love with *Canaan*, he did not desire to be carry'd thither, to be bury'd with his Ancestors, as *Joseph* did; because his Interment in that Country might have prov'd of dangerous Consequence, if in their Distress (especially in the Captivity of the Land) the Children of *Israel* should have run to his *Sepulchre*, and begg'd of him to pray for them, whose Prayers and Intercession, in their Behalf, they had found, in his Life-Time, so very prevalent. *Patrick*'s Commentary, on *Deut.* xxxiv. 6.

* But, notwithstanding all this Precaution of God, the Christians boast that they have discover'd the Sepulchre, which has been kept secret for so many Ages. For in the Year 1655, some Goats, that were separated from the rest of the Flock, went to feed in a certain Place, in the Mountain *Nebo*, and return'd from thence so odoriferous and perfum'd, that the Shepherds, astonish'd at so wonderful a Prodigy, ran presently to consult with the Patriarch of the *Maronites*, who sent thither two Monks from Mount *Lebanon*, and they discover'd a Monument, on which was this Inscription, *Moses, the Servant of the Lord*. But there is too much Reason to think, that this is all a Fiction, on Purpose to raise the Reputation of the *Maronites*; as *Basnage*, in his History and Religion of the *Jews*, has sufficiently prov'd, Lib. iv. cap. 17.

A. M. 2515, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1489, &c.

THUS died * *Moſes*, the * illuſtrious Prophet and Servant of God; and, when the People of *Iſrael* came to underſtand that he was dead, with great Solemnity, they lamented for him, for the Space of thirty Days.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

The OBJECTION.

" WHOEVER wrote the Cha-
" racter of *Moſes*, at the Concluſion of *Deuteronomy*, (for we can hardly
" preſume that it was *Moſes* himſelf) has
" not perhaps tranſcended the Truth, in
" calling him a *Prophet*, ſuperior to any,
" that had *then* aroſe in *Iſrael*, highly
" in Favour of God, and admitted to a
" nearer Communion with him; but
" certainly he means to put a Banter upon
" our Faith, when he would perſuade us,
" that a Perſon an hundred and twenty
" Years old (as *Moſes* was) could take a
" perfect View of the Land of *Canaan*
" (*f*), which extends from *Egypt* to *Phœ-*
" *nicia*, *ſeventy* Leagues in *Length*, and,
" from the *Mediterranean* Sea to the
" Mountains of *Libanus*, at leaſt, *thirty*
" Leagues in *Breadth*: Nor can we ſee,
" for what Reaſon (if ſuch Pains was
" taken to ſhew him the promis'd Land)
" God ſhould be ſo highly provok'd a-
" gainſt his favourite Servant, as to ſeclude
" him, when juſt at the Entrance of it,
" from taking Poſſeſſion of it.

" BUT he did not do ſo with *Phineas*,
" the Prieſt, whom he ſo highly extols,
" tho' his Act was certainly more raſh
" and unjuſtifiable, than any we find re-
" corded of *Moſes*. *Zimri*, we are told,
" was a *Prince of a chief Houſe among*
" *the Simeonites*, and conſequently, was
" not

* Nothing can be plainer from the Text, than that *Moſes* did die, and was really bury'd; nay, *Joſephus* tells us, that the Scripture affirms, that he died, leſt People ſhould think, becauſe of the Excellency of his Perſon, that he was ſtill alive, and with God. And yet, notwithſtanding this, ſome of the *Jewiſh* Doctors do poſitively aſſirm, that he was tranſlated into Heaven, where he ſtands, and miniſters before God: And, of thoſe, who admit of his Death, and that his Soul and Body were really ſeparated, the *major* Part will not allow, that he died a common Death; for their Notion is, that *his Soul departed with a Kiſs*, becauſe he is ſaid to die, *al pi*, *at the Mouth* (as it is literally in the Hebrew, *i. e. according to the Word*) *of God*; but if there be any Senſe in the Expreſſion, it muſt be, that he parted with his Soul with great Chearfulneſs and Serenity of Mind. *Witſius*'s Miſcel. ſacra.

* The Commendation, which the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* gives *Moſes*, is conceiv'd in theſe Words: —— " *Moſes*
" was beloved of God and Men, and his Memorial is bleſſed. The Lord made him like to the glorious Saints, and
magnified him ſo, that his Enemies ſtood in Fear of him, and by his Word he cauſed the Wonders to ceaſe, and
" he made him glorious in the Sight of Kings, gave him Ordinances for his People, and ſhewed him part of his
" Glory. He ſanctified him in his Faithfulneſs and Meekneſs, and choſe him out of all Men. He made him to
" hear his Voice, and brought him into the dark Cloud, and gave him Commandments before his Face, even the
" Law of Life and Knowledge, that he might teach *Jacob* his Covenant, and *Iſrael* his Judgments," Chap. xlv. 1, &c. The Character which *Joſephus* gives him is to this Effect: —— " He was a Man of admirable Wiſdom,
" and one, that made the beſt Uſe of what he underſtood: An excellent Speaker, and no Man better ſkill'd in
" moving the Affections of the People than himſelf: And ſo great a Maſter of his Paſſions, that he liv'd as though
" he had none, or as if he only knew them by their Names, or by obſerving them in others. Never was there a
" greater Captain, nor a Prophet equal to him; for all his Words were Oracles." So true is the Character, which the ſacred Writer has given of him. *There aroſe not a Prophet ſince in* Iſrael, *like unto* Moſes, *whom the Lord knew Face to Face, in all the Signs, and the Wonders, which the Lord ſent him to do in the Land of* Egypt; *to* Pharaoh, *and to all his Servants, and to all the Land, and in all that mighty Hand, and in all that great Terror, which* Moſes *ſhewed in the Sight of all* Iſrael. *Deut.* xxxiv. 10, &c. " Nor was he leſs famous to Poſterity for his Writings, than he was to
" the Age he liv'd in for his Actions." For, beſides the *Pentateuch*, (which is all of his own Compoſition, except the *concluſive* Chapter) the Ancients generally thought, that he was the Author of the Book of *Job*, and of eleven Pſalms, which begin at the 90th, and end with the 100th, as there were once other Books, ſuch as his *Leſſer Geneſis*, the *Revelation of* Moſes, the *Aſcenſion of* Moſes, the *Aſſumption of* Moſes, and the *myſterious Books of* Moſes, cited by ſome antient Writers, which were likewiſe aſcrib'd to him. And though they have long ſince loſt their Authority, and been exploded as *ſpurious*; yet are they ſtill an Argument of the Greatneſs of his Name, when ſo many Authors, to recommend their own Performances, were ſo ambitious to aſſume it. *Joſephus*'s Antiq. Lib. iv. c. 8. and *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Moſes*.

(*f*) *Lamy*'s Introduction, Lib. i. c. 3.

A. M. 2515, &c. Ant. Christ. 1489, &c.

" not accountable to *Phineas* for his Be-
" haviour. His Behaviour, 'tis own'd,
" was vile and profligate enough, but there
" then were proper Courts of Judicature,
" wherein to implead him, and to bring
" him to condign Punishment. The *Le-*
" *vites* were remarkable for slaying some
" Idolaters in another Case, *Exod.* xxxii.
" 27, 28. but then they had a divine
" Commission for what they did, but
" for any hot-brain'd Zealot, without any
" Call from God, or Order from his Su-
" periors, to take *the Sword*, and to turn
" *Avenger to execute his Wrath* upon ano-
" ther Person, that he thinks does ill;
" this is invading the Magistrate's Office
" with a Witness, dissolving all civil Or-
" der and Government, encouraging Mur-
" thers and Assassinations, and what has
" been a fatal Precedent to incite and abet
" the most inhuman Actions.

" IT cannot be deny'd, indeed, but
" that God was very kind to the *Israe-*
" *lites*, during their Sojourning in a naked
" and barren Wilderness; but *Moses* seems
" to carry the Matter a little too far,
" when he tells them, (*g*) *that their Rai-*
" *ment and Shoes waxed not old upon them,*
" *neither did their Feet swell for forty*
" *Years*: Unless we can suppose, that
" God made *their Shoes of Iron*, and their
" Coats of *Buff*; enlarg'd their Cloaths,
" in Proportion as they grew bigger, and
" wrought a perpetual Miracle upon eve-
" ry Garment they wore, which is a
" little too much for our present Dige-
" stion.

" WHEN *Balaam* spake in Commen-
" dation of the *Israelites*, he certainly
" spake by a divine Impulse, for he him-
" self never wish'd them well; and yet,
" the Compliment is not only extravagant,
" but quite abhorrent to Truth, when he
" declares, that (*h*) *God had not beheld*
" *Iniquity in* Jacob, *nor seen Perverseness*
" *in* Israel, tho' it is notorious, that there
" was not a more perverse Generation
" under the Copes of Heaven; a *stiff-*
" *neck'd People*, and *rebellious against the*
" *Lord*, as both the Lord, and his Ser-
" vant *Moses* calls them.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

" NOR is the Account, which *Balaam*
" gives us of himself, less absurd and con-
" tradictory, than what he tells us of the
" *Israelites*: For, when, in that noted
" *Proem* to his Prophecy, he begins *with*
" (*i*) Balaam, *the Son of* Beor, *hath said,*
" *who heard the Words of God, and saw*
" *the Vision of the Almighty*; what can
" we imagine that he means by all this?
" Can any one suppose, that God would
" ever communicate any *Revelation* to
" such an impious Wretch, as he was
" known to be? Or, that the Prince of
" *Moab*, and all his Council should be
" so far infatuated, as to think that it lay
" in the Power of any Man (much less
" of such a *Profligate*) to do either Good
" or Evil to their Enemies, and, by the
" Breath of his Mouth, to alter the Fate
" of War?

" *MOSES* indeed may be suppos'd to
" have had some Portion of a divine Spi-
" rit residing in him, and might therefore
" foretel the (*k*) *Coming of a Prophet,*
" *raised up among his Brethren*, or de-
" scended from a *Jewish Race, like unto*
" *himself*, which nevertheless, might re-
" late to *Joshua*, or any other Prophet,
" as well as the *Messias*: But that so
" wicked a Miscreant, as *Balaam*, shou'd
" prophesy of our Saviour's *Advent*, (*l*)
" under the Image of a *Star* coming out
" of *Jacob, and a Sceptre rising out of*
" Israel, is the most incongruous Thing
" in Nature; and therefore, if there be a
" Designation of any Person in the Words,
" it must necessarily refer us to some such
" King as *David*, who, in a literal Sense,
" *smote the Corners of* Moab, *and destroyed*
" *the Children of* Seth.

" THE Truth is, the whole Adventure
" of *Balaam* and his *Ass* is so very *ro-*
" *mantick*, that we do not well know
" what to make of it. For, in the first
" Place, if God was averse to his going
" with

(*g*) Deut. viii. 4. and xxix. 5. (*h*) Numb. xxiii. 21. (*i*) Numb. xxiv. 3, 4. (*k*) Deut. xviii. 15.
(*l*) Numb. xxiv. 17.

A. M. 2515, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1489, &c.

" with the Princes of *Moab*, why did " he permit him to go? After ſuch Permiſ- " ſion, why was *his Anger kindled againſt* " *him* for going? If he had been minded " to obſtruct his Journey, this certainly " might have been done in a much more " eaſy and compedious Way, than by giv- " ing himſelf the Trouble to ſend an An- " gel Expreſs, and (*m*) *to open the Mouth* " *of the dumb Aſs, to forbid the Madneſs* " *of the Prophet.*

" IN *Poets*, and other viſionary Wri- " ters, we ſometimes read of *dumb* Crea- " tures ſpeaking. The Ram of *Phrix-* " *us*, the Horſe of *Achilles*, the Bull of " *Europa*, &c. are Inſtances of this Kind: " But, in ſo grave and inſpir'd an Author " as *Moſes* is reputed to be, and on ſo " trivial an Occaſion as this, 'tis the Height " of Abſurdity to meet with a *loquacious* " Aſs; and (what is the Wonder of all) " to find *Balaam* not at all ſtartled to " hear her ſpeak, but immediately en- " tering into Diſcourſe with her, as if " they had been old Companions, and " had held many a Dialogue together be- " fore.

" *BALAAM*, in ſhort, was an odd " Mixture of a Man. Here we find him " endeavouring what he could to *curſe* " the People of God, and immediately " profeſſing that he *would* (*n*) *take Heed* " *to ſpeak nothing*, but *what the Lord* " *ſhould put in his Mouth*; for the *Wages* " *of Unrighteouſneſs* now betaking him- " ſelf to diabolical *Enchantments*, and a- " non, in a devotional Fit, ſending up " his Prayer to God, (*o*) *Let me die the* " *Death of the Righteous, and let my laſt* " *End be like his.* However, he was far " from obtaining his Requeſt; for tho' " one Part of the Hiſtory ſays, that (*p*) " *he went and returned to his Place*, i. e. " his own Houſe in *Meſopotamia*, upon " the Banks of *Euphrates*; yet we find " in another, that, together with five of " the *Midianitiſh Kings*, (*q*) Balaam *the* " *Son of* Beor *was ſlain by the Sword*: So " very inconſiſtent is the Account which " *Moſes* has given us of this wild *En-* " *chanter.*

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

" IN recounting the manifold Mercies " of God, *Moſes* reminds the People, that " (*r*) *in the great and terrible Wilderneſs*, " where they ſojourn'd ſo long, *there* " *were Serpents and Scorpions* in Abun- " dance, ſo that it is no Wonder at all " that they were ſtung with them; the " Wonder is, how they came to eſcape ſo " long, and how the *Image* of a Serpent, " which had done them ſo much Harm, " ſhould cure them by Intuition. Men " generally abhor the Sight even of the " Figure of any Thing, that they have " ſuffer'd much by; and therefore we " cannot but conceive, that this Brazen " Serpent fix'd upon a Pole, muſt have " been a Means to inflame, rather than " allay the Poiſon, which the living ones " had infus'd, in all Perſons directed to " look up to it.

" BUT the *Miſtake of proper Means* is " not the worſt Imputation, that this " Part of the *Moſaick* Hiſtory throws " upon God. (*s*) *God is merciful, and* " *gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant* " *in Mercy and Truth, forgiving Iniquity,* " *Tranſgreſſion, and Sin*; and yet herein " is he repreſented, not only as raving, " and (*t*) *ſwearing in his Wrath*, but " commanding the *Iſraelites* likewiſe to " extirpate whole Nations, who had ne- " ver done them any Injury; and, in " doing of this, to proceed with the ut- " moſt Barbarity, to ſlay Men, Women, " and Children, whereof the *laſt*, at " leaſt, (in Hopes of their Converſion) " might more properly have been ſav'd " alive.

" AGAIN, God is the general Father, " and univerſal Lover of Mankind; for " (*u*) *he is no Reſpecter of Perſons, but in* " *every Nation, he that feareth him, and* " *worketh Righteouſneſs, is accepted with* " *him*; and yet, as if the reſt of Mankind " were mere Reprobates, we find him " enjoining

(*m*) Numb. xxii. 28. and 2 Pet. ii. 16. (*n*) Numb. xxiii. 12. (*o*) Ver. 10. (*p*) Numb. xxiv. 25. (*q*) Numb. xxxi. 8. (*r*) Deut. viii. 15. (*s*) Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. (*t*) Deut. i. 34. (*u*) Acts x. 34, 35.

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" enjoining the *Israelites* to live a secluse, " unsociable Life; to have no Intercourse " with other Nations; but to look upon " them with an evil Eye, and as if they " were their Enemies. Once more, God " is a generous Benefactor: What he does, " he does *freely*, and without any By-" ends; what he gives, he gives *chear-" fully*, and *upbraideth not*; and therefore " we cannot reconcile it to these Proper-" ties of his, that he should be so fre-" quently casting his People in the Teeth " with their former wretched Condition, " so incessantly reminding them, (*x*) that " *they were Bond-Men* in *Egypt*, and " that it was his Hand, and stretch'd-out " Arm, that deliver'd them. In a Word, " whatever argues Vanity or Insult, Nar-" rowness of Mind, or Cruelty of Tem-" per, can never belong to God; and " therefore what ever *politick* Reasons " the *Israelites* might have for depopula-" ting whole Nations, and making the " Land of *Canaan* their own, they could " never receive this Injunction from the " Fountain of all Goodness; (*y*) *Thou " shalt smite them, and utterly destroy " them, and make no Covenant with them, " nor have Compassion on them*; (*z*) a " Command not only abhorrent to the " Nature of God, but inconsistent like-" wise with all those Duties, that Men, " as Men, owe to one another."

Answer'd, by shewing who the Author of the last Chapter of Deuteronomy *was.*

Both *Philo* and *Josephus* are of Opinion, that the Account of *Moses*'s Death, and Burial, of the Mourning, which the *Israelites* made for him, and of the Character, which, in the Conclusion of *Deuteronomy*, we find recorded of him, was penn'd by *Moses* himself, in Consequence of the *Prescience*, which God was pleas'd to communicate to him: And the Reason (*a*), which *Josephus* gives for his thus relating the Circumstances of his *Death* beforehand, is, that the People, out of the great Veneration they had for his Person, might not imagine that he was *translated*.

From Numb. xxvii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

But suppose this Account to have been written after the Death of *Moses*, by *Joshua*, *Eleazar*, or the *seventy Elders*; or, (as some imagine) much later, by *Samuel*, or even by *Ezra* himself, who, after the *Babylonish* Captivity, made a Revisal of the sacred Books; suppose it, I say, to have been written by any other Hand whatever, yet this can no Ways affect the Authority of the rest of the *Pentateuch*, or imply that *Moses* was not the Writer of it, unless we will be so perverse, as to say, that the Addition of some few *Lines*, or even of a whole *Page*, as an *Appendix* to another Man's Book, makes the Book no longer *his*.

There is another Opinion, which seems very consonant both to Reason, and Matter of Fact, and that is, that the last of the Books of *Moses*, viz. the Book of *Deuteronomy*, ended with his prophetick Blessing † upon the twelve Tribes, (*b*) *happy art thou, O* Israel! *Who is like unto thee, O People, saved by the Lord*, &c? and that what makes now the *first* Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, was formerly the *first* of *Joshua*, but thence remov'd and adjoin'd to the other by Way of *Supplement*.

Before the Invention of Sections, and other Divisions, or so much as of Pauses, and Points of Distinction; and when sometimes several Books were connected together, and follow'd each other upon the same Roll, (as the ancient Method of Writing was) it is no hard Matter to conceive, how easily the *Beginning* of one Book might be transferr'd to the *End* of another, and, in Process of Time, make that be reputed the *Conclusion* of *Deuteronomy*, which was *originally* intended for the *Introduction* to the Book of *Joshua*. And, if this be the Case, 'tis no Wonder, that we meet with several Passages in this *Introduction*,

(*x*) Deut. xvi. 12. (*y*) Deut. vii. 2. (*z*) Christianity as old as the Creation, p. 273. (*a*) *Jewish* History, Lib. iv. c. 7.

† All the Tribes are blessed, except the Tribe of *Simeon*, and his is included in what is said concerning *Judah*.

(*b*) Deut. xxxiii. 29.

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Introduction, which were in Reality wrote by a later Hand than *Moſes*; But then, by whomſoever, or at what Time ſoever, theſe Paſſages were wrote, whether before, or after the Deſtruction of the firſt Temple, they can no ways invalidate the Authority of the other Parts of the Book of *Deuteronomy*, to which *imprudently*, and by Way of Miſtake perhaps, they came to be annex'd: Nor can the *Canonicalneſs* of theſe very Paſſages be call'd in queſtion; ſince it is agreed on all Hands, that they were written by a Perſon of a *prophetick* Spirit, and had in all Ages the Sanction of the great *Synagogue*.

No Impoſſibility in Moſes's *taking a View of the Land of* Canaan.

BUT whoever was the Author of this additional Chapter in *Deuteronomy*, it cannot well be accounted an impoſſible Thing for God to ſhew *Moſes* the Compaſs of the Land of *Canaan*, from the Top of Mount *Nebo*. The *Jews* indeed have a Notion, that God laid before him a Map of the whole Country, and ſhew'd him therein how every Part of it was ſituate; where each *Valley* lay, each *Mountain* ſtood, each *River* ran, and for what remarkable *Product* each Place was renown'd: But, if this had been all, we cannot ſee for what Reaſon *Moſes* was order'd to go upon the higheſt Part of the Mount, ſince in the loweſt Plains of *Moab*, he might have given him a Demonſtration of this Kind every whit as well.

IT was for ſome Purpoſe therefore, that the *ſacred* Hiſtorian has inform'd us, that tho' *Moſes* was an hundred and twenty Years old, *yet his Eyes were not dim*: And if we ſuppoſe, that, upon this Occaſion, God ſtrengthen'd them, with a greater Vigour than ordinary, to enable him to take a larger Proſpect of the Country, ſo that, from this Eminence, he might ſee *Dan* and Mount *Lebanon*, to the *North*; the Lake of *Sodom* and the City *Zoar*, to the *South*; the *Mediterranean-Sea* to the *Weſt*; and (as the Town and Country of *Jericho* was juſt at Hand) he might eaſily diſcern the Land of *Gilead* to the *North-eaſt*. This indeed may be a Compaſs, above the Stretch of human Sight; but if God was pleas'd to aſſiſt his *viſive* Faculties a little, the Matter might eaſily have been done: And, accordingly (*c*), ſome of the *Jewiſh* Doctors have been wiſe enough in putting together both the natural *Clearneſs* of *Moſes*'s Eyes, and the additional *Strength*, which God, at this Time, vouchſaf'd to give them; "For "God ſhew'd him, *ſay they*, the whole "Land, as in a *Garden-plat*; and gave his "Eyes ſuch Power of contemplating it, "from the Beginning to the End, that "he ſaw Hills and Dales, what was open, "and what was enclos'd, remote or nigh, "at one ſingle View, or Intuition."

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

THE *Talmudiſts* have a very odd Conceit, that the great Sin, for which *Moſes* was hinder'd from going into the Land of *Canaan*, was, becauſe he call'd the People of God (*d*) *Rebels*; and from thence they have form'd a Maxim, that *he, who treats the Church, which ought to be honoured, with Contempt, is, as if he blaſphem'd the Name of God.* But, in Oppoſition to this, it ſhou'd be conſider'd, that *Moſes*, on this Occaſion, uſes the very ſame Language, that God himſelf does, when he bids him (*e*) *lay up the Rod of* Aaron, *as a Token againſt the Rebels*; and that, if this was the Thing, wherein he offended God, he not long after committed the ſame Thing (which he would hardly have done, conſidering already that it had coſt him ſo dear) when he told the People plainly, *(f) ye have been rebellious againſt the Lord, ever ſince I knew you.*

His Offence, and why thought ſo criminal, as to exclude him from Canaan.

SEVERAL *Chriſtian*, as well as *Jewiſh* Expoſitors, think, that the Tranſgreſſion of *Moſes* lay in *ſmiting* the Rock, when his Inſtructions only were to *ſpeak to it*; and, for the Support of this they alledge, that God is an abſolute Sovereign, expecting an abſolute Obedience, and exacting Puniſhment even of his greateſt Favourites, when they pretend to vary from his Commands,

(*c*) *Patrick*'s Commentary, on Deut. xxxiv. (*d*) Numb. xx. 10. (*e*) Ibid. chap. xvii. 10.
(*f*) Deut. ix. 24.

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mands, or to mix their own Conceptions with his Directions: And that there was ſome ſuch Prevarication in the Conduct of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, ſeems to be imply'd in God's Remonſtrance, which immediately follows; (*g*) *becauſe ye believed me not*, or (as it ſhould be tranſlated) becauſe *ye were not faithful to me, to* (ſanctify and) *glorify me in the Eyes of the Children of* Iſrael; *therefore ye ſhall not bring this Congregation into the Land which I have given them.*

It is granted indeed, that God order'd *Moſes* to take his Rod with him, and why ſhould he take it, unleſs it were to ſtrike the Rock, as he had done before? But the *Iſraelites* perhaps, began now to entertain a ſuperſtitious Fancy of the Virtue of this Rod, which had been the Inſtrument of ſo many Miracles wrought before them; and therefore God was minded to give *Moſes* an Opportunity of convincing them of their Folly, by making it appear, that neither himſelf, nor *Aaron*, nor the Rod, was of any Importance; that he alone was the Worker of Miracles, which he was able at any Time to do, by a Word's ſpeaking. This had been doing Juſtice to the Honour of God, but inſtead of this, *Moſes* ſpake and acted (*h*) *unadviſedly*, i. e. he ſpake and acted of himſelf, and what he had no Commiſſion to do, and thereby gave the *Iſraelites* an Opportunity to imagine, that the Supply of Water might come from him, from his Power and Ability to procure it. The Truth is, the Divine Writers, who have touch'd upon this Hiſtory, have made mention of two Defaults in *Moſes*, *viz.* his *Impatience*, and his *Infidelity*; and therefore we may ſuppoſe, that (the Water now ceaſing, at the Time, (*i*) when his Siſter *Miriam* dy'd) he was exceedingly troubled on both theſe Accounts; that, unexpectedly aſſaulted by the People, who ought to have paid him more Reverence, eſpecially in a Time of *Mourning*, he fell into a greater Commotion of Anger and Indignation, than was uſual in him; and that this Anger gave ſuch a Diſturbance to his Mind, and ſo diſorder'd his Thoughts, that when God bad him *take his Rod, and go, and ſpeak to the Rock*, he fell into ſome Doubt, whether the divine Goodneſs would grant the People the ſame Favour, he had done before; that there-he ſtruck the Rock with *Diffidence*, believing it improbable, that ſuch worthleſs and rebellious Wretches ſhould deſerve a Miracle; and that, the Water not iſſuing out at the firſt *Stroke*, his Diffidence increas'd into *Unbelief*, and a ſettled Perſuaſion, that they ſhould have none at all.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

There is one Conjecture more of a very learned (*k*) Man, which I ſhall but juſt mention, *viz.* that *Moſes* began to diſtruſt God's Promiſe of entering into the Land of *Canaan* at the End of forty Years, and to imagine, that, if he brought Water again out of the Rock, it muſt follow them, as long as the other had done, and engage them again in the like Wanderings; and therefore the Comment which he makes upon *Moſes*'s Words is this: "What, ye Rebels, muſt we bring Water "out of the Rock, as we did at *Horeb*? "Are all our Hopes and Expectations of "getting out of the Wilderneſs come to "this? We never fetch'd Water out of "the Rock but once, and that was, "becauſe we were to ſtay a long Time "in the Wilderneſs; and muſt we begin "our Abode here again, when we thought "we had attain'd to the End of our "Travels?" And, with that, he ſmote the Rock in a Paſſion *twice*, whereas God had commanded him only to *ſpeak to it*. But whichſoever of theſe Conjectures we are inclin'd to think moſt plauſible, there are few Writers, who are not diſpos'd to *extenuate* the Fault of *Moſes*, as not deſerving ſo ſevere a Puniſhment, had not God, in paſſing the Sentence of Excluſion upon him, conſider'd the Eminence and Dignity of a Perſon in his Station, in whom

(*g*) Numb. xx. 12. Temp.

(*h*) Pſal. cvi. 33.

(*i*) Numb. xx. 1.

(*k*) *Lightfoot's* Chronica

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whom a Tranſgreſſion of any Kind could not but be far more grievous and inexcuſable, than in an *ordinary* Man.

FOR this Reaſon we may obſerve, that, when *Moſes* has related the Wickedneſs and Puniſhment of *Zimri*, he takes Care to inform us (*l*) of his Family, his Titles, and his high Station in Life. He was the Prince of a Tribe, the Head of Thouſands in *Iſrael*, and one of the renown'd Men of the Congregation. In this Capacity he had a Right to be an Aſſeſſor with *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and the other Rulers, in the Government of the People; and, conſequently, could not regularly be brought under the Sentence of thoſe *Judges*, who were inferior to him. This he knew full well, and therefore, in Defiance of the Laws, and in Contempt of all Authority, (*m*) while *the Children of Iſrael were weeping before the Door of the Congregation in the Sight of* Moſes, *and in the Sight of all the People, he brought a* Midianitiſh *Woman into his Tent*. Moſes had order'd the (*n*) *Judges to ſlay every one his Men, that were joined to* Baal-peor; *but we hear of none that were puniſhed for this Wickedneſs*, except this *Zimri*, and thoſe that afterwards died in the Plague: The Tranſgreſſion was become too univerſal to be corrected by a *Judiciary* Proceeding, and the Example of ſo leading a Man, was enough to bear all down before it, and make the Infection ſpread. God had already order'd, that the Perſons, who committed this great Offence, ſhould (*o*) be puniſh'd in a very exemplary Manner: In Regard to God therefore, *Zimri* was under Sentence of Condemnation, and, as his Guilt was too glaring and notorious to need Conviction, and the Judges were found timorous and remiſs in the Execution of their Office, there was certainly wanting, on this important Occaſion, a proper Perſon to ſupply their Place.

NOW that the Act of *Phineas* in ſlaying *Zimri* was not the Effect of *Zeal*, and warm Reſentment only, but of a divine Impulſe and Inſtigation ſo to do, I think is evident from the Teſtimony of God himſelf, when he declares to *Moſes*, *that Phineas*, by the Death of *Zimri*, (*p*) *had made an Atonement for the Children of* Iſrael. For what Atonement could he pretend to make, unleſs God had appointed him? (*q*) *No Man taketh this Honour upon himſelf*, neither can any one perform this Office to good Purpoſe, *but he that is called of God, as was* Aaron. And therefore there is no Propriety in the Words, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that God order'd *Phineas* to make a *Propitiatory Sacrifice* of the Blood of the Offenders; and, for the Confirmation of this, we find God requiring of *Moſes* to *ſay* to the People, (*r*) *behold I give unto him my Covenant of Peace*; or (as it ſhould more truly be render'd) *behold it was I, who gave unto him my Covenant of Peace*: The Intent of which Declaration is to inform the Congregation, that *Phineas* had not done a raſh Action, out of his own mere Motion and Warmneſs of Heart, but that he had the immediate Direction and Appointment of God for what he did; that God had made a previous Covenant with him to that Purpoſe; and given him poſitive Aſſurance, that, upon the Death of *Zimri* and *Coſbi*, ſlain by his Hands, the Wickedneſs, that had been committed in the Camp, ſhould be forgiven. And therefore we find God eſpouſing the Deed, and, in a Kind of Exultation, declaring (*s*) *Phineas, the Son of* Eleazar, *the Son of* Aaron, *the Prieſt, in being thus zealous for my Sake, hath turned away my Wrath from the Children of* Iſrael. In this View of the Fact all is clear; nor can this Example lay any Foundation for a dangerous Imitation, becauſe it will in no wiſe prove, that an illegal Action, tho' proceeding from a moſt upright Heart, *zealouſly affected* in a good Thing, is ever to be juſtify'd, unleſs

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

(*l*) Numb. xxv. 14. (*m*) Ver. 6. (*n*) Ver. 5. (*o*) Ver. 4. (*p*) Ver. 13.
(*q*) Heb. v. 4. (*r*) Numb. xxv. 12. (*s*) Ver. 11.

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unleſs God, by an expreſs and well atteſted Revelation from Heaven, declares his Patronage and Acceptance of it.

In what Senſe the Iſraelites Raiments *waxed not old.*

THE *Jews*, who love to magnify Miracles, ſometimes beyond their proper Bounds, have a current *Tradition*, that the Cloaths grew bigger, according as the Children themſelves increas'd in Bulk and Stature: But there is no Occaſion for any ſuch Suppoſition as this; ſince the Younger, in their proper Degrees, might ſucceed to the Veſtments of the Elder, and the Miracle ſtill remain wonderful enough, that God ſhould preſerve theſe Veſtments from decaying, or their Feet, by ſo long travelling in hot and ſtony Places, from *ſwelling*, or being *callous* (as ſome tranſlate it) for the Space of *forty Years*. Some indeed will have the Phraſe to denote, that their Feet were not ſenſible of any Uneaſineſs or Fatigue, through the whole vaſt Length of their Journey; but this Conſtruction is plainly repugnant (*t*) to the Scripture-Account we have of their Travels, and therefore the eaſier Interpretation will be, if, by Way of *Metonymy*, we take the *Shoe* for the *Foot*, and ſo make the latter agree with the former Part of the Verſe, and bring the whole to this Meaning, *viz.* "that, as "their Cloaths, which cover'd the whole "Body, did not become uſeleſs through "Age; ſo neither did their Shoes decay, "or burſt, or grow out of Shape, (for "in all theſe Senſes may the original "Word be taken) though they were "engag'd in ſo tedious a March."

IT is to be obſerv'd however, that the *Hebrews* wanted neither Flocks nor Herds in the Wilderneſs; and the Hangings, and other Works belonging to the *Tabernacle*, ſufficiently ſhew, that they were no Strangers to the Art of Weaving. But, ſuppoſing they did not manufacture their own Cloaths, they might however purchaſe them from the *Arabians*, and other neighbouring Nations, and could therefore be under no Want of a ſufficient Supply of this Kind of Neceſſaries. And from theſe Conſiderations (*u*) a learned Commentator concludes, that the Senſe of the Words, *thy Raiment waxed not old upon thee*, muſt be —— That, in the Deſarts of *Arabia*, the *Iſraelites* had ſo great a Plenty of Cloaths, and ſo many Changes of Raiment, that they were under no more Neceſſity to wear them tatter'd, or thread-bare, than if they had liv'd in one of the moſt plentiful, rich, and Cloth-working Countries. *And thy Feet did not ſwell*, or grow *callous*, as poor People's Feet are wont to do, when the Soles of their Shoes are worn out, and they fore'd to tread upon the hard Ground; for ſo it is explain'd in another Place, (*x*) *thy Shoe did not wax old upon thy Foot*, i. e. thy Poverty did not oblige thee to wear thy Shoes (as poor People do) 'till they were old, and grown ſo very thin, that, in hard and ſtony Ways, they hurt thy Feet, and made them *ſwell*. Poverty, we know, neceſſarily occaſions a Meanneſs of Apparel, but Men of large Fortunes have a Variety of Suits, and commonly caſt their Cloaths off, before they are too far worn: And, in like Manner, the *Hiſtorian*'s Deſign is (in this Inſtance of Raiment) to ſignify to us, that the *Iſraelites*, while they abode in a barren Wilderneſs, liv'd like Men of Affluence; (*y*) *for the Lord their God was with them* (as he tells us elſewhere) *and they lacked Nothing*.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

The Meaning of God's ſeeing no Iniquity in Jacob.

BUT how well ſoever God might provide for the *Iſraelites* in this, and all other Inſtances of his *paternal* Care, yet, we cannot think, with ſome *Predeſtinarians*, that, like an over-fond Parent, he was blind to their Faults. The Word *Aven*, which we tranſlate *Iniquity*, and the Word *Amal*, which we render *Perverſeneſs*, do both very frequently ſignify in Scripture the higheſt Kind of Wickedneſs, *i. e. Idolatry*; and ſo the Reaſon, which *Balaam* aſſigns, why God had *bleſs'd* the *Iſraelites*, and would not *curſe* them, is, that they had not as yet incurr'd the Sin of *Idolatry*.

(*t*) Vid. Deut. viii. 4. and xxix. 5. (*u*) *Le Clerc*'s Comment. in Deut. viii. 4. (*x*) Deut. xxix. 5.
(*y*) Deut. ii. 7.

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Idolatry. Some private Men might perhaps be guilty of it, but it was not yet become *National*, and *Epidemical*; nor were there any Hopes, that God would ever deliver them into the Power of their Enemies, unleſs, ſome Way or other, they ſhould be ſeduc'd into that Sin; and therefore *Balaam advis'd* the Prince of *Moab*, by the Allurements of ſome beautiful Women, to entice them into it, as the likelieſt Way to deprive them of the divine Protection.

OTHERS take the Words in a common Senſe, to denote *Sin*, or *Wickedneſs* in general; but then, by the Words *ſee*, or *behold*, they underſtand ſuch an Obſervation of this Wickedneſs, as marks it out for Puniſhment. According to this Obſervation, they make the Meaning of the Phraſe to be, that, "tho' the *Iſraelites* "were confeſſedly guilty of many great "Crimes, yet, ſince they were not *univerſally* ſo, God wou'd have more Re"gard to his own Promiſes, than to the "Sins of ſome Particulars; becauſe he "is a God of perfect Veracity, and the "Unbelief and Impiety of *ill* Men ſhall "not have Force enough with him, to "recal and annul his Promiſes to the "*Good*."

THERE is another Signification of the Word, which we render *behold*, and that is, to *look upon with Pleaſure and Approbation*: And (*z*) therefore, as the Particle *Beth* does frequently ſignify *againſt*, as well as *in*, (and (*a*) ſo occurs in ſeveral Parts of Scripture) the Senſe of the Words will naturally run thus, *God does not approve of any wicked Deſigns, or Practices againſt* Jacob; for the Words, which we render *Iniquity* and *Perverſeneſs*, do equally ſignify *Outrage* or *Oppreſſion*, *Deceit*, or Machinations of any Kind, which God declares he would not ſuffer to be attempted againſt his People. And therefore *Balaam*, upon a Review of the many Bleſſings and Deliverances, which God had vouchſaf'd them, breaks out into this Reflection, and therewith concludes his *prophetick* Speech: (*b*) *Behold the People ſhall riſe up as a great Lion, and lift up himſelf as a young Lion; he ſhall not lie down, until he eat of the Prey, and drink of the Blood.*

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THUS, in what Senſe ſoever we take the Words, whether as relating to *Idolatry*, of which the *Iſraelites*, in the main, were not at that Time guilty; or to *Wickedneſs* in general, which God's Promiſes to the Forefathers reſtrain'd him from puniſhing, tho' they might be guilty; or to the evil Deſigns and Practices againſt his People, which his Juſtice and Goodneſs both oblig'd him to diſapprove; we ſhall have no Reaſon to accuſe him of a blind Partaility towards them, but much, very much, to cry out with the inſpir'd Writers, (*c*) *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and true is thy Judgment*; (*d*) *with the Holy, thou ſhalt be holy*; *and with the upright Man, thou ſhalt be perfect*; for the *Lord knoweth who are his, and* can rightly diſtinguiſh *between thoſe that ſerve him, and thoſe that ſerve him not.*

OF the Number of *thoſe, who ſerved not God, Balaam* was certainly one; and yet we have Reaſon to preſume, that he nevertheleſs was a *real* Prophet. The *Jews* indeed are generally of Opinion, that he was a buſy and pretending *Aſtrologer*, who, obſerving when Men were under a bad Aſpect of the Stars, pronounc'd a Curſe upon them; which ſometimes coming to paſs gain'd him, in ſome neighbouring Nations, a Reputation in his Way. Several of the antient Fathers ſuppoſe him to be no more, than a common Sooth-ſayer, (for ſo he (*e*) is call'd) who undertook to foretel future Events, and diſcover Secrets, *&c.* but by no good and juſtifiable Arts. *Origen* will needs have it, that he was no *Prophet*, but only one of the *Devil*'s Sorcerers; and that of him he went to enquire, but God was pleas'd to prevent

Balaam's *Character, and that he was a* real *Prophet.*

(*z*) An Eſſay towards a new Verſion of the Scripture. (*a*) Vid. Exod. xiv. 25.—xx. 16. Numb. xii. 1.—xxiii. 23, *& alibi*. (*b*) Numb. xxiii. 24. (*c*) Pſal. cxix. 137. (*d*) Pſal. xviii. 25. (*e*) Numb. xxii. 5. and Joſh. xiii. 22.

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prevent him, and * to put what Anſwers he pleas'd into his Mouth. It cannot be deny'd however, but that (*f*) the Scripture expreſsly calls him a *Prophet*; and therefore ſome later Writers have imagin'd, that he had been once a good Man, and a true Prophet, till, *loving the Wages of Iniquity*, and proſtituting the Honour of his Office to Covetouſneſs, he apoſtatiz'd from God, and, betaking himſelf to *idolatrous* Practices, fell under the Deluſion of the *Devil*, of whom he learnt all his *magical Enchantments*; tho', at this Juncture, when the Preſervation of his People was concern'd, it might conſiſt with God's Wiſdom to appear to him, and vouchſafe his Revelations.

BALAAM indeed was a Man of no great Probity, and might by Profeſſion be a *Diviner*; but, by the free Acceſs he had to God, it ſeems to be apparent, that he was no common *Sorcerer*, or Prophet of the Devil: For did ever any Sorcerer addreſs his Prayers to the Supreme God, and receive Anſwers and Inſtructions from him? Did ever any Sorcerer preſcribe a Law to himſelf, *to ſay nothing, leſs or more*, than what the Spirit of God ſhould dictate? The Spirit of God, when did it ever *come upon* an *Enchanter*? Or was it ever known, that an Oracle, upon a remote Event, and what God alone was capable of revealing, ſhould be declar'd by a mere *Magician?*

When God was pleas'd to give Anſwers to his Enquiries, to make his Angel appear to him, and, to put the Word of *Propheſy* in his Mouth, on all theſe Occaſions, we find him expreſſing no Surprize at all, as if he had been perfectly well acquainted with theſe ſeveral Ways of divine Communication; and therefore, bad as he was, and a Slave to his Paſſions, he muſt nevertheleſs be deem'd a true Prophet of God. The only ſuſpicious Paſſage in his Conduct, is, his having Recourſe to *Enchantments*; for (*g*) *what Concord hath God with Belial?* Or what Service could he poſſibly promiſe himſelf by making Uſe of theſe? But to this it may be reply'd, that (*h*) the Arts of *Magicians*, and their Incantations to procure Oracles, and Prodigies, were, by the greateſt Philoſophers of theſe Times, held in great Veneration, and by them reputed to be true. Tho' therefore this *Balaam* was really a Prophet, yet, as a Man of Learning, he might not be a Stranger to the *Theory* of what human Science, and the then reputed natural Knowledge had advanc'd upon theſe Subjects: And as *Saul*, tho' he had before (*i*) *put away thoſe that had familiar Spirits, and the Wizards out of the Land*; was yet induc'd, *when the Lord anſwered him not, neither by Dreams, nor by Urim, nor by Prophets, to go to a Woman, that had a familiar Spirit, and inquire of her*; ſo *Balaam*, finding nothing but a full Diſappointment in all his Views, in the ſeveral Revelations, which God was pleas'd to make to him, and being warmly inclin'd to purchaſe (if he might with any Colour be able to do it) the Advancement, which *Balak* had offer'd him, was tempted to try what might be the Event, if he us'd ſome of the Arts, which moſt learned Nations held in the higheſt Repute, and eſteem'd to be of th greateſt Efficacy: He try'd, but *found* (*k*) *no Enchantment againſt* Jacob, *nor any Divination againſt* Iſrael.

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The Oddneſs of his Character *and* Behaviour *accounted for.*

To enter therefore into the Character of this true *Prophet* and *Inchanter* both, we muſt obſerve, 1ſt, That before the Giving of

* To this Purpoſe *Philo*, in his Life of *Moſes*, brings in an Angel diſcourſing with *Balaam* to this Effect. "It "will be in vain for you to contend, for I, without your Privity or Knowledge, will guide the *Organs* of your "Mouth, and make you ſpeak what upon this Occaſion is fit and proper. I will direct your Speech, and cauſe you "to utter Prophecies, tho' you know nothing of the Matter." Several Paſſages to the ſame Purpoſe are likewiſe to be found in *Joſephus*, (Antiq. Lib. iv. c. 7.) though there is no Foundation for them in what *Moſes* tells us concerning theſe Adventures of *Balaam*.

(*f*) 2 Pet. ii. 16. (*g*) 2 Cor. vi. 15. (*h*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. xii. (*i*) 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, &c. (*k*) Numb. xxiii. 23.

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of the Law, and the Conqueſt of the promis'd Land, there were other † true Worſhippers of God, beſides the Deſcendants of *Abraham*, diſpers'd over the Face of the Earth. 2dly, That this Worſhip of God † was frequently mix'd with Superſtition and Idolatry, even among them, who profeſs'd to adore that one God of Heaven and Earth. 3dly, That this odious Mixture did not hinder God † from revealing himſelf to thoſe, who practis'd ſuch a monſtrous and motly Religion. 4thly, That *ſupernatural* Gifts in general, and thoſe of *Prophecy* in *particular*, tho' they enlighten'd the Minds of the Prophets, yet, * many Times, did not ſanctify their Hearts and Affections. And, 5thly, That the greateſt Weakneſs or Wickedneſs of Prophets never went ſo far, as to make them pronounce Oracles, contrary to what was dictated to them by the Spirit of God: (*l*) *If* Balak *would give me his Houſe full of Silver and Gold, I cannot go beyond the Word of the Lord, to do either good or bad of my own Mind, but what the Lord ſaith, that muſt I ſpeak.*

IT is not to be queſtion'd therefore, but that *Balaam* was conſcious of his own Inſpiration, and did *knowingly* obey the divine Will; but ſtill he could have wiſh'd, for *Balak*'s Sake, as well as his own, that he might have been permitted to pronounce different Things, to what he did; even as the Prophets of *Iſrael*, in future Ages, when order'd to denounce Judgments againſt the People, would have deſired Liberty, no doubt, to propheſy Things of a more grateful Reliſh; but as they could not have that Permiſſion, they obey'd, (tho' with ſome Reluctancy) and, when they came to the Point, did nevertheleſs pronounce boldly what they were order'd to promulge.

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AND this, by the Way, will, in ſome Meaſure, account for the odd Mixture in *Balaam*'s Behaviour, *viz.* his ſeeking for *Enchantments* in one Minute, and falling into a *Fit of Devotion*, in the next. For beſides that the Words, which he utters upon this Occaſion, are not properly his own, but infus'd into him by the Spirit of God, and for which, conſequently, he is not reſponſible; to hear a wicked Man ſometimes come out with a pious *Wiſh*, or holy *Ejaculation*, can be no incongruous Thing at all. (*m*) The Character of Virtue is ſo very beautiful, its End is ſo comfortable, and the Odour of its Memory ſo ſweet, that even wicked Men cannot ſee and hear it, without ſecretly preferring it, and inwardly ſighing for it, and wiſhing at leaſt that it were their own: And therefore it is no Wonder, that even *Balaam*, under ſome ſudden Compunction of Mind, or Conviction of the Amiableneſs and happy Eſtate of Virtue, both here and hereafter, ſhould deſire to *die the righteous Man's Death*. But there is ſomething more to be ſaid for *Balaam* in this Reſpect, than for other wicked Men; and that is, the Buſineſs he was now about. The whole Series of his Behaviour indeed ſhews him to be a vain, oſtentatious Man. By the Preamble to his Prophecies, (*n*) Balaam, *the Son of* Beor, *hath ſaid, and the Man whoſe Eyes are open, who knew the Knowledge of the Moſt High, and ſaw the Viſion of the Almighty, hath ſaid*, &c. he would make us believe, that he was a Man of no ſmall Conſideration, vaſtly familiar with God, and * quite ſuperior to the little Pretenders of his Age; and, as we may farther obſerve, that, in

† Thus *Job* and his Friends dwelt in *Arabia*; *Jethro* and his Poſterity, in the Country of *Midian*; and *Abraham*'s Abode in *Meſopotamia* (where *Balaam* liv'd) might leave behind him ſome *Proſelytes* to the true Religion.

† The *Teraphim* of *Laban* proves this.

† *Abimelech*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* are Inſtances of this, *Gen.* xxvi. and *Dan.* ii. 1.

* For ſo we read, *the Heads of God's People judge for Reward, and the Prieſts thereof teach for Hire*, and *the Prophets thereof divine for Money*, Mic. iii. 11.

(*l*) Numb. xxii. 38. (*m*) *Young*'s Sermons, Vol. II. (*n*) Numb. xxiv. 15, 16.

* The *Jeruſalem Targum* paraphraſes *Balaam*'s Words in a Manner, that ſhews his Oſtentatiouſneſs: *The Man ſaid, who was honoured above his Brethren, to whom that was revealed, which was hidden from all the Prophets.* Patrick's Commentary, on *Numb.* xxiv. 3.

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all his Intercourſe with *Balak*, he never pretended to conſult any but God, we cannot but think, that, to ſeem to be in earneſt about the Matter, and now and then drop a *religious* Sentence, was no more, than what became the Buſineſs he was upon, and the Character he thought proper to aſſume, even ſuppoſing the Words to have been of his own Invention, which (as we ſaid before) were of divine Inſpiration.

The Application of his famous Prophecy.

OF all the Prophecies, which God at this Time deliver'd from the Mouth of *Balaam*, there is one of a more eminent and peculiar Nature: (*o*) *I ſhall ſee him, but not now; I ſhall behold him, but not nigh: There ſhall come a Star out of* Jacob, *and a Sceptre ſhall ariſe out of* Iſrael, *and ſhall ſmite the Corners of* Moab, *and deſtroy all the Children of* Seth. All Opinions agree in this, that *Balaam* here ſpeaks of a King and Conqueror; and perhaps, in calling him a *Star*, he accommodates himſelf to the long-eſtabliſh'd Notion, * that the Appearance of *Comets* denoted, either the Exaltation, or Deſtruction of Kingdoms: But the great Queſtion is, of what King or Conqueror is it that he ſpeaks?

(*p*) SOME have apply'd the Prophecy entirely to *David*, the moſt illuſtrious of the *Jewiſh* Monarchs, who extended his Conqueſts far and wide. (*q*) Others have apply'd it as entirely to the *Meſſiah*, ſuppoſing that the Metaphor of a *Star* comports better with him, and his celeſtial *Origin*, than with *David*; and that the main Strokes of the Prophecy reſemble an *heavenly*, more than an *earthly* Conqueror. The Matter however may be compromis'd, if we will but allow (*r*) of a learned Man's Obſervation, *viz.* that the moſt remarkable Prophecies in the Old Teſtament bear uſually a twofold Senſe; one relating to the Times before the *Meſſiah*, and the other, either fulfill'd in the Perſon of the *Meſſiah*, or in the Members of his Body, the Church, of which Kind we may juſtly eſteem the preceding Prophecy. For tho' its primary Aſpect may be towards *David*, yet whoever conſiders it attentively ſhall perceive, that its Ideas are too full to extend no farther, and muſt therefore, in a *ſecondary*, and more exalted Senſe, refer us to Chriſt, *whoſe Kingdom ruleth over all*, and *to whom all Things are put in Subjection under his Feet.*

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IN this Senſe the generality of *Jews*, as well as *Chriſtians*, have all along underſtood it; and 'tis no improbable Conjecture (* whatever ſome may think of it) that by the Strength of this Prophecy, kept upon Record among the *Oriental Archives*, the *Magi* of that Country, at our Saviour's Nativity, were directed to *Jeruſalem*, and enquir'd, (*s*) *where is the King of the* Jews, *for we have ſeen his Star in the Eaſt?* And, upon a farther Suppoſition, that theſe very *Magi* were deſcended from *Balaam* in a direct Line, he might then, with Propriety enough, pronounce of the *Meſſiah*, *I ſhall ſee him*, i. e. *ſee him* in my Poſterity, *but not now*; I ſhall *behold him*, *but not near.*

And that of Moſes.

THE Promiſe, or Prediction, which God orders *Moſes* to make to the *Iſraelites*, is this. (*t*) *I will raiſe them up a Prophet, from among their Brethren, like unto*

(*o*) Numb. xxiv. 17.

* *Juſtin*, in his Hiſtory, ſpeaking of *Mithridates*, tells us, that in the ſeveral Years of his *Birth*, and *Acceſſion* to his Kingdom, a *Comet* ſhone with ſuch a Luſtre, as if the whole Heavens had been a-fire. Lib. xxxvii. c. 2. *Lucan*, in the Deſcription which he gives us of the *Civil* Wars of *Rome*, among the ſeveral Prodigies, which were ſeen both on Earth and in Heaven, reckons up this: ——

——————— Crinemque timendi
Syderis, & Terris mutantem Regna Cometem. Lib. i.

And *Diodorus Siculus* delivers it, as a Doctrine current among the *Chaldeans*, that the Riſing of *Comets* is either beneficial or hurtful, not only to Nations and States, but even to Kings themſelves, and ſometimes to private Perſons. Lib. ii. p. 116.

(*p*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, on Numb. xxiv. (*q*) *Patrick*'s Commentary, ibid. (*r*) *Grotius*, in Matt. i. 22.

* *Witſius* in his Miſcel. Sacra, Lib. i. c. 16. ſeems to explode this Conjecture of *Origen*'s, but not upon ſufficient Grounds.

(*s*) Matt. ii. 2. (*t*) Deut. xviii. 18.

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unto thee, and will put my Words in his Mouth, and he ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I command him. Now, in order to diſcover, wherein the Similitude between *Moſes* and this Prophet was to conſiſt, we muſt enquire into the Particulars, that diſtinguiſh'd *Moſes* from the reſt of the Prophets; and, accordingly, we find God himſelf, upon a ſmall Sedition, that *Aaron* and his Siſter were engag'd in and againſt him, making this Declaration in his Favour; (*u*) *If there be a Prophet among you, I the Lord will make myſelf known unto him in a Viſion, and will ſpeak unto him in a Dream; but my Servant* Moſes *is not ſo, who is faithful in all his Houſe, with him will I ſpeak Mouth to Mouth, very apparently, and not in dark Speeches:* And what he means by ſpeaking *apparently*, we find explain'd, when we are told, *that* (*x*) *the Lord ſpake to* Moſes *Face to Face, as a Man ſpeaketh to his Friend.* This was the diſtinguiſhing Character of *Moſes*, and in this Particular neither *Joſhua*, nor any of the ſucceeding Prophets could pretend to *be like unto him.* They never ſaw God's glorious Preſence, nor heard him ſpeak diſtinctly. He did not converſe familiarly with them, but whatever he had to communicate, he did it by Way of Viſions, or Dreams, or ſome dark and *enigmatical* Expreſſions.

(*y*) THEY indeed had no ſpecial Commiſſion, no new Inſtitutes of Religion to publiſh, nor had they uſually any extraordinary Credentials to produce. Their Buſineſs, in ſhort, was, to explain and inculcate the Law, which *Moſes* gave, and even in this it is hardly ſuppoſeable, that they were always infallibly directed, becauſe it is ſaid of ſeveral of them, that (*z*) *they erred in Viſion, and ſtumbled in Judgment.* So that with no Propriety can it be affirm'd of them that *they were like* Moſes, much leſs can that additional Character belong to them, *I will put my Words in his Mouth, and he ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command him*, which certainly implies an extraordinary Commiſſion to publiſh ſomething, that was not reveal'd before. From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

BUT now, when it is ſaid of the bleſſed *Jeſus*, that he was (*a*) *a Teacher ſent from God*, for that *no Man could do the Miracles*, which he did, *except God were with him*; that he came (*b*) to *declare God*, or (what is all one) to reveal a new Religion, (*c*) *which was confirmed by Signs, and mighty Wonders*; and, to qualify him for this, that he (*d*) *was from the Beginning with God*, and (*e*) *is in the Boſom of the Father:* When it is expreſſly ſaid, that he is (*f*) *the Mediator of a new Covenant in his Blood, for the Redemption of the Tranſgreſſions of the former Covenant*; and (*g*) *as* Moſes *was faithful in all his Houſe, as a Servant, for a Teſtimony of thoſe Things which were to be ſpoken after; ſo he, as a Son, was faithful to him, that appointed him, and was counted worthy of more Glory, than* Moſes, *in as much as he, who hath built the Houſe, hath more Honour, than the Houſe.* When all this, I ſay, is affirm'd, and verify'd of Chriſt, it is manifeſt, that the great Lines of the *prophetical* Deſcription, we are now conſidering in their true and *primary* Senſe, meet only in him, who is the *expreſs Image of his Father*, (*h*) in *whom are hid all the Treaſures of Wiſdom, and Knowledge.* But to return to *Balaam.*

Balak's *Deſign in ſending for* Balaam.

WHATEVER Opinion we may have of the Matter, 'tis certain, that ſome of the wiſeſt Nations among the *Heathens* had a great Conception of the Power of their Prophets, and thought that they were Perſons in high Favour and Eſteem with their Gods, who were always inclineable to liſten to, and ratify either their *Benedictions* or *Execrations.* * The *Imprecations* of theſe Men (as (*i*) *Plutarch* informs

(*u*) Numb. xii. 6, &c. (*x*) Exod. xxxiii. 11. (*y*) *Sykes*'s Eſſay upon the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. (*z*) Iſa. xxviii. 7. (*a*) John iii. 2. (*b*) John i. 18. (*c*) Acts ii. 22. (*d*) John i. 2. (*e*) Ver. 18. (*f*) Heb. viii. 6. (*g*) Heb. iii. 2. &c. (*h*) Col. ii. 3. (*i*) In Vita *Craſſi*, p. 553.

* The *Romans* were of Opinion, that, by a certain Form of *Imprecation*, they could demoliſh Towns, and defeat whole Armies of their Enemies; and what the uſual Form for this Purpoſe was, *Macrobius* has taken care to leave us

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informs us) were by the *Romans* held ſo very efficacious, that whoever was under them, could not poſſibly eſcape; and therefore we need not wonder, that, in Conformity to this Cuſtom, we find *Balak* ſending for *Balaam to come and curſe the* Iſraelites for him, ſince it was his ſettled Perſuaſion, (*k*) *that he whom he bleſſed, was bleſſed, and he whom he curſed, was curſed.*

Balaam's *Wickedneſs; God's Anger at him, but Wiſdom in permitting him to go.*

But, tho' *Balak* acted according to the prevailing Prejudices of that Age in ſending for *Balaam*, yet God had ſufficient Reaſon to be angry with him for going. He had once conſulted God about *curſing* the People of *Iſrael*, and had receiv'd a very full and preremptory Anſwer forbidding him to go about it; *Thou ſhalt not curſe the People, for they are bleſſed.* This Reaſon however he kept to himſelf; for had he communicated it to the *Ambaſſadors* at firſt, in all Probability, they would not have importun'd him anew to go: But his Covetouſneſs urg'd him on, and the rich Preſents and Promiſes, which the Meſſengers the ſecond Time brought, began to operate ſo very powerfully, that he forgot his Reverence to the divine Majeſty, and preſum'd once more to conſult him about going.

Upon this Occaſion the *ſacred* Hiſtorian relates the Matter thus, —— (*l*) *And God came unto* Balaam *at Night, and ſaid unto him, If the Men come to call thee, riſe up and go with them: And* Balaam *roſe up in the Morning, and ſaddled his Aſs, and went with the Princes of* Moab, *and God's Anger was kindled becauſe he went.* What, angry for what himſelf commanded him to do? (*m*) Our *Tranſlators* indeed thus render the Text, but the *Hebrew* Words are clear of this Abſurdity; for they tell us, that God's *Anger was kindled*, not *ci halak*, *becauſe he went*, but *ci halak hua* becauſe *he went of himſelf*, i. e. without ſtaying for *Balak*'s Meſſengers to come in the Morning to call him. He had told them over Night, that an *Houſe full of Silver and Gold*, could not tempt him to go counter to what God ſhould direct him to do; and by this vaunting Speech they very poſſibly might think their Maſter's Offers neglected, and be tempted to go away next Morning without him; but ſo full were his Head and Heart of Expectations from the Journey, that he would not run the Hazard of their calling; but roſe up early in the Morning, went himſelf to them, which was acting directly contrary to God's expreſs Order, for which Reaſon he ſent his *Angel to ſtand in his Way for an Adverſary againſt him.* By the Mouth of his Angel however, God permitted him to go, as knowing very well that his Journey would tend to his Confuſion, and the Manifeſtation of his People's Glory. For, though there was nothing but Malice in the Prophet's Heart, and a fix'd Determination to do all the Harm he could to the *Iſraelites*; yet God, by his *over-ruling* Providence, directed his Words ſo, as to make them, upon every Eſſay to *curſe*, pregnant with Bleſſings. Had not God forbidden the Prophet to go upon his firſt Application for Leave, he had not declar'd his Averſion to *Balak*'s wicked Project: Had he not allow'd him to go upon his farther Importunity, he had not expos'd his Folly and *Madneſs*, as well as the Weakneſs of his magical Arts, ſo effectually: But now, in the wiſe Method which

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in theſe Words. *Dis Pater, ſive Jovis mavis, ſive quo alio Nomine fas eſt nominare; ut omnem illam Urbem, Exercitumque, quem ego me ſentio dicere, Fugâ, Formidine, Terrore, compleatis; quique, adverſus Legiones, Exercitumque noſtrum, Arma, Telaque ferunt, uti vos eos Exercitus, eos Hoſtes, eoſque Homines, Urbes, Agroſque eorum, & qui in illis Locis, Regionibus, Agris, Urbibuſque habitant, abducatis, Lumine ſupremo privetis: Exercitibuſque Hoſtium, Urbes, Agroſque eorum, quos me ſentio dicere, uti vos eas Urbes, Agroſque, Capita, Ætateſque eorum Devotas, Conſecrataſque habeatis, illis Legibus, quibus quandoque ſunt maximè Hoſtes devoti: Eoſque ego Vicarios, pro me, Fide, Magiſtratuque meo, & Populo Romano, Exercitibus, Legionibuſque noſtris, do, devoveo, ut me, meamque Fidem, Imperiumque, Legiones, Exercitumque noſtrum, qui in his Rebus gerundis ſunt, bene ſalvos ſinatis eſſe. Si hæc ita faxitis, ut ego ſciam, ſentiam, intelligamque, tum quiſquis votum hoc faxit, rectè factum eſto, Ovibus atris tribus, Tellus Mater, Teque, Jupiter, obteſtor.* Saturn. l. iii. c. 9.

(*k*) Numb. xxii. 6. (*l*) Numb. xxii. 20, &c. (*m*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. lib. xii. 3

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which he took, he defeated the Deſigns of the Wicked, and *made the Wrath of Man to praiſe him*; he hath ſhewn us, that no *Enchantments*, no Machinations can prevail, where he undertakes to protect; and (*n*) has left us this Leſſon of Inſtruction, "that when Men are fooliſh "and ſelf-willed, and, in the Purſuit of "their corrupt Views, will follow their "own Ways, notwithſtanding many "kind Hints and Admonitions to the "contrary; God then abandons them "to their own Imaginations, which, in "the Event, very frequently prove their "Ruin."

How God might make Balaam's *Aſs ſpeak.*

IT cannot be deny'd indeed but that God gave *Balaam* ſundry Admonitions, not to follow, in this head-ſtrong Manner, the Purſuit of his Avarice. His enjoining him not to go, when the Princes of *Moab* firſt came for him; his ſending an Angel in the Road to rebuke him for his raſh and unadvis'd Proceeding; and, when he was come to *Balak*, his over-ruling his Words upon three different Attempts, and making him pronounce what was leaſt of all his Intention, were ſufficient Remembrancers, that *his Way* could not poſſibly be *right before God*. But of all others, the ſpeaking of his Aſs was ſuch a miraculous *Incident*, as would have made any conſidering Man, one would think, retract his Purpoſe.

THIS indeed is ſo wonderful an Inſtance, that ſeveral of the *Jewiſh* Doctors, who, upon other Occaſions, are fond enough of Miracles, ſeem as if they would hardly be induc'd to aſſent to this. *Philo*, in his Life of *Moſes*, paſſes it over in Silence; and (*o*) *Maimonides* pretends, that it only happen'd to *Balaam* in a *prophetick Viſion*. An inſpir'd Writer in the *New Teſtament* aſſures us, that it was real Fact, as *Moſes* relates it. *Moſes* ſays, that *the Lord open'd the Mouth of the Aſs, and ſhe ſaid unto* Balaam; and St *Peter* tells us, that the *Aſs, ſpeaking with Man's Voice, forbad the Madneſs of the Prophet*; an human Voice came out of the Mouth of the Aſs, but I do not apprehend, that this Voice proceeded from her own Sentiments. Her Tongue was miraculouſly mov'd, not by any Power of her's, ſo to move it, and it ſpake what it was mov'd to utter, without any Connection of her Words and Sentiments, and without her underſtanding the very Words ſhe utter'd upon this Occaſion. This ſeems to have been the Fact, and the ſevereſt Philoſophy, I hope, cannot deny, that God is as able to make Creatures, deſtitute of Underſtanding, pronounce articulate and *rational* Words, as it is for a *Muſician*, by the different Touches, he gives any Inſtrument, to make it expreſs a Variety of Notes.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

Why Balaam *might not be aſtoniſh'd at it.*

IT may ſeem a little ſtrange indeed, that *Balaam* ſhould ſhew no Kind of Surprize, when he heard his Aſs ſpeak like an human Creature: But to this (*p*) ſome reply, That *Balaam* might probably have imbibed the Doctrine of *Tranſmigration of Souls*, (which was certainly very common in the *Eaſt*) and from thence might be leſs aſtoniſh'd to hear any Brute ſpeak; whereas (*q*) others ſuppoſe, that he was in ſuch a Rage and Fury at the ſuppos'd Perverſeneſs of his Beaſt *cruſhing his Foot*, and *falling down under him*, that, for the preſent, he could think of nothing elſe; tho' the Conciſeneſs of *Moſes*'s Narration, that muſt be preſum'd to have omitted many Circumſtances, which, if rightly known, would diſpel *this*, and many more Difficulties, that may be imagin'd in this Tranſaction, does certainly furniſh us with a better and more ſatisfactory Anſwer. For, (*r*) tho' we could not aſſign a ſufficient Reaſon, why God thought fit to work this Miracle, yet who ſhall therefore dare to infer that it was never wrought? The Account, which we have here even of the moſt ancient Times, is very ſhort; nor can we rightly form a Judgment what the prevailing Sentiments of the World might be, in the Age, when *Balaam* liv'd. The Counſels

(*n*) Scripture Vindicated, Part II. (*o*) More Nevoch. Part II. c. 24. (*p*) Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.
(*q*) Vid. *Patrick*'s Commentary in Locum. (*r*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary in Numb. xxiii.

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of God are likewise a *great Deep*, nor can any Man so far penetrate into them, as to pronounce what is proper or improper for him to do. Upon this Occasion, however, there seems to be some Reason for his giving the Ass the Faculty of Speech, *viz.* that thereby he might convince the Princes of *Moab*, (who are suppos'd to be in Company with *Balaam*) how easy a Thing it was for him, who had *open'd the Mouth* of this dumb Creature, to stop *that* of its Owner, or to direct his Words to what Purposes he pleas'd; and (*s*) how weak and impotent was the Man, in whom they confided, when, with all his Curses and Imprecations, he could not get the better of a poor Brute, and much less then of the People, so immediately under the divine Protection.

How Balaam *came to be slain among the* Midianites.

THE Scripture indeed informs us, that after his fruitless Negotiation with *Balak*, (*t*) *he returned to his own Place:* And so he might return to *Mesopotamia*, and yet, when he heard of the Success of his Advice against the *Israelites*, and how many Thousands of them had been cut off in Consequence of it, he might go back again to the *Midianites*, in Hopes of obtaining an ample Reward for his Services; or when War was declar'd against them, the *Midianites* themselves might possibly send for him again, and he be the rather inclin'd to go, because now he might have some Hopes of cursing the *Israelites* with Success, since they had apostatiz'd from the Worship of their God, and fallen into Idolatry, which while they stood clear of, he knew he could not be permitted to do; and 'tis not unlikely, that for this Purpose he was carry'd into the Field of Battle, and there became a Sacrifice to his own evil Policy.

In what Sense God is said to swear.

IT is a sad Perversion of the Sense of Scripture, when God, in Condescension to our Capacities, is pleas'd to make use of human Words and Phrases, to account that Condescension, not only an Impropriety of Speech, but a Disparagement likewise to the divine Nature and Perfections. The Scripture indeed makes men- of God's *swearing in his Wrath*; but who would ever think, that the Form of this Expression should give any Disgust, or (*u*) the Sense of it be thought repugnant to the *natural* Notions we have of God? He that at all considers the End and Intent of an Oath, must allow it to be a solemn *Asseveration*, made as strong and binding as possible, in order to beget Faith and Confidence in others, or to procure a sure Belief of what is so affirm'd. When Men swear, nothing can make their Asseveration so strong and binding, as the Invocation of God to be their Witness, or Avenger: And, in like Manner, when God himself is said to *swear*, we are to suppose, that he enforces and strengthens his *Asseveration* as much as possible, or as much as is proper, to beget the highest Truth and Confidence in his Revelations, not by invoking a *Superior*, (for that, we may say, is not in his Power) but by condescending to make use of human Forms of Swearing, with such proper Alterations as the Case requires. Thus, when God swears (*x*) by himself, or (*y*) by his great Name, or (*z*) by his Life, or (*a*) by his Right-Hand, or (*b*) by his Holiness, or (*c*) his Truth, or (*d*) his Excellency, or any other of his Attributes or Perfections, the Meaning of these Expressions is much the same, *viz.* that he thereby declares the Thing to be as *certain*, and as surely to be depended on, as his own Being or Attributes are. This, I say, is the whole Purport of the Thing; and God is therefore said to make use of this Manner of speaking, only because it is more awful and solemn, and, consequently, apt to make deeper Impressions, and beget a stronger Confidence in the Hearers than a naked Declaration can.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

What by his being wrath.

'TIS the Manner of the Scripture to ascribe to God *Hands, Eyes, and Feet*, but the Design is not, that we should believe

(*s*) *Bibliotheca Bibl.* in Numb. xxii. (*t*) Ibid. in Numb. xxiv. 14, 25. (*u*) Vid. Christianity as old as the Creation, p. 250. (*x*) Gen. xxii. 16. (*y*) Jer. xliv. 26. (*z*) Ibid. li. 14. (*a*) Isaiah lxii. 8. (*b*) Amos iv. 2. (*c*) Psal. lxxxix. 49. (*d*) Amos viii. 7.

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believe that he has any of theſe Members according to the literal Signification; but only, that he has a Power to execute all thoſe Acts, to which theſe Members in us are ſo very ſubſervient. 'Tis the Manner of the ſame Scripture to repreſent him as affected with the like *Paſſions*, that we feel in ourſelves, when we are angry or pleas'd, have our Hearts attender'd, or provok'd to Revenge; and yet, upon Reflection, we cannot think, that any of theſe Paſſions are inherent in the divine Nature, but the Meaning only is, (*e*) that God will as certainly *puniſh* the *Wicked*, as if he were inflam'd with the Paſſion of *Anger*, or *Revenge*; and as infallibly *relieve*, or *reward* the *Good*, as we will thoſe, for whom we have tender Compaſſion, or affectionate Love. So that it is only by Way of *Analogy*, and Compariſon, that the Nature and Paſſions of Men are aſcrib'd to God; and therefore certainly when he is pleas'd to expreſs himſelf in Accommodation to our Capacities, (inſtead of making it a Matter of Cavil, and Reproach) we ought to be thankful for his Condeſcenſion, and to interpret his Words in a Senſe, ſuitable to his divine *Majeſty*.

God's Extirpation of the Canaanites vindicated.

IT cannot be deny'd indeed, but that the utter Extirpation of the *Canaanites* carries a Face of Rigour and Severity, not ſo very conſiſtent with God's frequent Declarations of his Mercy and Long-ſuffering; but then it ſhould be conſider'd, that as he is full of Lenity and Mercy to thoſe that endeavour to pleaſe him, ſo he has thought fit to declare, with the ſame Breath, that he will *(f) by no Means clear the Guilty*. Let us then ſee how the Caſe ſtood between God and theſe Nations, when the *Iſraelites* were ſent to diſpoſſeſs them.

THERE is no Queſtion to be made, but that moſt of theſe People had at firſt the true Worſhip of God inſtituted amongſt them, and that their ſeveral Progenitors took Care to leave behind them worthy Conceptions of him; but notwithſtanding this, in the Days of *Moſes* we find their Notions ſo corrupted, and all Kinds of Idolatry ſo publickly eſtabliſh'd, that the Land is ſaid to have been *defiled with them*, and, like a Stomach overcharg'd with unwholſome Diet, to have nauſeated, (*g*) *and ſpued them up*.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

IN denouncing the Sentence of their Exciſion therefore, (*h*) *ye ſhall ſmite them, and utterly deſtroy them, and ſave alive nothing that breatheth*, God intimates the Reaſon of his Severity by the Enumeration of theſe Particulars; (*i*) *ye ſhall deſtroy their Altars, and break down their Statues, and cut down their Groves, and burn their graven Images with Fire:* Even the Images of *Chemoſh*, and *Peor*, and *Moloch*, and other deteſtable Idols, to whom they are ſaid to have offer'd human Sacrifices, and to have (*k*) *made their Seed paſs thro' the Fire*. Nor was their Idolatry leſs provoking, than the Corruption of their *Morals*, ſince Adultery, and Beſtiality of all Kinds, Inceſt, and all Manner of Uncleanneſs they both avowedly practis'd, and (*l*) *took Pleaſure in thoſe that did them*.

THE *Midianitiſh* Women in particular, by proſtituting their Bodies, in order to draw the young *Iſraelites* into Idolatry, had given ſufficient Evidence of their incorrigible Attachment to Wickedneſs, and how impoſſible it would be for the People, whom God had ſelected from the reſt of the World, to preſerve their Integrity, if theſe, and ſuch like publick Seducers were permitted to live among them; and therefore God aſſigns this, as another Reaſon for their Extirpation: (*m*) *Becauſe thou art an holy People unto the Lord thy God, and he hath choſen thee, to be a ſpecial People unto himſelf, above all People, that be upon the Face of the Earth*; (*n*) therefore *ſhalt thou conſume all the People, which the Lord thy God ſhall deliver* into thy Hands; *thine Eyes ſhall have no Pity upon*

(*e*) Biſhop *King*'s Sermon of Divine Pred. vii. 2. and xx. 16. (*f*) Numb. xiv. 18. (*g*) Lev. xviii. 28. (*h*) Deut. vii. 2. and xx. 16. (*i*) Ibid. vii. 5. (*k*) Lev. xviii. 21. (*l*) Rom. i. 32. (*m*) Deut. vii. 6. (*n*) Ibid. vii. 16. and Exod. xxiii. 33.

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upon them, leſt they turn thee away from following me, to ſerve other Gods, which will ſurely be a Snare unto thee.

Now, if either the incorrigible Wickedneſs of any People, or the Danger of their corrupting others by their Enticements and bad Examples, may be deem'd a ſufficient Reaſon (as it is in all *civil* Governments, to cut off *obnoxious* Members) for God to rid himſelf of any Nation, that has incurr'd his higheſt Diſpleaſure, the *Iſraelites*, who were only Inſtruments in God's Hands, are no more to be blam'd for executing the Almighty's Commands, than the Perſon, who apprehends a *Malefactor*, and brings him to condign Puniſhment, is to be thought culpable by the Laws of the Land. And, tho' the *Malefactor* may poſſibly plead for himſelf, that he never did the *Apprehender*, or even the Executioner any Wrong; yet this will be of no Weight or Significance to the *Magiſtrate*, when he calls upon the inferior *Officer* to do his Duty. (*o*) Do but then allow the high and mighty *Magiſtrate* of Heaven and Earth as much Right, as his *Deputies* have that act under him, and a Judgment ſufficient to determine what concerns the *publick Good*, and then certainly the *Iſraelites*, acting by his Orders, had at leaſt as clear a Right to deſtroy the *Canaanites*, as any Executioner can have to take away Life by Command of Authority.

There is ſomething perhaps, that we may think more affecting in the Caſe of the innocent Children, which fell in this common Devaſtation; but then we are to conſider, that as the *Lives of all* Mankind *are in the Hands of God that gave them*, ſo may he demand them back again, when, or in what Manner, he pleaſes; and as well may we quarrel with his Providence, for ſending a deſtroying Angel arm'd with a Famine, a Deluge, or a Peſtilence, which ſweep away Young and Old together, as we may with his deputing the *Hebrews* to be the Agents of his high *Behеſts*, in a general and promiſcuous Slaughter of ſuch Nations, as his divine Juſtice and Wiſdom had *predeſtinated* to Deſtruction.

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The Jews, it muſt be own'd, have ſeveral Rules of Life, and Cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves, and by a rigorous Obſervance of theſe, they contracted among other Nations the Character of being a ſullen and unſociable People, Haters of the reſt of Mankind, and averſe to all civil Society and Commerce. Thus *Manetho*, as he is quoted (*p*) by *Grotius*, lays this heavy Charge upon them, that *they would hold no Manner of Correſpondence with any Mortal, that was not initiated into their Religion.* *Tacitus* ſays of them, *that tho' they are courteous enough to one another, yet they purſue Foreigners with the utmoſt Rage of exaſperated Enemies.* And (to name no more) *Diodorus* relates, that *they were the only People in the World, who rejected all Commerce and Friendſhip with Foreigners; and, not only ſo, but treated them as Enemies.* But all this muſt certainly be a groſs Miſtake; becauſe the Law of *Moſes* expreſſly commands thoſe, that live under it to do good to Mankind in general; not only to love their Neighbours, (*q*) but to *love the Stranger* likewiſe, and in *no Caſe* (*r*) *to vex or oppreſs him*, for this very Reaſon, *becauſe they were Strangers in the Land of Egypt*: And therefore *Joſephus*, in his Book (*s*) againſt *Appion*, tells us, that tho' their Law-giver would not admit thoſe, who came *occaſionally* only to the Solemnities of their Religion; yet, among other Things, *theſe* he enjoin'd as neceſſary, and almoſt eſſential Clauſes in his Law; *viz. to ſupply every one with Fire, Water, and Proviſions, that was in Want, and to direct the Traveller in the Road*; which plainly contradicts the Repreſentation, which the * *Roman Satyriſt* thought fit to give of them.

That the Jews did not refuſe Commerce with other Nations.

If

(*o*) Scripture Vindicated, Part II. (*p*) Annot. in Deut. vii. (*q*) Deut. x. 19. (*r*) Exod. xxii. 21. (*s*) Lib. ii.

* Non monſtrare vias eadem niſi ſacra colenti,
Quæſitum ad fontem ſolos deducere verpos. *Juv.* Sat. xiv.

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IF we conſult the Practice of the firſt Founders of the *Jewiſh* Nation, we ſhall find *Abraham* (*t*) making an Alliance with *Abimelech*, King of *Gerar*, at *Beer-ſheba*, and aſſiſting even the impious *Sodomites*, when he thought them unjuſtly invaded by their Enemies: We ſhall find *Iſaac* (*u*) entering into a *Covenant* with the ſame, or another King of the ſame Name at the ſame Place; and *Jacob* (*x*) ſigning Articles of Agreement with *Laban*, his Father-in-Law. Nor can we think, that the Promulgation of the *Jewiſh* Ordinances made any Alteration in this Particular, or laid any Reſtraint upon their Votaries from joining in Treaties of Commerce, or any other Negotiations, that tended to the Benefit of human Society. For, had this been the Caſe, we cannot conceive how (*y*) both *David* and *Solomon* could have ventur'd to make a League with *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, without offending God; which they were ſo far from doing, that *Solomon* in particular (as (*z*) the ſacred Hiſtory informs us) was directed by *that Wiſdom, which he received from God*, when he made his Confederacy with this *heathen* Prince.

EXCEPTING then thoſe ſeveral People, whom God had appointed the *Iſraelites* at their Entrance into *Canaan*, to deſtroy, and ſome other Kings and Nations afterwards, againſt whom he had ſent out his Prophets, to denounce Vengeance for their ſad Impieties, the *Jews* were forbidden to maintain a *civil* Intercourſe with none; but on the contrary, were frequently excited to uſe Kindneſs and Hoſpitality to Aliens, as well as others, that all the World might ſee (as (*a*) *Joſephus* puts the Words into *Solomon*'s Mouth, at the Dedication of the Temple) *that the Hebrews were not ſo inhumane, as to envy Strangers the common Diſpenſations of the Author and Fountain of all our Happineſs.*

AND, for this very Reaſon, (*b*) I am confident, it was, that the *Hebrews* are ſo often reminded by God of their having been Strangers and Bondſlaves in the Land of *Egypt*, that, by their Hoſpitality, and Charity, they might comfort and relieve thoſe, who were in the like Condition; that (in the Words of the Prophet) (*c*) *they might draw out their Soul to the Hungry, and ſatisfy the afflicted Soul; that they might bring the Poor that were caſt out, to their Houſes; cover the Cold and Naked, and not hide themſelves from their own* Fleſh. For this Cauſe are they ſo frequently call'd upon (in the Words of the ſame Prophet) (*d*) *to look unto the Rock whence they were hewn, and to the Hole of the Pit whence they were digged, to look unto* Abraham *their Father, and to* Sarah *that bare them*; that the happy Change of their Circumſtances might beget in them a perpetual Gratitude to their great Benefactor, and the Obſcurity of their *Origin* teach them to be humble.

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Why they are ſo often put in Mind of their Bondage *in* Egypt, *&c.*

'TIS Part of the Admonition of *Moſes* to the *Iſraelites*, (*e*) *thou ſhalt remember, all the Way, which the Lord thy God led thee, theſe forty Years, in that terrible Wilderneſs, wherein were fiery Serpents, to humble thee, and to prove thee, to know what was in thy Heart, and whether thou wouldeſt keep his Commandments or no.* What reſtrain'd the Serpents, which were ſo numerous in the Wilderneſs, from ſtinging the *Hebrews*, was doubtleſs that great and ſovereign *Being*, who reſided in the Pillar of the Cloud, to cover the Camp in their March, and make every noxious Creature flee before them. (*f*) Several Authors are of Opinion, that the Serpents which bit the *Iſraelites*, were of the *flying-Kind*, and might be call'd *Fiery*, by Reaſon of their Colour. *Herodotus* informs us, that *Arabia* produc'd this Sort of Serpents in great Abundance;

Why the Serpents *in the Wilderneſs, did not hurt the* Iſraelites *ſooner.*

(*t*) Gen. xxi. 22. (*u*) Ibid. xxvi. 28. (*x*) Ibid. xxxi. 44. (*y*) 2 Sam. v. 11. (*z*) 1 Kings v. 12. (*a*) Jewiſh Antiq. lib. viii. c. 2. (*b*) Vid. Exod. xxii. 21. Lev. xxv. 42, 55. and Deut. x. 19. (*c*) Iſaiah lviii. 10, 7. (*d*) Ibid. li. 1, 2. (*e*) Deut. viii. 2. (*f*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. xii.

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Abundance; and the Time of the Year, wherein the *Iſraelites* were under this Calamity, was in the Seaſon, when theſe Creatures uſually are upon the Wing, to viſit the neighbouring and adjacent Countries; and might now be directed into the Camp of the *Iſraelites* as a great Army; (for ſo God (*g*) calls *the Locuſt, the Canker-Worm, the Caterpiller, and the Palmer-Worm, his great Army*) to deſtroy and depopulate without Controul. For however the Divine Preſence had protected them before, the People were now in a State of Rebellion; they were murmuring at the Tedioufneſs of their Journeyings, and at their Want of Proviſions, tho' every Day fed by Providence at the Expence of a Miracle. So that God, being angry with them, had remov'd their heavenly *Safeguard*; and no ſooner was it remov'd, but Things were left to their natural Courſe. The Serpents reſum'd their Venom; and, (*h*) as it was now in the Heat of Summer, when Creatures of this Kind are naturally moſt poiſonous, they raiſed ſuch Sores, and ſudden Inflammations wherever they fell, as occaſion'd Death in ſome of the moſt guilty, and violent Pains in all, until God was pleas'd to provide them with a Remedy of a Nature ſomewhat extraordinary.

Why God appointed a Brazen Serpent *to be erected.*

Whether the Sight of *Braſs* (as ſome *Naturaliſts* ſay) be hurtful or no, in ſuch Caſes, this is certainly a Preſcription of *Phyſicians*, that ſuch People, as are bitten with any venomous Beaſt, ſhould be kept from the Sight of the very Image of the Beaſt, from which they receiv'd ſuch Hurt: And therefore God might take Occaſion, from the Incongruity of the *Means*, to magnify his own Power, making uſe of this Kind of Remedy, that the *Iſraelites* might know, and be convinc'd, that both the *Diſeaſe* and *Medicine* came from him. When our bleſſed Saviour cur'd the blind Man in the Goſpel, *he ſpit on the Ground, and made Clay, and ſpread it all over his Eyes*, which ſome Standers-by might be apt to believe was a likelier Way to put them quite out, than to recover them; but when they ſaw the Thing have its Effect, they glorify'd God, and *ſaid*, (*i*) *How can a Man, that is a Sinner, do ſuch Miracles?* Becauſe they could not but perceive, that it was a greater Miracle to work the Cure by *incompetent* or *incongruous* Means, than by none at all. And, in like Manner, if, inſtead of ſetting up this brazen Serpent upon a Pole, God had order'd the *Iſraelites* to apply a Leaf of any common Herb to the Bite of theſe poiſonous Serpents, (as he did *Hezekiah* to (*k*) *lay a Lump of Figs for a Plaiſter upon his Boil*) the Cure might have been the ſame, but then the Singularity of it had not been ſo remarkable. Men might have imputed it to ſome ſecret Virtue in the Plant, which now can be aſcrib'd to nothing but the ſuperlative Power of God, who, even by contrary Means, can bring about what Ends he pleaſes.

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And whence it had its Virtue.

The Deſign of thoſe Men however can hardly be good, who, to rob God of the Glory of the Cure, would impute it to ſome *ſecret Quality* in the brazen Serpent itſelf. (*l*) A *Taliſman*, which (according to the common Account) is a certain Piece of Metal, made under the Influence of ſuch and ſuch Planets and Conſtellations, with a wonderful Power to beget Love, and overcome Enemies; to drive away noxious Animals, and cure Diſeaſes, *&c.* is a *chimerical* Notion; and, (*m*) to reſemble the Figure, which God appointed *Moſes* to ſet up, to any of theſe vain Devices, is a Scheme that deſerves our Scorn, more than our Confutation.

(*g*) Joel ii. 25. (*h*) *Patrick*'s Comment. on Numb. xx. (*i*) John ix. 16. (*k*) Iſaiah xxxviii. 21.
(*l*) *Saurin*'s Diſſertations. (*m*) *Le Clerc*'s Comment. on the xxiſt of Numb.

† Sir *John Marſham* has collected ſeveral Paſſages from the prophane Writers, which hint at *Charms* and Inchantments *to* cure the bite of Serpents; and he ſays, the *Hebrews* made uſe of Inchantments for this very Purpoſe, which Aſſertion he endeavours to ſupport by a Citation from *Pſal.* lviii. 4, 5. by another from *Eccleſiaſtes*, chap. x. 8; and by a third from *Jeremiah*, chap. viii. 17; and, from the whole of what he offers, he wou'd intimate, that the

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tation. The Author of the *Book of Wiſdom*, addreſſing himſelf to God, and ſpeaking of the *Iſraelites*, has imputed the Virtue of this Serpent to its true Cauſe: (*n*) *He, that turned himſelf towards it, was not healed by the Thing which he ſaw, but by Thee, who art the Saviour of all.* And, accordingly, in the foregoing Verſe, he calls it *a Sign, or Symbol of Salvation, to put them in Remembrance of the Commandment of the Law.*

THE only conſiderable Difficulty in the whole Tranſaction, is, why God, who had forbidden all Manner of Images, ſhould, on this Occaſion, command one to be made. This the *Jewiſh* Doctors (*as* † *Juſtin Martyr* obſerves in his Days) could give no Account of: But had they *known Jeſus Chriſt*, and *him crucified*, they might have ſoon perceiv'd, (*o*) that God intended it for a *Type* of the Death of Chriſt, and the Manner, in which he was to die; and that the Effects of the Brazen-Serpent upon them, who look'd on it, did repreſent the Virtue receiv'd by true Believers from the Death of their Redeemer. For ſo we find our Saviour himſelf applying the myſterious Meaning of it; (*p*) *As* Moſes *lifted up the Serpent in the Wilderneſs, even ſo muſt the Son of Man be lifted up; that whoſo believeth in him, ſhould not periſh, but have eternal Life.*

THUS we have anſwer'd the ſeveral Doubts and Objections, that have been made to that Part of the Hiſtory of *Moſes*, which includes this Period of Time: And if the Atteſtation of profane Writers may be thought any Confirmation of what has been ſaid, we have the Practice of moſt ſubſequent *Law-givers*, in Imitation of this great *Jewiſh* Leader, pretending to a Familiarity with ſome fictitious Deity or other, and thence deriving their Inſtitutions: And whoever compares the ſacred and fabulous Account of Things together, will find a near Reſemblance between *Aaron* and the heathen *Mercury*; and that, as this falſe Deity is ſaid to have been an *Egyptian* by Birth, the Meſſenger and Interpreter of the Gods, and is generally painted with a *Caduceus*, or Wand in his Hand twiſted about with Snakes; ſo *Aaron* was himſelf born in *Egypt*, and appointed by God to be (*q*) an *Interpreter* to his Brother *Moſes*, and a *Meſſenger* to *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, in whoſe Preſence he threw down his *Wonder-working* Rod, and it immediately became a Serpent.

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THE whole Hiſtory of *Balaam* (as *Romantick* as it ſeems) is ſtill upon Record in the ancient *oriental* Writers, from whence the preſent *Mahometans* have borrow'd many Things. 'Tis not improbable, that the ſpeaking of his *Aſs* gave handle to the Fiction of ſeveral other brute Creatures, upon leſs momentous Occaſions, *accoſting* their Maſters. That the Deſarts wherein the *Iſraelites* journey'd, were infeſted with Serpents of ſo venomous a Kind, that their biting was deadly, and above the power of Art to Cure, both *Strabo* and *Diodorus* teſtify. And (to inſtance no farther) the Worſhip of *Æſculapius*, the known God of *Phyſick*, under the Form of a *Serpent*, and what ſome late Travellers tell us of the *Indians* carrying about a wreathed Serpent, upon a Pearch, to which they pay their Adorations every Morning, had manifeſtly their Original from ſome Tradition or other of this Serpent's Image, which *Moſes* was directed to ſet up. So true is the Character

ure of the *Iſraelites* was not miraculous, but that the Brazen-Serpent was properly a *Charm* for the Calamity, or an *Amulet* for the Diſtemper; but it would be trifling to refute this Opinion. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. xii.

(*n*) Wiſd. xvi. 7.

† In his Book againſt *Trypho*, he inſiſts upon this Serpent, as a *Type* of *Chriſt*, and appealing to the Company, what Reaſon (excluſive of that) could be given of this Matter, one of the *Jews* confeſs'd, that he was in the Right, and that he himſelf had enquir'd for a Reaſon among the *Jewiſh* Maſters, and could meet with none. *Kidder*'s Demonſtration, p. 73.

(*o*) *Kidder*, ibid. (*p*) John iii. 14, 15. (*q*) Exod. vii. 1, 2.

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racter (confirm'd by *Testimonies* of all Kinds) which the *sacred* Writers give us of this *Moses*, the Servant of the Lord, that, both as the Leader, the Law-giver, and Historian of his People, (*r*) *he was found Faithful in all his House.*

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DISSERTATION III.

Of the Profane History, Religion, Government, &c. of such Nations, as the ISRAELITES *had Dealings with, during this Period.*

TOWARDS the Conclusion of the foregoing Book, we carry'd the Succession of the *Egyptian* Kings down to the Reign of *Amenophis*, who (according to the most receiv'd Accounts) was that obstinate Prince, that in Pursuit of the *Hebrews*, together with all his Army, was lost in the Waves of the *Red-Sea:* Nor should we, as yet, concern ourselves any farther with the History of that Nation, but that his Son and Successor, *Sesostris*, † who liv'd in the Time of the *Israelites* Peregrination in the Wilderness, and may therefore properly take his Place here, was a Person of so distinguish'd a Character, that, to pass him by in Silence, would be doing an Injury to our Reader.

As

(*r*) Heb. iii. 5.

† It is a Matter of no small Dispute among *Chronologers*, in what Time it was this *Sesostris* liv'd. The seeming Analogy of the Name, makes Sir *John Marsham* think, that *Sesostris* was the same with SHISHAK, *King of* Egypt, *who, in the Days of* Rehoboam, *came up against* Jerusalem, *and took away the Treasures of the House of the Lord, the Treasures of the King's House, and all the Shields which* Solomon *had made*, &c. 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26. What confirms him in this Opinion, is a Passage in *Josephus*, wherein he tells us, that *God avenged himself upon* Rehoboam, *by the Hand of* Shishak, *King of* Egypt, *concerning whom* Herodotus (*being mistaken*) *ascribes what he did to* Sesostris, Jewish Antiq. lib. viii. c. 4. But what if, in this Matter, *Josephus* himself should be mistaken, and not *Herodotus?* *Josephus* certainly took his Antiquities from the Records of the *Jews*, which gave a full Account of what happen'd to *Abraham*, and his Posterity, both before and after they inherited the Land of *Canaan*; but gave no Account at all of that Country, while it was in other Hands, and particularly while the *Israelites* were in the Wilderness: And therefore it is more probable, that *Josephus* knew of no Conquest of the Land of *Canaan* by the *Egyptians*, before the Time of *Rehoboam*. For when he applies what *Herodotus* says of *Sesostris's setting up several infamous Pillars, to stigmatize the Countries, which he conquered, for Cowardice*, to *Shishak*, after his Expedition against the *Jews*, he plainly gives us to understand, that he knew of no other Expedition from *Egypt* against the Land of *Canaan* before that. And indeed these very Pillars are enough to decide the Matter, that our *Sesostris* was not *Shishak*. *Shishak* made an Irruption into *Judea*, plunder'd the Temple and the Country, and so went back again into *Egypt*. Now, had he set up such Pillars, as a perpetual Mark of Infamy upon the *Jews*, can we imagine, that they would have let them stand, even to be seen in *Herodotus's* Time, and not immediately pull'd them down upon his Retreat? But, on the other hand, if *Sesostris*, who succeeded the *Pharaoh*, who was drowned in the *Red-Sea*, conquer'd *Canaan*, and set up such Pillars, there is good Reason to think, that they might continue a long while, because the *Canaanites*, who were a conquer'd People, dar'd not pull them down in his Reign, and in the Time of the *Deputies*, who govern'd under him; and the *Israelites*, who knew, that these Pillars were no Reflection on them, but only on their Enemies, would be inclinable enough to let them stand. It is much more probable then, that the Mistake belongs to *Josephus*, and not to *Herodotus*; because *Herodotus*, in what he asserts of *Sesostris*, agrees with *Diodorus* and others: But, to fix the Actions of *Sesostris* upon *Shishak*, there is no one antient Author, that will agree with *Josephus*. *Aristotle* affirms, (Polit. lib. i. c. 10.) that the Kingdom of *Sesostris* was much older, in Point of Time, than that of *Minos* in *Crete*, which every one owns was in the Time of *Joshua*. *Pliny* maintains, (Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvii. c. 8.) That *Troy* was taken in the Time of *Rameses*, who was the third Descendant from *Sesostris*. *Strabo* avers, (Lib. ult.) that *Sesostris* was long before the *Trojan* Times; and Sir *John Marsham*, and, in general, all the Writers of the *Argonautick* Expedition own plainly, that the Colonies of *Sesostris* had been at *Colchis* before that, which all agree to have been a Century before the Fall of *Troy*. And (if to these we may add two *Moderns*) both the learned Prelate *Usher*, and the learned Bishop *Cumberland*, do unanimously agree, in making *Sesostris* to be the Son of that *Pharaoh*, who was drowned in the *Red-Sea*; which the latter of these has given several Arguments to prove. *Sanchon*, Page 402. But these the learned *Author of the Connection of the sacred and Profane History* has endeavour'd to invalidate, and thereupon concludes "That *Sesostris* "shou'd be the Son of *Pharaoh*, who was drown'd in the *Red-Sea*, and that in the State, which his Father's Mis- "fortunes must have reduc'd *Egypt* to, he should immediately find Strength sufficient to subdue Kingdom after King- "dom, and to erect himself a large Empire over many great and flourishing Nations; this must be thought by any "one, who duly considers Things, to seem, at first Sight, a most *Romantic* Fiction. Vol. III. Lib. xi.

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The Life of Seſoſtris.

AS ſoon as *Seſoſtris* was born, ſome Hiſtorians tell us that *Vulcan* appear'd to his Father in his Sleep, and inform'd him, that *his Son ſhould conquer the whole World*; upon which Preſumption it was, that he took ſo much Care, not of his Education only, but of every male Child's likewiſe, that was born on the ſame Day with him, even through all his Kingdom of *Egypt*. The Number of theſe is ſaid to have amounted to ſeventeen Hundred in all; and the King gave Orders, that they ſhould be train'd up in the ſame Diſcipline, and Exerciſes, with his Son, as juſtly ſuppoſing, that they, who had been the conſtant and equal Companions of his Childhood and Youth, would prove his moſt faithful *Miniſters*, and affectionate *Fellow-Soldiers*. (*s*) Having therefore provided Tutors, and Maſters, and every Thing neceſſary for this Purpoſe, he had them, by Degrees, inured to laborious and manly Exerciſes, as well as inſtructed in all liberal and uſeful Sciences, that, as they grew up, by the Strength of their *Bodies*, and the Cultivation of their *Minds*, they might be equally fitted either to *command*, or *execute*.

AMENOPHIS, after he had been at this vaſt Expence and Trouble in laying the Foundation of his Son's future *Grandeur*, reſolv'd to give him and his Companions an Opportunity of diſplaying the good Effects of their Education; and accordingly ſent him, and them along with him, at the Head of an Army into *Arabia*. In this Expedition, the young *Seſoſtris* ſurmounted all the Dangers of Serpents and venomous Creatures, all the Wants and Hardſhips of a dry and barren Country, and, in the End, conquer'd the *Arabians*, a rude and barbarous People, that had never been vanquiſh'd before.

FROM *Arabia* his Father order'd him *Weſtward*, where he ſubdu'd the greateſt Part of *Africk*; but, while he was engag'd in this Expedition, News was brought him, that his Father, and all his Army, were drown'd in the *Red-Sea*, which made him deſiſt from his Conqueſts, and haſten home with his Army, in order to ſecure his Succeſſion to the Kingdom. Whether it was that he call'd to Mind the Prediction of the God *Vulcan*, or was inſtructed by *Mercury*, who prepar'd him for the War; was aſſur'd of Succeſs by Divination, by Dreams in the Temple, or Prodigies in the Air; or perſuaded to it by his Daughter *Athyrte*, a young Lady of uncommon Underſtanding, and who made it out to her Father, that the Thing was practicable; but ſo it was, that no ſooner was he ſettled upon the *Egyptian* Throne, but his Thoughts began to ſwell, and his Mind to graſp at an *univerſal Monarchy*.

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HIS own Country indeed he found but in a lamentable Eſtate. The *Iſraelites*, who were their Slaves, were gone: All their veteran Soldiers, with their Arms, Chariots, and Horſes, were loſt: The Firſt-born of every Family were ſlain; the Cattle kill'd; the Fruits of the Earth deſtroy'd; and nothing but Famine was to be expected: And yet, notwithſtanding all this Diſcouragement, he was reſolv'd to put in Practice his Scheme for a general Conqueſt. But then, conſidering that this would oblige him to be long abſent, and far diſtant from *Egypt*, he could not but deem it neceſſary to gain the Love and Affection of his Subjects, that theſe, who follow'd him, might lay down their Lives more chearfully in his Service, and they, whom he left behind, might not be induc'd to attempt any Innovations, while he was gone.

TO this Purpoſe he endeavour'd, in the firſt Place, to oblige every one to the utmoſt of his Power: Some, by Largeſſes in Money; others, by Donations in Land; many, by the Conceſſion of free Pardons; and every one by fair Speeches, and a courteous and affable Behaviour upon all Occaſions. Thoſe, that were condemned for High-Treaſon, he releas'd with Impunity; and, by paying what they ow'd, diſcharg'd ſuch, as were in Priſon for Debt. In the next Place, he reſettled

(*s*) The chief of this Account is taken from *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Herodotus*, in his *Euterpe*. lib. i.

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the antient Diviſion of the Country into ſix and thirty Parts, which the *Egyptians* call *Nomi*, or Provinces; aſſign'd a Governor to each of theſe; and conſtituted his Brother *Armais* (whom the *Greeks* call'd *Danaus*) ſupreme Regent. Him he inveſted with ample Power and Authority; But reſtrain'd him from wearing the Crown, from offering any Injury to the Queen and her Family, and from having any Dealings with the *royal* Concubines.

HAVING thus ſettled the Government, he proceeded, in the laſt Place, to raiſe an Army equal to the Vaſtneſs of his Deſign, which conſiſted of 600,000 Foot, 24,000 Horſe, and 27,000 warlike Chariots. His principal Officers were taken out of thoſe brave Men, who were train'd up with him in martial Exploits; and, that they might always be in Readineſs (without ſubmitting to any mean Employ) to attend him to the Wars, he took Care to beſtow on them large Eſtates in Land, in ſome of the richeſt and moſt fertile Parts of *Egypt*. With this Army he march'd at firſt againſt the *Ethiopians*, whom he ſoon conquer'd, and made them pay him a Tribute of Ebony, Gold, and Elephants Teeth. But his Land Forces alone were not anſwerable to the Conqueſts he intended; and therefore he fitted out two Fleets of tall Ships, ſomewhat reſembling our modern Form, one in the *Mediterranean Sea*, and the other in the *Arabian Gulf*. With the *Mediterranean* Squadron he conquer'd *Cyprus*, the Sea Coaſts of *Phœnicia*, and ſeveral of the *Cyclades*; and from the *Arabian Gulf*, he ſail'd into the *Indian Sea*, and there ſubdu'd all the Coaſts thereof, till, happening to come into a *ſhallow*, and his Ships drawing more Water than uſual, he either was unable, or afraid to go any farther, and ſo return'd into *Egypt*.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy

BUT he had not been long return'd, before his Ambition began to operate afreſh; and therefore, adviſing with his Prieſts, he recruited his Army, and march'd into *Aſia*. The *Iſraelites* were, at this Time, in the Deſarts of *Arabia*; and therefore it may look a little ſtrange, why a Man of *Seſoſtris*'s Spirit ſhould not have been tempted to purſue them. But, beſides the Barrenneſs of the Country, which could never ſupport ſo vaſt a Multitude as he carry'd with him, he could not but reflect on his Father's Fate: And therefore dreading the like miraculous Overthrow, he declin'd the *Iſraelites*, and march'd directly againſt *Canaan*, which, without the leaſt Oppoſition, at once ſubmitted to him; ſo that, impoſing an annual Tribute upon the People, and putting Governors in all their principal Towns, he proceeded in the Courſe of his Conqueſts, and, in a ſhort Time, over-ran all *Aſia*, and ſome Part of *Europe*.

HE paſs'd the River *Ganges*, and pierc'd through all *India*, as far as the main Ocean eaſtward: Then * he ſubdu'd the *Scythians*, as far as the River *Tanais*, which divides *Europe* from *Aſia*: Here he brought into Subjection the other Parts of *Aſia*; and from hence he went into *Thrace* in *Europe*; but, as he was marching along the Deſarts, he was in Danger of loſing his Army through the Want of Proviſions, and Difficulty of Paſſes, and therefore † erecting (as his Cuſtom was) his Pillars there,

* Tho' *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and others do relate, that he was victorious in theſe Countries; yet ſome will have it, that he met with a Repulſe, fled from the *Scythians*, and was worſted by the *Colchians*. For *Juſtin* tells us that *Vexoris*, or *Seſoſtris*, diſpatching Ambaſſadors before him to ſummon the *Scythians* to ſurrender, they ſent back his Meſſengers with Contempt, and Threats, and Defiance, and immediately took up Arms; that *Seſoſtris*, being inform'd that they were advancing towards him by haſty Marches, ſuddenly turn'd about, and fled from before them, leaving all his Baggage, and warlike Apparel to the Purſuers, who follow'd him, till he came on the Borders of *Egypt*. Lib. ii Cap. 3. *Pliny* relates, (Lib. xxxiii. Cap. 3.) that he was overthrown by the King of *Colchis*; and *Valerius Flaccus* inſinuates, that he was repuls'd with great Slaughter, and put to Flight in theſe Parts. Argonaut. lib. v.

† It was the Cuſtom of this great Warrior to ſet up Pillars in every *Country* he conquer'd, with an Inſcription to this Effect, ——— Seſoſtris, *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, ſubdued this Country by the Power of his Arms.* If the Nation had, without Oppoſition, ignobly ſubmitted to him, beſides the Inſcription, he caus'd the *Privities*

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there, he adventur'd to proceed no farther: Tho' the Occaſion of his Return may rather be imputed to the News, which he receiv'd from the *Egyptian* High-Prieſt, of his Brother's Revolt and Uſurpation.

FOR, encourag'd with his long Abſence, and great Diſtance, *Armais* had done every Thing, that was interdicted him: Had aſſum'd the Diadem, violated the Queen, made promiſcuous Uſe of the King's Concubines, and, by the Advice of his falſe Friends, was now meditating to maintain his Uſurpation by Force of Arms: But, hearing of his Brother's Return, he feigns himſelf of another Temper; meets him at *Peluſium*, a Frontier-Town, before he could have certain Intelligence of what had paſs'd; and there receiv'd him with all the Appearance of Submiſſion and Joy, but with a real Deſign, not only to take away his Life, but quite extirpate his whole Family. To this End he invited the King his Brother, the Queen, and her Children, to a Banquet, which he had prepar'd for their Refreſhment; but when they had all drank very plentifully, and were now gone to reſt, he caus'd a great Quantity of dry'd Reeds, which he had before prepar'd for that Purpoſe, to be laid round the King's *Pavilion*, and ſet on Fire, in hopes to deſtroy them all. *Seſoſtris*, perceiving the Danger he was in, and expecting no Aſſiſtance from his *Guards*, who were all overcome with Wine, * lifted up his Hands, and imploring the Gods in Behalf of his Wife and Children, he ruſh'd with them through the Flames; and, being thus unexpectedly preſerv'd, he made Oblations to ſeveral of the Gods, but more eſpecially to *Vulcan*, by whoſe Protection he thought himſelf deliver'd. The Traitor *Armais* being thus defeated in his wicked Deſign, betook himſelf to Arms; but was ſoon diſcomfitted by *Seſoſtris*, and forc'd to flee into *Greece*, where he ſettled at *Argos*, and, not long after, was choſen King; while his victorious Brother, after nine Years Abſence, returning in Triumph into *Egypt*, adorn'd the Temples with rich Spoils: And, having diſbanded his Army, after he had rewarded them according to their Merit, he began to apply his Mind to ſuch ſtupendous Works, as might immortalize his Name, and everlaſtingly contribute to the publick Good.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

HE built a Temple in every City in *Egypt*, and dedicated it to the peculiar God of the Place. This was a Work, wherein he employ'd none but *Captives*, and therefore he had it inſcrib'd upon each Temple, *None of the Natives were put to labour here.* He rais'd vaſt Mounts and Hills of Earth, to which he remov'd the Cities, that had before too low a Situation, in order to ſecure both Man and Beaſt from the Danger of the *Nile*'s Inundations. All the Way, from *Memphis* to the Sea, he dug Canals, which from the *Nile* branch'd out, and, not only made an eaſier Conveyance from Place to Place, but greatly advanc'd the Trade and Proſperity of the Kingdom. All the Towns, that were upon the Frontiers, and lay before expos'd to any ſuperior Number of Forces, he fortify'd againſt the Incurſions of Enemies, and made them of difficult Acceſs. He defended the Eaſt Side of *Egypt* againſt

of a Woman to be carv'd, as a Mark of their *Effeminacy* and *Baſeneſs*; but if they had defended themſelves bravely, the Pillars bore the Diſtinction of the contrary Sex, in Teſtimony of their Courage. Beſides theſe, he left Statues of himſelf behind him, two of which were to be ſeen in *Herodotus*'s Time, one on the Road between *Epheſus* and *Phocæa*, and the other, between *Smyrna* and *Sardis*. They were arm'd after the *Ethiopian* and *Egyptian Manner*; held a Javelin in one Hand, and a Bow in the other; and, acroſs the Breaſt, had a Line drawn, from Shoulder to Shoulder, in which was this Inſcription: —— *This Region I obtained by theſe my Soldiers.* Univerſal Hiſtory, lib. i. c. 3.

* *Herodotus* adds one Circumſtance more: That, waking out of Sleep, and finding his Danger, he conſulted with his Queen what to do in this Extremity, who adviſ'd him to throw two of his Children into the Flames, that they might ſerve as a Bridge for all the reſt; which he accordingly did, and ſo they all eſcap'd. But this is generally deem'd a Miſtake in our Hiſtorian, or a Circumſtance crept in, on Purpoſe to make the Diſtreſs appear more affecting. *Bedford*'s Scripture-Chronology, lib. iv. c. 5.

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againſt the Irruptions of the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, with a Wall drawn from *Peluſium*, thro' the Deſarts, as far as *Heliopolis*, which is at leaſt fifteen hundred Furlongs. He caus'd a Ship of two hundred and eighty Cubits long to be built all of Cedar, gilded over with Gold without, and lin'd with Silver within; and, to perpetuate the Memory of his Actions, he erected two *Obeliſks* of poliſh'd Marble an hundred and twenty Cubits high, on which was inſcrib'd an Account of the Extent of his Empire, the Value of his Revenue, and the Number of the Nations, which he had conquer'd. One Thing however is reported of him, which argues an horrid Inſolence in ſo great a Man, and tarniſhes his Character not a little, and that is, that, at ſet Times, his Cuſtom was, to have the *Tributary* Kings, and ſuch as held their Dominions under his Favour, to come into *Egypt*, to pay their Homage; and tho' he receiv'd them at firſt with all the Signs of Honour and Reſpect, yet, on certain Occaſions, he would have his Horſes unharneſs'd, and ſome four, or more of theſe Kings yok'd together, and made to draw his Chariot: But, bateing this opprobrious Piece of Arrogance, (* and whereof he was cur'd, before he died) he was certainly, in all Reſpects, the greateſt Prince, that ever ſat upon the *Egyptian* Throne; and (what ſome have accounted an Augmentation of his Greatneſs) after he had reign'd three and thirty Years, he loſt his Eye-Sight, and, out of Diſguſt, laid violent Hands upon himſelf, thereby making his *Magnanimity* in Death (as they call it) equal to the glorious Actions of his Life.

The Hiſtory of the Amalekites.

After that the Children of *Iſrael* had left the *Egyptians* in the *Red-Sea*, the firſt People that gave them any Moleſtation were the *Amalekites*. *Amalek* was the Son of *Elephaz*, by his Concubine *Timna*, as *Eliphaz* was the Firſt-born of *Eſau*. He gave Name both to the People and Country where he liv'd, and, notwithſtanding the Spuriouſneſs of his Birth, is, (*t*) in the Catalogue of Dukes of *Edom*, reckoned as one of them. The Country of the *Amalekites* lay ſomewhere between *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*, and was therefore very probably bounded by *Canaan* to the *North*; by *Egypt*, or its dependent Territories, to the *South*; by *Edom*, or the Land of *Seir*, to the *Eaſt*; and by the Deſarts towards the Sea, or perhaps by the Margin of the Sea itſelf, to the *Weſt*.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

Their Religion was at firſt, no doubt, the ſame that was taught in the Houſe of *Abraham*; but, in Proceſs of Time, they were carry'd away with the general Corruption, and fell into the ſame Idolatry, that their Brethren the *Edomites* practis'd. And, as to their Commerce or Trade, the Situation of their Country might favour them, as much as their Neighbours, and the Superiority of the Power and Greatneſs, to which they had advanc'd themſelves, looks as if they had improv'd it, more than others.

Their Form of Government was *Monarchical*; and, as it appears that the *firſt*, (at leaſt, one of the firſt) and the laſt of their Kings was call'd *Agag*, 'tis no unlikely Suppoſition, that all their intermediate Kings bore the ſame Name. However this be, 'tis certain, that, at this Time, they were a flouriſhing Nation, and grown up to ſuch a † ſudden Height of Power and Grandeur, that their King is

* The Manner in which he was cur'd is ſaid to be this: ——— One Day, as ſome of theſe *Tributary* Kings were drawing him along, he perceiv'd one of them to look back upon one of the Wheels, with a very great Stedfaſtneſs; and thereupon enquiring, what might be the Subject of his Thoughts, or the Occaſion of his deep Attention, he receiv'd an Anſwer to this Effect: ——— *The going round of the Wheel, O King, calls to my Mind the Viciſſitudes of Fortune: For, as every Part of the Wheel is uppermoſt and lowermoſt by Turns, ſo it is with Men, who, one Day, ſit on a Throne, and, on the next, are reduced to the vileſt Degree of Slavery.* Which Anſwer ſtruck the King with ſuch Compunction, that, for ever after, he gave off this inhumane Practice. *Diodorus*, lib. i. and Univerſal Hiſtory, lib. i. c. 3.

(*t*) Gen. xxvi. 12.

† The Kingdom of *Edom*, commenc'd much about the Time of the *Iſraelites Departure out of* Egypt; and that of *Amalek* could not be much, if any Thing at all, older: and therefore when *Balaam* expreſs'd himſelf in ſo high a Strain,

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is ſpoken of, as much ſuperior to any other; and therefore, when *Balaam* foretels the future Majeſty of the *Jewiſh* State, he expreſſes himſelf, *that* (*t*) *their King ſhould be higher than Agag*, and ſtiles them the *firſt of the Nations*; which ſeems to countenance the wonderful Things, which the *Arabian* Hiſtorians tell us of theſe People, *viz.* that they once conquer'd *Egypt*, and poſſeſs'd the Throne of that Kingdom for ſeveral Generations. The Truth is, theſe *Amalekites* were a bold and daring People from the very firſt. No ſooner had the *Iſraelites* ſet Foot upon the *Arabian* Shore, but they conſpir'd againſt them, and, falling on their Rear in their March to *Horeb*, made ſome Slaughter among them, which *Joſhua*, as ſoon as he had got his fighting Men in Order, took Care to repay; tho' it muſt be confeſs'd, that God, for ſome Time, was pleas'd to make uſe of this Nation (in Conjunction with ſome of the *Canaanites*) to (*u*) *be Scourges in the Sides, and Thorns in the Eyes*, i. e. his Inſtruments for the Puniſhment of the Diffidence, and Diſobedience of his own People.

Of the Edomites.

ESAU, who, either from the Colour of his Hair and Complexion, or for ſelling his Birth-right to *Jacob* for a Meſs of *red* Pottage, had the Name of *Edom* given him, was the Progenitor likewiſe of this People. Their ancient Kingdom, when in its *Meridian*, was bounded on the *North*, by the Land of *Canaan*, and the *Salt-Sea*; on the *South*, by the *Arabian Gulf*; on the *Eaſt*, by the Land of *Midian*; and on the *Weſt*, by the Kingdom of *Amalek*: And, in this Compaſs of Ground, they had ſeveral remarkable Cities (beſides two eminent Sea-Ports, *Elath* and *Eſion-geber*) on the *Arabian Gulf*; but the latter of theſe became ſo infamous for the many Wrecks, which befel the Shipping that frequented it, that, in Time, it came to be diſuſed.

THE People were naturally bold and courageous; jealous of their Rights, and always in a Diſpoſition to maintain them; as thoſe, who claim the Empire of the Sea (in the Manner that they did) ſhould always be. As they were deſcended from *Abraham*, we are not to doubt, but that their Belief and Practice were right at firſt, though, by Degrees, (*x*) they fell into Idolatry; and if we can ſuppoſe, that the Book of *Job* was of as ancient Date as is pretended, and that he himſelf liv'd among theſe People, we cannot but acknowledge, that the (*y*) Invention and Uſe of *Conſtellations* in *Aſtronomy*, (*z*) the Art of *Writing*, (*a*) the Art of *Navigation*, and many more Parts of truly uſeful Knowledge, were begun, and cultivated among them.

THE Form of their *civil Conſtitution* ſeems to have varied according to the Exigencies of the Times. The *Horites*, who very early inhabited this Country, were rul'd, at firſt, by their reſpective *Patriarchs*, or Heads of Families; (*b*) till, being overcome by *Cherdaloamer*, King of *Elam*, who ſwept them before him with other Nations, they, to ſecure themſelves for the Time to come, chang'd the Conſtitution into an *elective* Monarchy; and 'twas under this Form of Government, that *Eſau*, and his Family liv'd for ſome Time *Sojourners* in this Land. The Monarchy however did not laſt above ſeven or eight Succeſſions, till, ſome Way or other, it came to be divided into ſeveral little independent *Principalities*, or Dukedoms; and, as the Poſterity of *Eſau* exceeded all others in the Number of their *Dukes*, it cannot be incongruous to ſuppoſe,

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Strain, concerning *Agag*, and his Monarchy, it could not have been much above forty Years ſtanding. The Expreſſion of *Amalek*'s being *the firſt of the Nations*, our Verſion turns otherwiſe in the Margin, *the firſt of the Nations, that warred againſt* Iſrael; and, if we compare what is ſaid of *Agag*, but thirteen Verſes before, we ſhall not be at a Loſs for the right, at leaſt for a natural Explication of the Words, *viz.* that they were the greateſt, and moſt noble Nation at that Time; and accordingly *Le Clerc*'s Verſion ſtiles them, *the firſt Fruits of the Nations*, by which, in his Commentary, he underſtands them to have been the moſt ancient and potent Nation of any of thoſe, which proceeded from the Loins of *Abraham* and *Lot*. Univerſal Hiſtory, lib. i. c. 4.

(*t*) Numb. xxiv. 7. (*u*) Joſh. xxiii. 13. (*x*) 2 Kings viii. 20. (*y*) Job ix. 8. (*z*) Ibid. xix. 24. (*a*) Ibid. ix. (*b*) Biſhop *Cumberland*'s Orig. Gent. Antiq.

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that they had the greateſt Hand in bringing about this *Revolution*, and the largeſt Share in the Government, that was founded thereupon.

And as they had the largeſt Share in the Government, 'tis not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe farther, that, in Conſequence of their Power, they ſoon expell'd the *Horite* Dukes, and, at the ſame Time, might force *Amalek*, or his *ſpurious* Offspring, to leave their Dominions. For, in the next Generation, the Poſterity of *Eſau* are ſtiled *abſolute Dukes* of *Edom*, were only eleven in Number, and in all the Country had no *Rivals*. But, as the Approach of the Children of *Iſrael* put them, and every Nation elſe, in a great Conſternation, they thought it moſt conducive to their general Safety, to unite under one common Head; and thereupon having made Choice of a King, they reſolv'd to maintain their Ground againſt any Invaſion. 'Twas to this nameleſs King, or perhaps his Succeſſor, that *Moſes* ſent Ambaſſadors, deſiring a free Paſſage through his Country, which he abſolutely deny'd, and, to let him ſee that he was in earneſt, immediately took the Field; but as his Deſign was to act upon the *Defenſive* only, and not diſtreſs a People, that were his Brethren, in Matters wherein he could relieve them, without Danger to himſelf, (*c*) he ſupply'd them (for their Money) with whatever Neceſſaries they wanted. And thus far the Hiſtory of the *Edomites*, during this Period, goes.

Of the Moabites.

MOAB, the Son of *Lot*, by an inceſtuous Commerce with the elder of his Daughters, was the Progenitor of this People, and gave Name to their Country; which was bounded, on the *Eaſt*, by the Deſarts of *Arabia*; on the *Weſt*, by the Mountains, that lie *Eaſt* from the *Dead-Sea*; on the *North*, by the Country of the *Ammonites*, the Deſcendants of *Lot* by his younger Daughter; and on the *South*, by the Brook, or little River *Zerid*, which runs into the *Dead-Sea*; ſo that, in the whole, it is about forty Miles in *Length*, and as much in *Breadth*.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

That the People had once the Knowledge of the true God, can hardly be doubted; but, in Time, they lov'd not to *retain that Knowledge*, but introduc'd the Worſhip of falſe Gods, with ſuch *monſtrous* and *obſcene* Ceremonies, as are not fit to be nam'd. Their principal Idols were *Chemoſh*, and *Baal-peor*; and to theſe they ſacrific'd, on Mountains dedicated to that Service, and in Temples built in their Cities, not only Oxen and Rams, but, upon extraordinary Occaſions, human Victims.

The Form of their Government was *Regal*, and the firſt Inhabitants of their Country were the *Emims*, a great and powerful People, of extraordinary Strength and Stature, very probably the Deſcendants of *Ham*, and of the ſame gigantick Race with the *Anakims* and *Rephaims*, tho' the *Moabites* call'd them by the Name *Emims*, which, in *Hebrew*, ſignifies *terrible*. And too terrible an Enemy had they been for the *Moabites*, had not *Chedorlaomer* and his Allies, by their frequent Incurſions, much weaken'd them, and made them an eaſy Prey. The *Moabites* however, when they had thus diſpoſſeſs'd them, kept not their new Dominions long entire; for *Sihon*, King of the *Amorites*, who border'd on them *eaſtward*, fought againſt the King of *Moab*, and took from him all his Kingdom to the North of the River *Arnon*.

The Succeſſor to this King was *Balak*, who was then upon the Throne, when the *Iſraelites* came, and encamp'd in the Neighbourhood of his Country. His tampering with the infamous *Balaam* was the Reaſon, why his People were not permitted to mix, or intermarry with the *Hebrews*; but, as the *Midianites* (whoſe Hiſtory we are now come to) were more particularly *inſtrumental* in ſeducing them to *Idolatry*, their Puniſhment, for the preſent, was more ſevere.

MIDIAN,

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(*c*) Deut. ii. 28, 29.

A. M. 2515, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1489, &c.

Of the Midianites.

MIDIAN, the fourth Son of *Abraham* by his Wife *Keturah*, is generally reputed to have given Name to the Country, and to have been the Progenitor of the *Midianites*, who, in the early Ages of the World, were confounded with (*d*) the *Iſhmaelites*, and ſoon after ſeem to be conjoin'd with the (*e*) *Moabites*, as if they had been both one Nation; when the true Reaſon of this ſeeming Commixture was, that, according as they liv'd to the *northern* or *ſouthern* Parts of the Country, of Courſe they join'd themſelves either to the *Moabites* or *Iſhmaelites*; and, upon that Account, are oftentimes promiſcuouſly mention'd in Scripture.

WHAT the Limits of their Country were, 'tis not ſo eaſy a Matter to perceive. Its Boundary on the *Eaſt* is uncertain, but on the *Weſt* it was contiguous to the Land of *Edom*; on the *North*, to the Country of *Moab*; and on the *South*, to the *Red-Sea*.

ITS Inhabitants were very numerous, and may be diſtinguiſh'd into two Sorts, Shepherds, and Merchants. The Shepherds mov'd up and down in Tents; they drove their Cattle before them, even when they went to War; and ſeem to have had few or no fix'd Habitations, except ſome ſtrong Holds near the Borders of their Country. The Merchants, in like Manner, travell'd from Place to Place in Companies, or Caravans, (as it is the Cuſtom in thoſe Parts even to this Day) and the only Settlements they ſeem to have had were their *Marts*, and Stations, in Places convenient for their Trade.

BY theſe two different Employs however, the whole Nation flouriſh'd to a great Degree: The Merchants grew exceſſively rich; and the Shepherds, by exchanging with them their Cattle for Gold, and Jewels of all Kinds, were enabled to make a much better Appearance, than other Nations. But, as their Affluence in theſe Things ſoon introduc'd Luxury, they were a People remarkable for all Kinds of Vanity, Riot, and Exceſs. Tho' their Learning could not be great, yet their Merchants were oblig'd to know ſomething of *Writing* and *Arithmetick*, in order to keep their Accounts; and as they were *Traders*, and ſituate on the *Red-Sea*, it can hardly be ſuppos'd, but that they apply'd themſelves to *Ship-building*, in order to explore not only their own Coaſts, but thoſe of other Countries likewiſe, that lay contiguous to them, and conſequently could not be without ſome tolerable Skill in *Geography*, and *Geometry*.

From Numb. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

THEIR *Religion* differ'd, according to the Part of the Country which they inhabited. Thoſe, who liv'd in the *North* of *Midian*, fell into all the Abominations of the *Moabites*, and, in their Endeavour to corrupt the *Iſraelites*, quite exceeded them: But thoſe, that were plac'd more towards the *South* (if we may take *Jethro*, who is ſaid to have rul'd over a People near the *Red-Sea*, for a Pattern) retain'd juſt Notions of God, and of the Form of Worſhip, which he had preſcrib'd to their Forefathers; for they offer'd up Praiſes, and Thankſgivings, and Sacrifices to him, tho' their Religious Rites and Ceremonies are not ſpecify'd.

THEIR Form of *Government* might, in the like Manner, be different, according to the Part of the Country which they inhabited, tho', in the main, it looks as if it had been *Ariſtocratical*, rather than *Monarchical*. *Jethro* indeed, in our Tranſlation, is call'd a *Prieſt*; and, becauſe the Word in the Original does equally ſignify a *Prince*, it has generally been concluded, that he had the Honour of being *both*. Mention is likewiſe made of other Princes; and the five, who fell by the Hand of *Iſrael*, are ſometimes ſtil'd *Kings*, and ſometimes *Dukes* of *Midian*: So that this Nation ſeems to have been govern'd by a Multitude of Dukes, or petty Princes, who, perhaps, in their own Juriſdiction, were independent on each other, and yet, ſome Way or other, were, in *Moſes*'s Time, (*f*) Feudatory under *Sihon*, King of the *Amorites*. *Sihon* indeed had made

(*d*) Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28. (*e*) Ibid. xxxvi. 35. (*f*) Joſh. xiii. 21.

A. M. 2515, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1489, &c.

made a Conqueſt from the *Moabites* of the beſt Part of the Country, he then poſſeſs'd, and, having ſettled himſelf in their Place, made ſeveral of the neighbouring Princes *tributary* to him; but, refuſing a Paſſage to the *Hebrews*, and coming, without † any Provocation, to attack them, he himſelf was ſlain, and his whole Army routed; *Heſhbon*, his capital City, was taken; and all the reſt of his Dominions diſtributed among the *Iſraelites*.

These were the ſeveral Nations, on the *other*, i. e. on the Eaſt-ſide of *Jordan*, which God deliver'd into the Hands of his People; and more we ſhall have to ſay of them, as they meet us in our Way.

From Num. xviii. to the End of Deuteronomy.

In the mean Time, the Progreſs which the *Iſraelites* have hitherto made, the Enemies they have vanquiſh'd, and the Kingdoms they have ſeiz'd and divided among themſelves, notwithſtanding all the Artifices to prevent them, do ſufficiently verify that Concluſion, at the End of their Leader's laſt Exhortation: (*h*) *Happy art thou, O* Iſrael! *Who is like unto thee, O People, ſaved by the Lord, the Shield of thy Help; and who is the Sword of thy Excellency? Thine Enemies ſhall be found Liars unto thee, and thou ſhalt tread upon their High Places. The Fountain of* Jacob *ſhall be upon a Land of Corn and Wine, and his Heavens ſhall drop down Dew.*

† It is reckon'd good Policy in a *General*, when he has any great Deſign in Agitation, which cannot ſo well be executed without paſſing through a *neutral* Country, not to aſk Leave at firſt, becauſe too much Civility would lay him under the Suſpicion of Fear; but firſt of all to enter the Prince's Country, and then to ſend and deſire Permiſſion for his Troops to march through it. But this was not *Moſes*'s Practice; he firſt ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of the *Amorites* with this peaceable Meſſage; "Let me paſs through thy Land, we will not turn into the Fields, or into "the Vineyards; we will not drink the Waters of the Well; but we will go along by the King's Highway, till we "be paſt the Borders: *Thou ſhalt ſell me Meat for Money, that I may eat; and give me Water for Money, that I may "drink; only I will paſs through on my Feet.*" Numb. xxi. 22. After ſo civil a Meſſage as this, if *Sihon* thought not proper to let the Children of *Iſrael* paſs through his Country, he might have contented himſelf with ſo doing, becauſe it does not appear, that the *Iſraelites* ever threaten'd to force their Paſſage: But when, inſtead of acting upon the *defenſive*, (which was all that in Reaſon he ſhould have done) he ſets himſelf at the Head of his Forces, and marches out to fight; the War muſt be deem'd unjuſt on his Side, and the Fate he met with no more than his Deſert. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

(g) Deut. xxxiii. 29, 28.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE

Birkett Sculp.

THE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE.

BOOK V.

Containing an Account of Things, from the ISRAELITES *Entrance into the Land of* CANAAN, *to the Building of* SOLOMON's *Temple. In all four hundred and forty ſeven Years.*

CHAP. I.

From their Entrance, to the Death of JOSHUA.

The HISTORY.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

Joſhua *ſucceeds* Moſes *in the Government of the* Iſraelites.

UPON the Death of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, who had a long while been his *prime* Miniſter, by the Command of God, undertook the Conduct of the Children of *Iſrael*; and, as it was a very momentous Charge, he was not a little anxious how he ſhould be enabled to execute it. He ſaw himſelf indeed at the Head of *ſix hundred Thouſand* fighting Men; but then the Nations, which he was to ſubdue, were a warlike and gigantick People, that had already taken the Alarm, and therefore made

From Joſh. i. to the End.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

early Preparations for a Defence; had fortify'd their Cities, and confederated their Forces againſt him. And while he was muſing on theſe Things, to give him Encouragement in his Undertaking, † God was pleas'd to aſſure him, that he would not fail to protect and aſſiſt him in it, in the ſame Manner, as he had done his Predeceſſor *Moſes*, and, provided he took Care to obey his Laws, as *Moſes* had done, make the whole Land of *Canaan* a cheap and eaſy Conqueſt to him: And therefore, without perplexing his Mind any farther, he order'd him immediately to ſet about the Work.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

* The City of *Jericho* was juſt oppoſite to the Place, where he was to * paſs the River *Jordan*; and, as it was the firſt that he intended to attack, he thought it adviſeable to ſend two Spies thither, to take a View of the Situation, and Strength, and Avenues of the Place. As ſoon as the Spies were gone, he bad the Officers go thro' the Camp, and give the People

He ſends Spies into the Land of Canaan.

† It is the Opinion of moſt Interpreters, that, whenever God is ſaid to ſpeak to *Moſes*, to *Joſhua*, or any other pious Man in the Old Teſtament, he does not do it by himſelf, but by an Angel only. This perhaps might be his moſt common Way of communicating himſelf; but there want not ſeveral Inſtances in Scripture, where God himſelf, or (as others will have it) the eternal *Logos*, converſes with his Servants. And this he may do, either by a *mental Locution*, wherein he objects to their Minds the expreſs Idea of what ſuch a Number of Words would convey; or by a *corporal Locution*, when he aſſumes an apparent Body, and Speech, in the ſame Manner that Men ſpeak. But in the Place before us, (whether it were an Angel, or God himſelf) he ſeems to have ſpoken to *Joſhua* out of the *Sanctuary*, from whence he had ſpoken to him, a little before *Moſes*'s Death, and gave him Encouragement to perform ſtrenuouſly what he is now putting upon him. *Deut.* xxxi. 14, 23.

* *Jericho* was a City of *Canaan*, which afterwards fell to the *Lot* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, about ſeven Leagues diſtant from *Jeruſalem*, and two from *Jordan*. *Moſes* calls it likewiſe the *City of Palm-Trees*, Deut. xxxiv. 3. becauſe there were great Numbers of them in the Plains of *Jericho*; and not only of Palm-Trees, but, as *Joſephus* tells us, (Antiq. Lib. iv. c. 5.) Balſam-Trees likewiſe, which produc'd the precious Liquor in ſuch high Eſteem among the Ancients. The Plain of *Jericho* was water'd with a Rivulet, which was formerly ſalt and bitter, but was afterwards ſweeten'd by the Prophet *Eliſha*, 2 Kings ii. 21, 22. whereupon the adjacent Country, which was water'd by it, became not only one of the moſt agreeable, but moſt fertile Spots in all that Country. As to the City itſelf, after it was deſtroy'd by *Joſhua*, it was, in the Days of *Ahab*, King of *Iſrael*, rebuilt by *Hiel* the *Bethelite*, 1 Kings xvi. 34. and, in the Times of the laſt Kings of *Judea*, yielded to none, except *Jeruſalem*. For it was adorn'd with a royal Palace, wherein *Herod the Great* died; with an *Hippodromus*, or Place where the *Jewiſh* Nobility learn'd to ride the Great-Horſe, and other Arts of *Chivalry*; with an *Amphitheatre*, and other magnificent Buildings; but, during the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, the Treachery of its Inhabitants provok'd the *Romans* to deſtroy it. After the Siege was over, there was another City built, but not upon the ſame Place, where the two former ſtood; for the Ruins of them are ſeen to this Day. Of what Account and Bigneſs it was, we have no certain Information; but ſome later Travellers inform us, that, at preſent, it is no more, than a poor, naſty Village of the *Arabs*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old and New Teſtament, and *Maundrell*'s Journey from *Aleppo*.

* *Jordan* is ſuppos'd to derive its Name from the *Hebrew* Word *Jor*, which ſignifies a *Spring*, and *Dan*, which is a ſmall Town, and not far from the Fountain-Head of this River. It is certainly a River of very great Note in Holy Writ, and of it the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian gives us the following Account: "The Head of this River has been "thought to be *Panion*; but, in Truth, it paſſes hither under Ground, and the Source of it is *Phiala*, an hundred "and twenty Furlongs from *Cæſarea Philippi*, a little on the Right-Hand, and not much out of the Way to *Tra-*"*chonis*. ——— From the Cave of *Panion*, it croſſes the Bogs and Fens of the Lake *Semechon*, and, after a Courſe "of an hundred and twenty Furlongs further, paſſes under the City of *Julias*, (or *Bethſaida*) and ſo over the Lake "*Genneſareth*, or *Tiberias*, and then, running a long Way through a Wilderneſs or Deſart, it empties itſelf into the "Lake *Aſphaltites*, or the *Dead-Sea*." Now, ſince the Cave *Panion* lies at the Foot of Mount *Lebanos*, and the Lake *Aſphaltites* reaches to the very Extremity of the *South* of *Judea*, the River *Jordan* muſt extend its Courſe quite from the *northern* to the *ſouthern* Boundary of the *Holy-Land*. But the Largeneſs of this River is far from being equal to its Extent. It may be ſaid indeed to have two Banks, whereof the firſt and outermoſt is that, to which the River does, or at leaſt antiently did, overflow at ſome Seaſons of the Year; but at preſent (whether the Rapidity of the Current has worn its Channel deeper, or its Waters are directed ſome other Way) ſo it is, that it ſeems to have forgot its antient Greatneſs: For "we (ſays Mr *Maundrell*) could diſcern no Sign or Probability of ſuch Overflowing, tho' "we were there on the 30th of *March*, which is the proper Time for its Inundations. Nay, ſo far was the River "from overflowing, that it ran at leaſt two Yards below the Brink of its Channel. After you have deſcended the "*outermoſt* Bank, *continues he*, you go about a Furlong upon the level Strand, before you come to the *immediate* "Bank of the River, which is ſo beſet with Buſhes and Trees, ſuch as *Tamariſks*, *Willows*, *Oleanders*, &c. that you "can ſee no Water, until you have made your Way through them. In this Cover of the Banks, Lions, and other "wild Creatures, are ſaid to hide themſelves in Summer, but, upon the Inundation of the River, they are forc'd "to diſlodge." To which the Prophet ſeems to allude in theſe Words, *He ſhall come up like a Lion from the Swelling of* Jordan. Jer. xlix. 19. The River, in ſhort, ſeems much diminiſh'd from its ancient Grandeur; for it is not above twenty Yards in Breadth, tho' deep and muddy, and a little too rapid to ſwim over. *Wells* and *Maundrell*, ibid.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

People Notice, that, within three Days, they were to paſs the *Jordan*, in order to take Poſſeſſion of the Promis'd Land, and were therefore † to provide themſelves with Victuals for their March. * The Spies, who were ſent upon this hazardous Expedition, got ſafe into the City, and took up their Lodgings in a *Publick-houſe*, that was kept by a Widow-woman, whoſe Name was *Rahab*. But they had not been long there, before Intelligence was brought to the King, ſo that he order'd the Gates to be ſhut, and Search to be made for the Men: But their *Hoſteſs*, having had ſome Notice of it, hid them under ſome *hempen* Stocks, which lay drying * upon the Roof of her Houſe, and, when the King's Officers came, ſhe told them, "That there had indeed "been two *Strangers* there, who had "made a ſhort Stay at her Houſe, but "that, a little before Sun-Set, they went "away, but might eaſily be over-taken, "becauſe they had not been long gone:" Whereupon they ſent out Meſſengers after them, as far as the Fords of *Jordan*, but in vain. Having thus eluded the King's Officers, *Rahab* goes up to the Spies, and

Who, being kindly entertain'd by Rahab, *return to the Camp in Safety.*

tells them, "That ſhe was very confident "their God (who was the only true God, "both in Heaven and Earth) had deli-"ver'd that Country into their Hands; "that the Actions, which he had done "for them, in making all Oppoſition fall "before them, had ſtruck a *panick* Fear "into all its Inhabitants; and that there-"fore, as ſhe was confident that this "would be the Event, and had, in this "Inſtance, ſhewn them uncommon Kind-"neſs, her only Requeſt was, that, when "they came againſt the City, they would "in Return, ſpare her's, and her Family's "Lives; for which ſhe deſir'd of them "ſome Aſſurance." An Offer ſo generous and ſo unexpected, join'd with ſo liberal a Confeſſion, could not but engage the two Spies to a Compliance with what ſhe requeſted; and therefore they promis'd, and ſolemnly ſwore to her, that, whenever they became Maſters of the City, not only ſhe, and her Family, but every one elſe, that was found in her Houſe, ſhould be exempted from the common Ruin.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

THE Gates were ſo cloſely ſhut and guarded, that there was no Poſſibility for making their Eſcape that Way; but *Rahab*'s

† The *Iſraelites* uſual Food, while they ſojourned in the Wilderneſs, was *Manna*; but, as they approach'd the *Promis'd Land*, where they might have Proviſion in an ordinary Way, that miraculous Bread did perhaps *gradually* decreaſe; and, in the Space of a few Days after this, was totally withdrawn. They were now in the Countries of *Sihon* and *Og*, which they had lately conquer'd, and the *Victuals*, which they were commanded to provide themſelves with, were ſuch, as their new Conqueſt afforded: For being, after three Days (Joſh. iii. 1.) to remove very early in the Morning, they might not perhaps have had Time to gather a ſufficient Quantity of *Manna*, and to bake it, before they were oblig'd to march. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The *Eaſtern* Writers tell us, that theſe *Spies* (whom they make to be *Caleb* and *Phineas*) were valiant and religious Men, and in the Prime of their Youth; that, to paſs unobſerv'd, they chang'd their Habits, as if they had come from a diſtant Country, and, if any one aſk'd them any Queſtions, their Reply was to this Effect: "We are "People from the *Eaſt*, and our Companions have heard of this powerful People, who were forty Years in the "Wilderneſs, without either Guide or Proviſion; and it was reported to us, that they had a God, whom they call'd "*the King of Heaven and Earth*, and who (as they ſay) hath given them both your and our Country. Our Princi-"pals have therefore ſent us to find out the Truth hereof, and to report it to them. ——— We have likewiſe heard "of their *Captain*, whom they call *Joſhua*, the Son of *Nun*, who put the *Amalekites* to flight, who deſtroy'd *Sihon* "and *Og*, the Kings of *Midian* and *Moab*. Woe therefore be to us, and you, and all that flee to us for Shelter! "They are a People, who pity none, leave none alive, drive all out of their Country, and make Peace with none. "We are all accounted by them Infidels, Profane, Proud, and Rebellious. Whoever of us or you therefore, that in-"tend to take care of themſelves, let them take their Families, and be gone, leſt they repent of their Stay, when it "is too late." By this Means they impos'd upon the People; and (as *Joſephus* informs us) went whither they would, and ſaw whatever they had a Mind to, without any Stop or Queſtion. They took a View of the Walls, the Gates, the Ramparts, and paſs'd the whole Day for Men of Curioſity only, without any Deſign. So that if any Credit may be given to this Account, it was but juſt, that they, who thus impos'd upon the *Canaanites*, ſhould, in the ſame Manner, be impos'd upon by the *Gibeonites*. Chronicon Samaritanum Arabicè Scriptum, p. 65. and *Joſephus*'s Antiq. lib. v. c. 1.

* The Roofs of Houſes were then very flat, and, having probably Battlements round them to ſecure People from falling off, (as the Manner of Building was afterwards among the *Jews*, Deut. xxii. 8.) were made uſe of for Places to walk, or, at any Time, to lay any Kind of Goods upon.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

Rahab's Houſe being happily ſituated upon the City-Wall, as ſoon as it was conveniently dark, ſhe firſt charg'd them to make to the neighbouring Mountains, where they might keep themſelves conceal'd, until the Meſſengers were return'd, and then let them down by a ſilken Cord from one of her Windows, which fac'd the Country. But before they parted, they agreed, that this ſame Cord, hung out at her Window, ſhould be the Token between them; and therefore they deſir'd, that whoever ſhe was minded to ſave, might, when their Army approach'd the City, be kept within Doors. The Spies, having thus luckily eſcap'd, took *Rahab*'s Advice, and conceal'd themſelves in the Mountains, until thoſe, who were ſent out to purſue them, were return'd to the City, and then they made the beſt of their Way to the Camp; where they inform'd *Joſhua* of their whole Adventure, and, withal, gave him to underſtand, that the general Conſternation, which they found the People in, was to them a ſure Omen, that God Almighty intended to crown their Armies with Succeſs.

The Iſraelites *paſs the River* Jordan.

Pleas'd with this News, *Joſhua* gave Orders for the Army to decamp; but before he did that, he reminded the Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the Half-Tribe of *Manaſſeh*, of the Promiſe they had made *Moſes* to aſſiſt their Brethren in the Conqueſt of *Canaan*; † which they readily conſented to do, and, not only in that, but in every Thing elſe, he commanded them to do, promis'd to obey him with the ſame Chearfulneſs, that they had done *Moſes*: So that forty Thouſand of them decamp'd with him, and fell down to the Banks of the *Jordan*.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

It was now in the Time of the Barley-Harveſt, (which in theſe hot Countries falls early in the Spring) when, by reaſon of haſty Rain, and the melting of the Snow upon Mount *Lebanon*, the River is generally full of Water, and ſometimes overflows its Banks: And, as ſoon as the Army was come within a ſmall Diſtance of the Place, where it was intended they ſhould croſs, *Joſhua* ſent and communicated to every Tribe, the Order, that was to be obſerv'd in this ſolemn March. The Prieſts, bearing the Ark, were to begin the Proceſſion; each Tribe, in the Order, in which they us'd to march, were to follow. When the Prieſts were got into the middle of the Channel, there they were to ſtand ſtill, until the whole Multitude was got ſafe to the other Shore; and, that this wonderful Paſſage might be more regarded, they were all enjoin'd to *ſanctify themſelves*, by waſhing their Cloaths, avoiding all Impurities, and abſtaining from *matrimonial* Intercourſe the Night before.

Before they croſs'd the River, *Joſhua*, by God's Direction, appointed twelve Men, out of every Tribe one, to chuſe twelve Stones (according to the Number of their Tribes) in the midſt of the Channel, where the Prieſts, with the Ark, were order'd to ſtand, and † there to ſet them up, (that they might be ſeen from each Side of the River, when the Waters were abated) as a Monument of this great Miracle; and to bring twelve more aſhore with them for the like Purpoſe.

With theſe Orders and Inſtructions the Army ſet forward. The Prieſts, with the Ark, led the *Van*; and as ſoon as they touch'd the River with their Feet, the

† The two Tribes and an half had the Countries, which had lately been conquer'd, and were now given to them in Poſſeſſion, to preſerve againſt the Attempts of the Nations, from whom they had taken them; and can hardly be ſuppos'd to go, one and all, along with their Brethren to the Conqueſt of their Countries, which lay on the other Side of the River *Jordan*. In the laſt Muſter of the Army, they conſiſted of above an hundred Thouſand able Soldiers; and, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that, at this Time, their Number was decreas'd. The forty Thouſand, that went over *Jordan*, were but a Part of them, and the reſt were left behind to guard their new Conqueſt againſt the vanquiſh'd Nations, that had abundant Reaſon to become their Enemies. *Saurin*, Vol. III. Diſſertation 1.

† It has been a Cuſtom in all Nations to erect Monuments of Stone, in order to preſerve the Memory of Covenants, Victories, and other great Tranſactions; and though there was no Inſcription upon *theſe* Stones, yet the Number of them, and the Place where they lay (which was not at all ſtony) was ſufficient to ſignify ſome memorable Thing, which Poſterity would not fail to hand down from one Generation to another. *Patrick*'s Commentary, on *Joſhua* iv. 7.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

the Stream divided. The Waters *above* went back, and roſe up on Heaps, as far as the City † *Adam*; whilſt thoſe, that were *below*, continuing their Courſe towards the *Dead-Sea*, open'd a Paſſage of above 16 or 18 Miles, for the *Iſraelites* to croſs over, and, all the Time, that they were thus croſſing, the Prieſts with the Ark ſtood in the Middle of the Channel, till every Thing was done, that *Joſhua* commanded; and then, upon their coming out of it, the River return'd to its wonted Courſe.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

BY this miraculous Paſſage, *Joſhua*, having gain'd the Plains of *Jericho*, encamp'd in a † Place, which was afterwards call'd *Gilgal*; and, while the whole Country lay under a great Terror and Conſternation, God commanded † the Rite of *Circumciſion*, which for the Space of almoſt forty Years had been intermitted, to be renew'd, that the People might be qualify'd to partake of the enſuing *Paſſover*. This was the third Time of their celebrating that *Feſtival*: The *firſt* was at their Departure out of *Egypt*; the *ſecond* at their

† *Adam*, or *Adom*, is a Place ſituate on the Banks of the River *Jordan*, towards the *South* of the Sea of *Cinnereth*, or the Sea of *Galilee*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament.

† *Gilgal*, the Place where the *Iſraelites* encamp'd for ſome Time, after their Paſſage over the River *Jordan*, was ſo call'd, becauſe here the Rite of Circumciſion, which had long been diſus'd, was renew'd: Whereupon *the Lord ſaid unto* Joſhua, *this Day have I rolled away the Reproach of* Egypt (*i. e.* Uncircumciſion) *from off you*, wherefore *the Name of the Place is called Gilgal* (i. e. rolling) *unto this Day*. Joſh. v. 9. From this Expreſſion the Place receiv'd its Name, and if we look into its Situation, we ſhall find, that, as the *Iſraelites* paſs'd over *Jordan right againſt* Jericho, *Joſh.* iii. 16. and encamp'd in *Gilgal, in the Eaſt Border of* Jericho, 'tis plain, that *Gilgal* muſt be ſituated between *Jordan* and *Jericho*; and therefore, ſince *Joſephus* tells us, that *Jericho* was ſixty Furlongs diſtant from *Jordan*, and the Camp of *Gilgal* was fifty Furlongs from the ſame River; it hence follows, that *Gilgal* was ten Furlongs (*i. e.* about a Mile and a Quarter) from *Jericho* Eaſtward. But as ſome learned Men have obſerv'd, that five of the Furlongs, us'd by *Joſephus*, make up an *Italian* Mile, ſo the Diſtance between *Gilgal* and *Jericho* will be juſt two Miles; which exactly agrees with the Teſtimony of St *Jerom*, who makes it two Miles diſtant from *Jericho*, and a Place held in great Veneration by the Inhabitants of the Country, in his Days. *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. II. c. 4.

† The Command which God gives *Joſhua*, concerning the Rite of Circumciſion, is this ——— *Make thee ſharp Knives, and circumciſe the Children of* Iſrael, *the ſecond Time*, Joſh. v. 2. And, after the Rite was perform'd, God ſaid, *This Day have I rolled away the Reproach of* Egypt *from off you*, ver. 9. Both of which Paſſages have given no ſmall Trouble to Commentators. The *ſharp Knives* are allow'd to be (what our *marginal* Notes call them) *Knives of Flint*, which Stones could not but be plentiful in the Mountains of *Arabia*, and, when made very ſharp, were the Knives commonly made uſe of in the *Eaſtern* Countries: But St *Jerom* himſelf (as great an *Hebraiſt* as he was) could not find out, what was this Circumciſion, which was to paſs upon the *Iſraelites* the *ſecond Time*. Some of the *Jews*, from theſe Words of *Jeremiah*, *I will puniſh the Circumciſed, that has a Foreſkin*, Chap. ix. 25. have undertaken to prove, that it was poſſible to bring the *Foreſkin* again by Art, which the *Iſraelites* had done, during their Abode in the Wilderneſs, and for this Reaſon, were order'd to be *circumciſed* afreſh; and thoſe Chriſtians, who have embrac'd this Notion, pretend to ſupport it by the Words of St *Paul*, *If any Man is called, being circumciſed*, μὴ ἐπισπάσθω, *let him not get a Foreſkin again*, or, as we render it, *let him not become uncircumciſed*. But whether the Recovery of a *Prepuce* be a Thing probable or not, 'tis certain, that all the Difficulty of the Words ariſes from miſunderſtanding the Idiom of the *Original*, and may eaſily be remov'd, if they were tranſlated, or paraphras'd thus, ——— *Let the Ceremony of Circumciſion, which has been ſo long diſcontinued, be renewed, as it was once heretofore.* While the *Iſraelites* liv'd in *Egypt*, we do not read of any Neglect of this Rite of Circumciſion among them; but, while they abode in the Wilderneſs, there are ſeveral Reaſons, that might oblige them to omit it, until they arriv'd in the promis'd Land, when they were to renew the Ordinance of the Paſſover, and, previous to that, were all to be circumcis'd; becauſe no uncircumcis'd Perſon, nor any one who had a Son, or a Man-Servant in his Houſe uncircumcis'd, was capable of being admitted to it, *Exod.* xij. 43. 2d, *The rolling away the Reproach of* Egypt, is ſuppos'd, by ſome, to relate to the *Reproaches*, which the *Egyptians* us'd to caſt upon the *Iſraelites*, viz. that the *Egyptians*, ſeeing the *Iſraelites* wander ſo long in the Wilderneſs, reproach'd and flouted them, as if they were brought to be deſtroy'd there, and not conducted into the promis'd Land, from which Reproaches God now deliver'd them, when, by enjoining *Circumciſion*, he gave them Aſſurance, that they ſhould ſhortly enjoy *the Country*, which no uncircumcis'd Perſon might inherit. Our learned *Spencer* thinks the *Reproach of* Egypt to be the *Slavery*, to which they had long been there ſubject, but were now fully declar'd a *free* People, by receiving a Mark of the Seed of *Abraham*, and being made Heirs of the promis'd Land. But the moſt common Opinion is, that, by the *Reproach of* Egypt, is meant nothing elſe but *Uncircumciſion*, with which the *Iſraelites* always upbraided other People, and particularly the *Egyptians*, with whom they had liv'd ſo long, and were beſt acquainted; and, admitting this to be the true (as it is the moſt unconſtrained) Senſe, this Paſſage is a plain Proof, that the *Iſraelites* could not learn the Rite of Circumciſion from the *Egyptians*, (as ſome pretend) but that the *Egyptians*, contrary-wiſe, muſt have had it from them. Univerſal Hiſtory, Lib. 1. c. 7. *Spencer* de Leg. Heb. Lib. 1. c. 4. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. 12.

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their Erection of the Tabernacle, at the Foot of Mount *Sinai*; and *now*, that they were arriv'd in a Country, wherein there was a ſufficient Proviſion of Corn for *unleaven'd Bread*, God inſiſted upon the Obſervance of his Ordinances: He was minded indeed, that all Things now ſhould go on in their *regular* Way; and therefore, for the future, he left them to the Proviſion, which this Land of Plenty afforded them, and ceas'd to ſupply them any longer with *Manna*.

Take, and ſack Jericho.

GILGAL was much about two Miles from *Jericho*, and therefore *Joſhua* might poſſibly go out alone to *reconnoitre* the City, and to think of the propereſt Way of beſieging it; when, all on a ſudden, there † appear'd to him a Perſon cloath'd in Armour, and ſtanding at ſome Diſtance, with a drawn Sword in his Hand. Undaunted at this unuſual Sight, *Joſhua* advances to him, and, having demanded of what Party he was, the Viſion reply'd, that he was for the *Hoſt of Iſrael*, whoſe Captain and Guardian he was; and, as *Joſhua*, in humble Adoration, was fallen proſtrate before him, he order'd him (in the Manner he had done *Moſes* at the burning Buſh) to looſe his Sandals from off his Feet, and then proceeded to inſtruct him in what Form he would have the Siege carry'd on, that the *Canaanites* might perceive, that it was ſomething more than *the Arm of Fleſh*, that fought againſt them.

THE Form of the Siege was this: —— All the Army was to march round the City, with ſeven Prieſts before the Ark, having in their Hands Trumpets made of Rams-Horns, ſix Days ſucceſſively. On the *ſeventh*, after the Army had gone round the City ſeven Times, upon Signal given, the Prieſts were to blow a long Blaſt with their Trumpets, and the People on a ſudden ſet up a loud Shout; at which Inſtant the Walls of the City ſhould fall ſo flat to the Ground, that they might directly walk into it without any Let or Obſtruction. Theſe Orders were put in Execution; and accordingly on the ſeventh Day, the Walls fell, and the *Iſraelites* enter'd. They put every one, Men, Women, and Children, nay the very Beaſts, to the Sword, and ſpar'd no living Creature, but *Rahab* only, and ſuch Relations, as ſhe had taken under the Protection of her Roof, according to the Stipulation, which he had made with her. For *Joſhua* had given the two Spies a ſtrict Charge before-hand, that, when the Town was going to be ſack'd, they ſhould repair to her Houſe, and convey every Thing ſafe out, that belong'd to her; which accordingly they did, and then the whole Army fell on, and ſet Fire to the City, and deſtroy'd every Thing in it, except the Silver, and Gold, and ſuch Veſſels of Braſs and Iron, as were to be put into the *Treaſury of the Houſe of the Lord*, as they had done once before (*a*) in a Caſe of the like Nature: And, that it might never be rebuilt again, *Joſhua* † denounc'd a *prophetick* Imprecation

From Joſh. i. to the End.

† Who this Perſon was, that appear'd to *Joſhua*, is not ſo well agreed among Commentators. Some are of Opinion, that it was an Angel, who, becauſe the *Hebrew* calls him *Gebir*, is ſuppos'd to be *Gabriel*; but there are ſeveral Reaſons, in this very Account of his Apparition, which denote him to be a divine, and not a created Being. For, in the firſt Place, beſides his aſſuming the Title of *the Captain of the Hoſt of the Lord*, (an Image under which God himſelf is frequently repreſented in Scripture) *Joſhua*'s calling him *Jehovah*, or the *Lord*, a Name, which neither *Joſhua* ſhould have given, nor he accepted of, had he been no more than an Angel; his falling down, and worſhipping him, which he durſt not have done, (ſince God alone is to be *ador'd*) nor would the other have permitted, but rather have reprov'd him, as we find one of them did St *John*, Rev. xxii. 10. are the ſureſt Evidence of the Divinity of his Perſon. For, when inſtead of reproving him for doing him too much Honour, we find him commanding him to do him more, by requiring him to looſe *his Shoes from his Feet*, inſiſting upon the higheſt Acknowledgment of a divine Preſence, that was us'd among the *Eaſtern* Nations, we cannot but think ourſelves oblig'd (with a learned *Rabbin*) freely to confeſs, *that this Angel, who ſuffer'd himſelf to be worſhipp'd, and by whoſe Preſence the Place where he appear'd was ſanctified, ſo that* Joſhua *was commanded to* put off his Shoes, *no doubt was the very ſame, whom all the Angels of Heaven do worſhip.* *Joh. à Coch.* upon the *Gemara* of the *Sanhedrin*, Vol. III. Diſſertation II.

(*a*) Numb. xxxi. 22, 23.

† The Words of *Joſhua*'s Execration are theſe: ——*Curſed be the Man before the Lord, that raiſeth up, and buildeth this City* Jericho; *he ſhall lay the Foundation thereof in his Firſt-born, and in his youngeſt Son ſhall he ſet up the Gates of it,*

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The Death of Achan *for purloining Part of the Booty.*

Imprecation on the Man, (*viz.* that it ſhould occaſion the utter Ruin of his Family) that ſhould attempt it.

† *AI* was a little City, about twelve Miles diſtant from *Jericho*; and, as *Joſhua* knew, that it was neither populous, nor well-defended, he detach'd a ſmall Body, of three Thouſand Men only, to go, and attack it. But, contrary to their Expectation, the Inhabitants of the Place ſally'd out upon them, and, having ſlain ſome few, put the reſt to flight, and purſu'd them as far as their own Camp. This Defeat (how ſmall ſoever) ſtruck ſuch a Damp upon the People's Courage, that * *Joſhua* was forc'd to have Recourſe to God, who immediately anſwer'd him (by *Urim*, as is ſuppos'd) that his Commands had been *ſacrilegiouſly* infring'd, and therefore order'd him to have the Offender puniſh'd with Death, and directed him to a Method, how to diſcover who he was. From Joſh. i. to the End.

BEFORE the Taking of *Jericho*, (*b*) *Joſhua* had caution'd the People not to ſpare any Thing that was in it, but to burn, and deſtroy all that came in their Way, except Silver, and Gold, and Braſs, and Iron, which were to be conſecrated to the Lord: But, notwithſtanding his ſtrict Charge againſt reſerving any Thing, that was either *devoted* to this general Deſtruction, or *conſecrated* to the Lord; a Man of the Tribe of *Judah*, whoſe Name was *Achan*, took ſome of the rich Plunder, and conceal'd it in his Tent. To find out the Perſon therefore, *Joſhua*, early next Morning, call'd all the Tribes together before

it, Joſh. vi. 26. "This Anathema (ſays *Maimonides*) was pronounc'd, that the Miracle of the Subverſion of *Jericho* "might be kept in perpetual Memory; for whoſoever ſaw the Walls ſunk deep into the Earth (*as he underſtands it*) "would clearly diſcern, that this was not the Form of a Building deſtroy'd by Men, but *miraculouſly* thrown down by "God." *Hiel* however, in the Reign of *Ahab*, either not remembring, or not believing this Denunciation, was ſo taken with the Beauty of its *Situation*, that he rebuilt *Jericho*, and (as the ſacred Hiſtory informs us) *laid the Foundation thereof in* Abiram, *his Firſt-born, and ſet up the Gates thereof in his youngeſt Son* Segub, *according to the Word of the Lord, which he ſpake by* Joſhua, *the Son of* Nun, 1 Kings xvi. 34. However, after that *Hiel* had ventur'd to rebuild it, no Scruple was made of inhabiting it; for it afterwards became famous upon many Accounts. Here the *Prophet* ſweeten'd the Waters of the Spring that ſupply'd it, and the neighbouring Countries: Here *Herod* built a ſumptuous Palace: It was the Dwelling-Place of *Zaccheus*; and was honour'd with the Preſence of *Chriſt*, who vouchſaf'd likewiſe to work ſome Miracles here. Univerſal Hiſtory, Lib. 1. c. 7.

† We have this Place mention'd in the Hiſtory of *Abraham*, who, both before and after his going into *Egypt*, pitch'd his Tent between *Bethel* and *Ai*, or *Hai*, as it was then call'd; and, from both *Gen.* xii. 8. and *Joſh.* vii. 2. it appears, that this City lay to the *Eaſt* of *Bethel*, about three Leagues from *Jericho*, and one from *Bethel*, as *Moſias* informs us; and the Reaſon why *Joſhua* ſent ſo ſmall a Detachment againſt it was, becauſe the Place in itſelf was neither ſtrong nor large. For, when it was taken, the Number of the Slain, both in it, and *Bethel*, which (as ſome think) was confederate with it, were *but twelve Thouſand, both of Men and Women*, Joſh. viii. 25. The Providence of God however was very viſible in ſending ſo ſmall a Party againſt *Ai*: For, if the Flight of three Thouſand Men put the *Iſraelites* into ſuch a Conſternation, as we read *Joſh.* vii. 5, 6. what a Condition would they have been in, if all the People had been diſcomfitted, as doubtleſs it would have happen'd, while the Guilt of *Achan*'s Sacrilege remain'd unpuniſh'd? *Wells*'s Geography, Vol. II. c. 4.

* The Spirits of the Army (as *Joſephus* tells us) were ſo ſunk upon this Diſorder, and caſt down into ſuch a Deſperation of better Things to come, that, after they had ſpent the whole Day in Faſting, Weeping, and Mourning, *Joſhua* addreſs'd himſelf, with a more than ordinary Importunity, to Almighty God, in Words to this Effect: "It is not any Temerity, O Lord, or Ambition of our own, that has brought us hither to make War upon this "People, but a pure Deference and Reſpect to the Perſuaſion of thy Servant *Moſes*, that has incited us to this "Undertaking, and not without a Warrant of many Signs and Miracles, to convince us, that he had Reaſon and "Authority on his Side, when he told us, that thou thyſelf hadſt promis'd us the Poſſeſſion of this Country, and "to give us Victory over all our Enemies. But what a Change is here, all on a ſudden, in the Diſappointment of "our Hopes, and in the Loſs of our Friends! As if either *Moſes*'s Prediction had not been of divine Inſpiration, "or, otherwiſe thy Promiſes and Purpoſes variable. If this be the Beginning of a War, we cannot but dread the "farther Progreſs of it, for fear that this Miſcarriage, upon the firſt Experiment, ſhould prove only the Earneſt "of greater Evils to come. But, Lord, thou alone, that art able to give us Relief, help us, and ſave us. Vouchſafe "unto us Comfort, and Victory; and be graciouſly pleas'd to preſerve us from the Snare of deſpairing for the future. "*Jewiſh* Antiquities, Lib. 5. c. 1.

(*b*) Joſh. vi. 18, 19.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

before the Tabernacle, where, † by caſting the Lot, firſt upon the Tribes, and ſo proceeding from Tribe to Family, from Family to Houſhold, and from Houſhold to particular Perſons, the *Criminal* was, at laſt, found to be *Achan*; who, upon *Joſhua*'s Admonition, confeſs'd the Fact, *viz.* that he had ſecreted * a royal Robe, two hundred Shekels of Silver, and a large Wedge of Gold; and when, upon Search, the Things were produc'd in the Preſence of all the People, they took him, and all his Family, his Cattle, his Tent, and all his Moveables, and carrying them to a neighbouring Valley, (which, from that Time, † in Alluſion to this Man's Name, was call'd the Valley of *Achar*) ‖ there they ſton'd him, and thoſe belonging to his Family, as Accomplices in his Crimes. Whatever Goods or Utenſils he had, theſe they conſum'd with Fire, and ſo rais'd a great Heap of Stones over all, that thereby they might perpetuate the Memory of the Crime, and deter others from the like Provocation.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

The Taking and Sacking of Ai.

After this Execution of the divine Juſtice, God order'd *Joſhua* to attempt the Conqueſt of *Ai* once more, and promis'd him Succeſs; which might beſt be obtain'd, as he told him, by laying an *Ambuſcade* ſomewhere behind the City, towards *Bethel*. † Thirty Thouſand Men were

† Some *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion, that, in the Diſcovery of the guilty Perſon, there was no Uſe made of Lots at all, but that all *Iſrael*, being order'd to paſs by the High-Prieſt, who, on this Occaſion, had his *Pectoral* on, in which were the twelve Stones with the Names of the twelve Tribes engraven on them, when the Tribe, to which the guilty Perſon belong'd, was call'd, the Stone, in which was the Name of that Tribe, chang'd Colour, and turn'd black; and ſo it did, when the Family, the Houſhold, and the Perſon was call'd: But this is a mere Fiction. There is much more Probability in the Opinion of thoſe, who ſuppoſe, that, at firſt, twelve *Lots*, or *Tickets* were put into one *Urn*, on each of which was written the Name of one of theſe twelve Tribes: That when one of the twelve Tribes were found guilty, then were there as many Lots put in, as there were Families in that Tribe; after that, as many as there were Houſholders in that Family; and, at laſt, as many, as there were Heads in that Houſhold, until the *Criminal* was detected. But others will have it, that this was done by the High-Prieſt alone, who, by a divine Inſpiration, at that Time, was enabled, without any more to do, to declare who the culpable Perſon was. *Saurin*'s Diſſertations, Vol. III. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries, on *Joſh.* vii.

* In the Original, this Robe is call'd a *Garment of Shinar*, i. e. of *Babylon*; and the general Opinion is, that the Richneſs and Excellency of it conſiſted not ſo much in the *Stuff*, whereof it was made, as in the Colour whereof it was dy'd, which moſt ſuppoſe to have been *Scarlet*, a Colour in high Eſteem among the Ancients, and for which the *Babylonians* were juſtly famous. *Bochart* however maintains, that the Colour of this Robe was *various*, and not all of one Sort; that the ſcarlet Colour the *Babylonians* firſt receiv'd from *Tyre*, but the *Party colour*, whether ſo woven, or wrought with the Needle, was of their own Invention, for which he produces many Paſſages out of *Heathen* Authors. Such as,

Non ego prætulerim Babylonica picta ſuperbè
Texta, Semiramiâ quæ variantur Acu. Mart. Ep. Lib. 8.
Hæc mihi Memphitis Tellus dat Munera, victa eſt
Pectine Niliaco jam Babylonis Acus. Ibid. Lib. 14.

with many more Citations out of ſeveral other Writers. However this be, 'tis certain, that the Robe could not fail of being a very rich and ſplendid one, and therefore captivated either *Achan*'s Pride, or rather Covetouſneſs; ſince his Purpoſe ſeems to have been, not ſo much to wear it himſelf, as to ſell it for a large Price. *Bochart*'s Phaleg, Lib. 1. c. 9. *Saurin*, Lib. 3. Diſſertation 3.

† Tho' his Name was primarily *Achan*, yet, ever after his Execution, he was call'd *Achar*, (ſo the *Syriack* Verſion, *Joſephus*, *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, and others, mention'd by *Bochart*, name him) which ſignifies the *Troubler* of *Iſrael*. *Patrick*'s Commentary, on *Joſh.* viii.

‖ Since the Law againſt Sacrilege condemns Tranſgreſſors to the Flames, and God commanded the Perſon here guilty to be burnt accordingly, *Joſh.* vii. 18. the *Jews* affirm, that *Achan* was actually burnt; and, whereas it is ſaid in the Text, that *he was ſtoned*, they think that this was done, not *judicially*, but *accidentally* by the People, who were ſo highly provok'd, that they could not forbear caſting Stones at him, as he was was led to Execution. Vid. *Munſt.* in Joſh. vii.

† Some are of Opinion, that this Detachment of thirty Thouſand made up the whole Force, that was employ'd in this Expedition againſt *Ai*; and that, out of *theſe*, *five Thouſand* were ſent to lie in Ambuſh, that, at a convenient Time, they might ſet fire to the City: But this is ſo directly contrary to God's Command of *Joſhua's taking all the People of War with him*, which accordingly, in chap. viii. 3, 11. we are told he did, that there is no Foundation for it. And therefore it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the whole Body, deſign'd for the Ambuſcade, conſiſted of thirty Thouſand Men, and that the five Thouſand, mention'd in the 12th Verſe, was a ſmall Party, detach'd from theſe, in order to creep cloſer to the City, while the five and twenty Thouſand kept themſelves abſconded behind the Mountains, until a proper Signal was given, both from the City, when this ſmall Party had taken it, and from the grand Army, when they had repuls'd the Enemy, that then they might come out from their Ambuſh, and intercept them, as they were making their Flight. *Patrick*'s Commentary, on Joſh. viii.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

were therefore drawn out, and ſent away by Night upon this Expedition, with Inſtructions to enter the City, as ſoon as the *Signal* (which was to be a Spear, with a Banner upon it) was given them: And early next Morning, he himſelf march'd, with the Remainder of his Forces, againſt the City. As ſoon as the King of *Ai* perceiv'd him, he ſally'd haſtily out of the Town, with all his Troops, and all his People, and fell upon the *Iſraelites*, who, at the firſt Onſet, fled, as if they had been under ſome great Terror. But this was only a *Feint*, to draw the Enemy into the Plain; and therefore as ſoon as *Joſhua* ſaw, that, by this Stratagem, the City was pretty well empty'd, he gave the Signal to the Ambuſcade, which, finding it now defenceleſs, immediately enter'd, and ſet it on Fire.

BY the Aſcent of the Smoak, *Joſhua* diſcern'd that his Men had got Poſſeſſion of the Town, and therefore facing about, he began to charge the Enemy very briſkly: who, little expecting that the *Iſraelites* would rally, began now to think of retreating to the City; but, when they ſaw it all in Flames, and the Party, which had ſet it on Fire, iſſuing out, and juſt going to fall upon their Rear, they were ſo diſmay'd and diſpirited, that they had Power neither to fight nor fly: So that all the Army was cut to Pieces; the City was burnt, and made an Heap of Rubbiſh; every Soul in it, Man, Woman, and Child, were put to the Sword; and the King, who was taken Priſoner, was order'd to be hang'd upon a Gibbet till Sun-ſet, when he was taken down, thrown in at a Gate of the City, and a great Heap of Stones rais'd over him.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

AFTER this Action was over, the Cattle, and all the Spoil of the City, was, by God's Appointment, given to the Soldiers; and, as *Joſhua* was *now* not far diſtant from the Mountains of *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, this reminded him of the Command, which (*c*) *Moſes* had given, about reading the Law, with the Bleſſings and Curſes thereunto annex'd, from thoſe two Mountains; which he not only order'd to be done, but had an Altar likewiſe erected, whereon not only Sacrifices were offer'd, to give God the Glory of all his Victories; but † an *Abridgment* of the Law, or ſome remarkable Part of it was likewiſe engraven, at the ſame Time that the *whole* of it was read in a large Aſſembly of all the Tribes.

The League craftily acquir'd by the Gibeonites.

JOSHUA's Succeſs againſt the two Towns of *Jericho*, and *Ai*, and the terrible Slaughter, he had made among their Inhabitants, had * ſo alarm'd the Kings on that Side the *Jordan*, that they confederated together, and enter'd into League for their mutual Defence: But the *Gibeonites*, foreſeeing the Deſtruction that was haſtening upon them, endeavour'd by a Stratagem to gain a Peace with the *Iſraelites*, which they effected in this Manner. —— They choſe a certain Number of artful Men, who † were inſtructed to feign themſelves *Ambaſſadors* come from a far

(*c*) Deut. xi. 29. and xxvii. 1,—13.

† It is a Queſtion (as we ſaid before, page 489 in the Notes) among the Learned, what it was, that was written upon theſe Stones? But beſides other Conjectures already enumerated, ſome think it not unlikely, to have been a Copy of the Covenant, by which the Children of *Iſrael* acknowledg'd, that they held the Land of *Canaan* of God, upon Condition, that they obſerv'd his Laws, to which they and their Poſterity had oblig'd themſelves; for this was the third Time, that the Covenant between God and his People was renew'd, and therefore the Contents of that Covenant might be very proper, at this Time, to be thus *monumentally* recorded. *Patrick* on Deut. xxvii. 3. and Joſh. viii. 32.

* The *Jews*, in the *Talmud*, tell us likewiſe, that a farther Cauſe of the *Gibeonites* Fear, was, the Inſcription, which they had met with upon Mount *Ebal*, where, among other Parts of the Law, which *Joſhua* (as they pretend) wrote upon Stones, they found the Orders, which both he and *Moſes* had receiv'd from God, utterly to extirpate all the Inhabitants of the Land of *Canaan*. *Saurin*, Lib. iii. Diſſertation 4.

† It is a Queſtion among the *Caſuiſts*, whether the *Gibeonites* could, with a good Conſcience, pretend that they were Foreigners, and tell a Lye to ſave their Lives? And to this *Puffendorf* (Droit de la Nature, Lib. iv. c. 2.) thus replies. *The Artifice of the* Gibeonites, ſays he, *had nothing blameable in it, nor does it properly deſerve the Name of a Lye: For what Crime is there in any one's making Uſe of an innocent Fiction, in order to elude the Fury of an Enemy, that would deſtroy all before them? Nor did the* Iſraelites *indeed properly receive any Damage from this Impoſture: For what does any one loſe, in not ſhedding the Blood of another, when he has it in his Power to take from him all his Subſtance, after having*

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far diſtant Country, in order to obtain a League with the People of *Iſrael:* And, to gain Credit to this their Pretence, they dreſs'd themſelves in old Clothes, had old clouted Shoes on their Feet, carry'd dry muſty Bread in their Bags, and the Bottles, wherein they kept their Wine, were † all ſadly tarniſh'd and torn. In this Plight they came to the Camp at *Gilgal*, and, being introduc'd to *Joſhua*, they told him, "That the Fame of many Miracles, "which God had wrought for them in "the Land of *Egypt*, and the wonderful "Succeſſes, wherewith he had bleſs'd "their Arms againſt every *Power*, that "had oppos'd them in their coming to "that Place, had reach'd even their re-"mote and diſtant Country; for which "Reaſon their *States* and Rulers had ſent "them a *long* Way, that, by all Means "imaginable, they might obtain a Peace "with a People ſo renown'd all the "World over, and ſo favour'd and ho-"nour'd by God:" And then ſhewing their Cloaths, Shoes, and other Tokens of the long Journey they had taken, they ſolemnly aſſur'd them, that all theſe Things were quite new, when at firſt they ſet out from home, and thence left them to judge how diſtant and remote their Country was.

THIS plauſible Story, confirm'd as they thought by ſo many Evidences, gain'd Credit with the *Iſraelites*, ſo that they enter'd into amicable Alliance with them; and the other took Care to have the Treaty immediately ratify'd, both by *Joſhua*, and all the Princes of the Congregation. In three Days Time the Impoſture was diſcover'd; and they, who pretended to come from a diſtant Country, were found to be near Neighbours, and ſome of thoſe very People, whom *Joſhua* was commiſſion'd to deſtroy: So that when the Thing came to be rumour'd about, the People began to murmur againſt their Princes for their Indiſcretion, and were for having the League cancell'd; but, as it was confirm'd by a ſolemn Oath, this they could not do, without incurring the divine Diſpleaſure. And therefore, tho' they might not take away their Lives, they might nevertheleſs hold them in a State of Servitude, and, as long as they liv'd, make them uſeful Drudges, Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water, and the like, which would both puniſh them much, and prove full as beneficial to the Commonwealth; and with this Apology the People were appeas'd. *Joſhua* however ſent for ſome of the Chief of the *Gibeonites*, and having expoſtulated the Cheat with them, (which they excus'd upon the Score of ſaving their own Lives) he told them what the Determination of the Princes was, *viz.* that they ſhould remain in a State of perpetual Bondage; which they receiv'd without any Manner of Murmuring, and humbly

From Joſh. i. to the End.

having ſo weaken'd and diſarm'd him, that he is no more able to rebel againſt him? But the Opinion of this great Man ſeems to be a little erroneous in this Caſe. Had the *Iſraelites* indeed been a Pack of common Murtherers, who, without any Commiſſion from Heaven, were carrying Blood and Deſolation into Countries, where they had no Right; or had the *Gibeonites* been ignorant, that a miraculous Providence conducted theſe Conquerors, the Fraud, which they here put upon them, might then be deem'd innocent: For there is no Law, that obliges us, under the Pretence of Sincerity, to ſubmit to ſuch Incendiaries, and mercileſs Uſurpers, as are for ſetting fire to our Cities, and putting us and our Families to the Edge of the Sword. But the Caſe of the *Gibeonites* was particular; and if, in other Things, they went contrary to Truth, in this they certainly adher'd to it, when they told *Joſhua, We are come, becauſe of the Name of the Lord thy God, for we have heard of the Fame of him, and all that he did in* Egypt, *and all that he did to the two Kings of the* Amorites, *that were beyond* Jordan, *&c.* Joſh. ix. 9, 10. The Idea, which they had conceiv'd of the God of *Iſrael*, ſhould have put them upon ſome other Expedient, than that of Lying and Deceit. They ſhould have inquir'd (as far as the obſcure Diſpenſation they were under would have permitted them) into the Cauſe of God's Severity againſt them. They ſhould have acknowledg'd, that it was their grievous Sins, which drew down this heavy Judgment upon their Nation; and, after they had repented thereof in Sackcloth and Aſhes, they ſhould have committed the reſt to *Providence*, never doubting, but that he, who had chang'd the very Courſe of Nature to puniſh the Guilty, would always find out ſome Means or other, to ſave the Penitent: But this they did not do, and therefore they were culpable. *Saurin*, Vol. III. Diſſertation 4.

† Theſe Bottles were not of Glaſs, or Clay, as thoſe in Uſe among us, but were made of Leather, in which they formerly (and even now in ſome Countries) kept their Wine.

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The Conqueſt of the Confederate Kings in the South, *and Sun and Moon's ſtanding ſtill.*

humbly acquieſc'd in whatever was thought proper to be impos'd upon them.

THE *confederate* Princes, hearing of this ſeparate Treaty, which the *Gibeonites* had made with *Iſrael*, were reſolv'd to be reveng'd of them for their Deſertion of the common Cauſe; and accordingly joining all their Forces together, they came and inveſted their Town. The *Gibeonites*, in this Diſtreſs, not daring to truſt to their own Strength, ſent an Expreſs to *Joſhua* for ſpeedy Help; who ſet out with all Expedition, and, by quick Marches, and the Favour of the Night, came upon the Enemy ſooner than they expected, and, early next Morning, fell upon them, and routed them. In this Expedition God had all along encourag'd *Joſhua*, and promis'd him Succeſs; and therefore, as the confederate Forces were endeavouring to eſcape, and ſave themſelves by Flight, he pour'd ſuch a Storm of Hail upon them, as deſtroy'd more, than what periſh'd by the Sword.

JOSHUA, on the other Hand, was very deſirous to make the moſt of this happy Opportunity; and therefore, in full Chaſe of Victory, he addreſs'd himſelf to God, that the Sun and Moon might ſtand ſtill, and ſo prolong the Day, until he had compleated his Victory which God was pleas'd to grant: So that this was the moſt memorable Day, that ever happen'd, wherein the *Almighty liſten'd to the Voice of a Man*, to change the Courſe of Nature, and ſtop the Motion of thoſe rolling *Orbs*. From Joſh. i. to the End.

THE confederate Kings, being thus put to Flight, and either frighten'd at the Storm of Hail, or at the cloſe Purſuit of the Enemy, made to a Cave near † *Makkedah*, and there ran in to hide themſelves: But *Joſhua*, having Intelligence of it, commanded the Cave to be block'd up, and a Guard to be ſet over it, and ſo continu'd his Purſuit, that he might cut off as many, as he poſſibly could, before they reach'd to their fortify'd Towns. In his Return, he order'd the Cave to be open'd, and the Kings to be brought forth; and, when Execution was done upon them, he caus'd their Bodies to be hang'd upon ſeveral Trees, until the Evening; when they were taken down, and caſt into the Cave, where they thought to have hid themſelves, ſo that the Place of their intended *Sanctuary* became their *Sepulchre*. After this ſignal Victory, *Joſhua* took all the *ſouthern* Parts of *Canaan*, which afterwards belong'd to the Tribes of *Judah*, *Simeon*, *Benjamin*, *Dan*, and *Ephraim*; and, having thus ended his ſecond Campaign, he return'd, with his Army, to the Camp at *Gilgal*.

The Conqueſt of the Confederate Kings in the North.

HERE he continu'd for ſome Time without entering upon any freſh Action, until ſeveral Princes of the *North* of *Canaan*, under *Jabin* King of *Hazor*, confederated together, and rais'd a vaſt Number of Forces, which encamp'd not far from † the Waters of *Merom*; and * what made the

† It was a City in the Tribe of *Judah*, about eight Miles diſtant from *Eleutheropolis*, which Place, tho' it is no where mention'd in the Scripture-Hiſtory, becauſe it was built after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, is, nevertheleſs, frequently taken notice of by *Euſebius*, and *Jerom*, as a *Point*, from whence they meaſure the Diſtances of other Places. Its Name imports a *free City*, and was itſelf ſituate in the Tribe of *Judah*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II. c. 4.

† Theſe Waters are generally ſuppos'd, by learned Men, to be the Lake *Semechon*, which lies between the Head of the River *Jordan*, and the Lake of *Genneſareth*; ſince it is agreed on all Hands, that the City *Hazor*, where *Jabin* reign'd, was ſituate upon this Lake. But others think, that the Waters of *Merom*, or *Merome*, were ſomewhere about the Brook *Kiſhon*; ſince there is a Place of that Name mention'd in the Account of the Battle againſt *Siſera*, Judg. v. 21. And it is more rational to think, that the *confederate* Kings advanc'd as far as the Brook *Kiſhon*, and to a *Paſs*, which led into their Country, to hinder *Joſhua* from penetrating it, or even to attack him in the Country, where he himſelf lay encamp'd, than to imagine that they waited for him, in the Midſt of their own Country, leaving all *Galilee* at his Mercy, and the whole Tract, from the Brook *Kiſhon*, to the Lake *Semechon*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III. c. 5. *Reland*'s Paleſt. Lib. 1. c. 40. and *Calmet* on Joſh. xi. 5.

* Their whole Army, according to *Joſephus*, was computed to amount to three hundred Thouſand Foot, ten Thouſand Horſe, and two Thouſand Chariots; and, to oppoſe againſt theſe the *Iſraelites* had no Horſe in their Armies, becauſe God had interdicted them, (*Deut.* xvii. 16.) leſt a Traffick into *Egypt* for that Sort of Cattle ſhould be a Snare

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the Army more formidable, was the great Number of Horſes, and * arm'd Chariots they had, whereas the *Iſraelites* were all on Foot. This however did not in the leaſt diſcourage *Joſhua*, who, in Purſuance of the Inſtructions which God had given him, immediately took the Field, march'd directly towards the Enemy, fell ſuddenly upon them, and put all (except thoſe, * that made their Eſcape into other Countries) to the Sword; ham-ſtrung their Horſes, and burnt their Chariots with Fire. *Jabin* had been the Head of the Confederacy againſt him, and therefore he kill'd him, and caus'd his City to be burnt to the Ground; but the other Cities, whoſe Inhabitants were ſlain in Battle, he left ſtanding, and gave the Plunder of them to the Soldiers.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

THUS *Joſhua* ſubdu'd all the Land of *Canaan* † by Degrees: He put its Inhabitants, its Kings, (who were one and thirty in Number) and all the *Giants*, that dwelt therein, except ſome few that ſtill remain'd among the *Philiſtines*, to the Sword; and having now extended his Conqueſt, as far as it was convenient at that Time, he began to think of dividing the Country, among

The Diviſion *of the Land of* Canaan *among the Tribes.*

to entangle them in Idolatry; or leſt, having a Quantity thereof, they ſhould put their Confidence rather in them, than in the divine Aſſiſtance; for which Reaſon the Prophet denounces a *Woe upon them, that go down into* Egypt *for Help, and ſtay on Horſes, and truſt in Chariots, becauſe they are many, and in Horſemen, becauſe they are ſtrong, but they look not to the Holy One of* Iſrael, *neither ſeek they the Lord*, Iſa. xxxi. 1.

* The Chariots, which the ancient Hiſtorians uſually call *Currus Falciferi*, *Covini Falciferi*, *Quadrigæ Falcatæ*, ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα, &c. are deſcrib'd after the following Manner: "The Beam, to which the Horſes were "faſten'd, was arm'd with Spikes with Iron-points, which projected forward: The Yokes of the Horſes had "two cutting Falchions of three Cubits length: The Axle-Trees had fixed to them two Iron-Spits, with Scythes "at their Extremities; the Spokes of the Wheels were arm'd with *Javelins*, and the very *Fellows* with Scythes, "which tore every Thing they met with to pieces. The Axle-Tree was longer, and the Wheels ſtronger than "uſual, that they might be the better able to bear a Shock, and the Chariot leſs liable to be overturn'd." The *Charioteer*, who was cover'd all over with Armour, ſat in a Kind of Tower, made of very ſolid Wood, about Breaſt high, and ſometimes Men well arm'd were put into the Chariot, and fought from thence with Darts and Arrows. So that a dreadful Slaughter theſe Machines muſt at firſt have made, when they met with the Enemies Troops; but, in Time, when Men came to find out the Way of declining them, they did not do ſo much Execution, and were conſequently diſus'd. Vid. *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. 17. *Quint. Curtius*, Lib. 4. *Xenophon* Cyropæd. Lib. 6. *Lucretius*, De Rer. Nat. Lib. 6.

* Some *Jewiſh* Authors will needs have it, that, when *Joſhua* went into the Land of *Canaan*, he propos'd three Things to the Inhabitants thereof, either that they ſhould leave the Country, or come and make their Submiſſion, or take up Arms and fight him. But this is ſaid, in ſome Meaſure to excuſe the *Jewiſh* General, and to mollify the Rigour of his Proceedings. His expreſs Command from God was, to extirpate the ſeven Nations, without making any Treaty, or giving Quarter: And, tho' the *Gibeonites* by Guile had obtain'd a Kind of League with him, yet the Conditions, which he thereupon impos'd, were ſo very hard, that they could not but deter others from making the like Attempt. It is not therefore to be wonder'd, that the *Canaanites*, who ſaw themſelves drove to the Neceſſity either of Death or Slavery, (after they had try'd the Fate of their Arms ſo often to no Purpoſe) ſhould endeavour to make their Eſcape from a People every where victorious, and who were enjoin'd to be cruel and remorſeleſs by their very God, who had given them this Succeſs. Nor can we ſuppoſe, but that God, who was minded to make Room for his own People, did (according to his Promiſe, *Exod.* xxiii. 27.) inject upon this Occaſion a Terror extraordinary into the Natives of the Country, and make them deſire to be gone: And when they were deſirous to be gone, they had the *Ports*, lying upon the *Mediterranean Sea*, very commodious for their Purpoſe. For, whether the Towns of *Tyre* and *Sidon* were at this Time built or no, 'tis certain, that the Places, where theſe Towns ſtood, could not but be proper Harbours for Shipping; and, as the *Phœnicians* were ſtill Maſters of the Sea-Coaſts, by their Aſſiſtance the *Canaanites* might make their Eſcape into what Parts they pleas'd. The *Phœnicians*, much about this Time, did certainly ſend out a vaſt many Colonies; but, as it cannot be ſuppos'd, that ſo ſmall a Country ſhould produce ſuch Swarms, the greateſt Part of them are preſum'd to be the *Refugees* of *Canaan*, who made their Eſcape by Shipping to all the Coaſts, which lay round the *Mediterranean* and *Ægean Seas*, and even to other Parts of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, as the learned *Bochart* has given us a large Account in his *Canaan*, from page 345, to page 699. *Calmet*'s Diſſertation ſur le Pays, où ſe ſauverent les *Cananéne*s chaſſez par Joſué.

† Theſe great Atchievements may be allow'd to have taken up ſome Years. The Hiſtory indeed informs us, that *Joſhua made War a long Time with all theſe Kings*, Joſh. xi. 18. And, from the Words of *Caleb*, wherein he gives *Joſhua* an Account of his Age, and that it was *five and forty Years*, ſince he was ſent a Spy to *Kadeſh-barnea*, there cannot be well leſs, than between ſix and ſeven Years, ſpent in this War; and why the War was ſo long continu'd, God himſelf aſſigns this Reaſon: ——— *I will not drive them out from before thee in one Year, leſt the Land become deſolate, and the Beaſts of the Field multiply againſt thee: By little and little will I drive them out from before thee, until thou be increaſed, and inherit the Land*, Exod. xxiii. 29, 30.

To the Rt Reverend Father in God JOSEPH Lord Bishop of ROCHESTER this Plate is most humbly Inscrib'd by his Lordship's most Dutyfull Son and Servant Thos Stackhouse
A MAP OF CANAAN divided among ye XII. Tribes
Laodicea
PART of SYRIA
Tripolis
Sidon
Tyre
Gesur
L. Semechon
HALF TRIBE of MANASSA
Argob
Capernaum
TRIBE of ZABULON
Tiberias
Gadara
Genesareth
TRIBE of ISSACHAR
Gilgal
Mispa
Socoth
HALF TRIBE of MANASSA
TRIBE of GAD
Apollonia
Sarona
Schilo
TRIBE of EPHRAIM
Jaser
Dabir
Jordan
Lydda
Archelais
Dibon
Ashdon
River
TRIBE of DAN
TRIBE of BEN JAMIN
Jerusalem
Jericho
Beelmaus
Matthan
Ascalon
Agla
Lachis
Ophir
Macherus
Techoa
TRIBE of SIMEON
Chelron
Gaza
Arnon R.
Sodom
Madian
Jether
Gerar
TRIBE of JUDA
TRIBE of RUBEN
Gomorrah
LAKE ASPHALTIDES
MOABITES.
IDUMEA OR EDOM
DESART of SIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
KINGDOM
TRIBE of ASHER
TRIBE of NAPTHALI
36 30 37 30 38 30 39

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among the Tribes, that were yet unprovided for, and of diſmiſſing the two Tribes and an half, who had accompany'd him in the Wars, but had their Habitations already ſettled by *Moſes*, on the *Eaſt* Side of the River *Jordan*. To this Purpoſe he appointed *Commiſſioners*, who ſhould take an exact Survey of the Country, and bring in a full Report without Delay; which when they had done, † the Country was divided into equal Portions, for which each Tribe (according (*d*) to God's Directions) caſt Lots: But, becauſe ſome Tribes were larger, and ſome Territories richer, than others, *Joſhua* and *Eleazar*, together with the Princes of the People, took care to adjuſt the Proportion of Land to the Largeneſs of the Tribe, and in ſubdividing that, to conſider the Number of each Family, and Houſhold; purſuing exactly the Orders, which God gave to his Servant *Moſes*: (*e*) *Unto theſe the Land ſhall be divided for an Inheritance, according to the Number of Names. To many thou ſhalt give the more Inheritance; and to few thou ſhalt give the leſs Inheritance.——Notwithſtanding the Land ſhall be divided by Lot;——according to Lot ſhall the Poſſeſſion thereof be divided among many, and few.*

The Diſmiſſion of the Reubenites, *&c. and a Miſunderſtanding rectify'd.*

HAVING thus divided the Country on the Weſt Side of the *Jordan*, *Joſhua* had a little Place given him for his own Habitation not far from *Shiloh*, where, after the Wars, the Tabernacle was ſet up, that he might have an Opportunity of conſulting God upon any Occaſion; and, after all Things were in this Manner regulated, he call'd together the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and the Half Tribe of *Manaſſeh*, who had ſerv'd for almoſt ſeven Years, as *Auxiliaries* in the Wars of *Canaan*, and gave them an honourable Diſmiſſion. "He "acknowledg'd, that they had duly exe- "cuted the Condition, which they pro- "mis'd to *Moſes*, in accompanying their "Brethren, and helping them to ſubdue "their Enemies, and commended their "Courage and Fidelity for ſo doing. He "exhorted them, now that they were "going to ſeparate from the Tabernacle, "never to neglect the Service of God, but "to bear always in Mind thoſe venerable "Laws, which he had given them by his "great Legiſlator. He advis'd them to "diſtribute a Share of the rich Booty, "they had taken from the *Canaanites*, "among their Brethren on the other Side "of *Jordan*; becauſe, tho' they had not "partaken of the Peril of the late War, "they had nevertheleſs done them great "Service, in protecting their Families "from the Inſults of their Enemies on "every Side:" And * with theſe Acknowledgments, and Exhortations, together with

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† Thoſe, who are minded to know what particular Towns and Territories fell to each Tribe, had beſt conſult what *Joſephus*, in his *Jewiſh* Antiquities; *Jerom*, de Locis Hebraicis; *Reland*, de Urbibus & Vicis Paleſtinæ; *Maſius*, in Joſhuam; *Fuller*, in his *Piſgah*-Sight; *Raleigh*, in his Hiſtory, Part I. Lib. 2. *Wells*, in his Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II. *Patrick*, *Pool*, *Le Clerc*, and ſeveral others, in their Commentaries, have ſaid upon this Subject. We ſhall make this one Remark, which *Maſius*, in his rich Commentary upon *Joſhua*, furniſhes us with, *viz.* that as *Jacob* and *Moſes*, at the Approach of their Deaths, foretold the very Soil and Situation of every particular Country, that ſhould fall to each Tribe; ſo, upon this Diviſion by Lots, it accordingly came to paſs. To the Tribe of *Judah*, there fell a Country, abounding with *Vines*, and Paſture-Grounds, Gen. xlix. 11. To that of *Aſhur*, one plenteous in *Oil*, *Iron*, and *Braſs*, Deut. xxxiii. 24, 25. To that of *Naphthali*, one extending from the *Weſt* to the *South* of *Judea*, Ibid. xxxiii. 23. To that of *Benjamin*, one, in which the Temple was afterwards built, Ibid. xxxiii. 12. To thoſe of *Zebulun* and *Iſſachar*, ſuch as had Plenty of *Sea-Ports*, Gen. xlix. 13. To thoſe of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, ſuch as were renown'd for their *precious Fruits*, Deut. xxxiii. 14. And to thoſe of *Simeon* and *Levi*, no particular Countries at all; for as much as the *former* had a Portion with *Judah*, and the other was interſpers'd among the ſeveral Tribes. Since therefore (as our Commentator reaſons) each particular Lot anſwer'd ſo exactly to each Prediction, it muſt needs be the Height of Inſolence or Stupidity, not to acknowledge the divine Inſpiration in theſe Predictions, and the divine Direction in theſe Lots.

(*d*) Joſh. xiv. 2. (*e*) Numb. xxvi. 53, &c.

* *Joſephus*, in the Speech, which he introduces *Joſhua* making to the *Reubenites*, &c. at their Parting, concludes with theſe Words: ——— "But, I pray ye, let no Diſtance of Place ſet Limits to our Friendſhip. The Interpo- "ſition of *Rivers* muſt never divide our Affections; for, on which Bank ſoever, we are all *Hebrews* ſtill. *Abraham* "was the common Father of us all, let our Abode be where it will. It was from one and the ſame God, that all "our Forefathers receiv'd their Being; and that God we are all to worſhip, according to the Ordinances and Inſti-

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with many ſincere Wiſhes for their Proſperity and Welfare, * he ſent them away; but they had not been long gone, before a ſad Miſunderſtanding had like to have happen'd between them and the other Tribes.

Upon their Arrival on the other Side of *Jordan*, they erected an Altar near the Place, where they and their Brethren had miraculouſly paſs'd over, not for any religious Uſe, but as a *Memorial* to ſucceeding Generations, that, tho' they were parted by the River, yet they were of the ſame Extract and Religion, and held an equal Right to the *Tabernacle* at *Shiloh*, and to the Worſhip of God perform'd there, that the Inhabitants of the other Side had. But, whether thoſe on the other Side were miſinform'd, or miſapprehended their Intent, ſo it was, that they fell into a violent Rage againſt them, as *Apoſtates* from the true Religion; and immediately took up Arms for the Vindication of the Worſhip and Religion of their Forefathers, and to avenge the Cauſe of God upon the Heads and chief Authors of this Defection. But, before they proceeded to theſe Extremities, they were adviſ'd by their Rulers to ſuſpend the Execution of their Wrath, until they had ſent a Deputation to them in order to know the Reaſon of their building ſuch an Altar; which accordingly they did, and made choice of *Phineas*, the Son of *Eleazar*, with ten other Perſons of eminent Diſtinction, to go upon the Embaſſy. As ſoon as they were come into the Land † of *Gilead*, * they repreſented the great Surprize, that the reſt of the Tribes were in at their building this Altar; and told them very roundly, that they fear'd it portended a Defection into *Idolatry*. To diſſwade them therefore from *that*, they put them in mind of the Calamities, which God had formerly ſent upon them for their Worſhip of *Baal-peor*; and that, if ſo lately he had been ſo ſevere upon them for the Offence of one Man, *viz. Achan* only, what might they not expect, when two Tribes and an half were going to make a general Revolt? And, as they ſuſpected that the Abſence of the Tabernacle might give ſome Occaſion to this Innovation, they invited them to come, and live among them, where they might not want an Opportunity of ſerving God, according to the Cuſtom of their Anceſtors.

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Concern'd to hear the ill Opinion, which their Brethren had thus conceiv'd of

" tutions left us by *Moſes*. So long as we ſtand firm to that Way of Religion, we may be ſure of the Favour and " Protection of that God, for our Comfort; but, whenever you apoſtatize into an Hankering after *ſtrange Gods*, the " God of your Fathers will caſt you off." *Jewiſh* Antiquities, Lib. 5. c. 1.

* The *Chronicon Samaritanum* (if we may believe what it reports, page 92, 93.) tells us, that when *Joſhua* ſent the *Reubenites* away, he appointed *Nephiel* to be his *Deputy* on the other Side of *Jordan*; that he cloathed him with a royal Robe, put a Crown on his Head, and made him ride on an Horſe of State, whilſt a Cryer went before him, proclaiming, *This is the King of the two Tribes and an Half, the Preſident of Juſtice, the Director of Affairs, and the General in the Camp: Let his Determination be concluſive. In all difficult Cauſes let him deſire an Anſwer from* Eleazar, *the High-Prieſt; and, if any one ſhall contradict his Sentence, or withdraw from his Allegiance, it ſhall be lawful for any one to kill that Man, and the whole Congregation ſhall be blameleſs.*

† *Gilead*, which took its Name from *Gilead*, the Son of *Machir*, and Grandſon of *Manaſſeh*, is often put for the whole Country, that lies on the Eaſt-Side of *Jordan*, which the Children of *Iſrael* took from the *Moabites* and *Midianites*, &c.

* *Joſephus* makes *Phineas* the Speaker upon this Occaſion, who delivers his Commiſſion in Words to this Effect: ——— " We are very ſenſible, that the Crime, charg'd upon you at preſent, is too heinous to be puniſh'd by " Words only; but we have not taken up Arms (Hand over Head) to execute a Vengeance according to the Degree " of the Iniquity: For it is out of Reſpect to our Allies, and in Hopes that ſecond, and ſounder Thoughts may " bring you to better Reaſon, that we are engag'd upon this Embaſſy, and ſpeak in this Aſſembly. We do but " deſire to be ſincerely inform'd, upon what Motives, and with what Deſign you have now rais'd this *Altar*. If " you have done it out of any pious End, we have no Quarrel with you; but if you are gone over to a falſe Worſhip, " it is for our God, and our Religion, that we muſt draw our Swords againſt you. We ſpeak our Fears; for, we " cannot think it credible yet, that a People, ſo well inſtructed in the Will, and in the Laws of God, our Friends " and Allies, that we have but juſt now partedwith; a People, newly eſtabliſh'd in the Lot of a plentiful Poſſeſſion by " God's ſpecial Grace and Providence; we cannot, I ſay, believe you to be ſo inſenſible and ungrateful, as to abandon " the holy Tabernacle, the Ark, the Altar, and the Worſhip of your Forefathers, to join with the *Canaanites* in " the Worſhip of falſe Gods: Or if unhappily you ſhould have been ſo miſled, do but repent, and diſclaim your " Error, and return to that Reverence, you owe to the Laws of God, and of your Country, and you ſhall be ſtill " receiv'd, &c." Jewiſh Antiquities, Lib. 5. c. 1.

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of them, the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manaſſites* * proteſted their Innocence of any *idolatrous* Intention, and made a ſolemn Appeal to God, that ſo far were they from ſetting up any Altar, in Oppoſition to *his*, that the only Deſign of that Structure was, to perpetuate their Title to the Service of the Tabernacle, and to prevent their lateſt Poſterity from being excluded from it. Which when *Phineas* and the reſt of the Deputies heard, they expreſs'd no ſmall Satisfaction; and as they related the Account of the whole Matter upon their Return, the People were infinitely pleas'd with the Reſult of their Embaſſy, and chang'd their angry Thoughts of War into the tender Affections of brotherly Love, and Peace: While the *Reubenites*, on the other Hand, to take away all farther Umbrage of Suſpicion, call'd the Altar by the Name of *Ed*, as being intended for a ſtanding *Witneſs* (for ſo the Word ſignifies) that, tho' they liv'd at a Diſtance from the reſt of their Brethren, yet had they both but one Origin, and one God, who was the common God and Father of all *Iſrael*.

The Speech, and Death of Joſhua *and* Eleazar, *and the Interment of* Joſeph's *Bones.*

THUS were the *Iſraelites*, on both Sides of the River *Jordan*, ſettled in a quiet Poſſeſſion of their Conqueſts; when *Joſhua*, being now grown old, and perceiving the Time of his Death approaching, call'd a general Aſſembly of the *Princes* and Magiſtrates, and as many of the common People, as could be got together upon this Occaſion, to *Shechem*; and having, in a very tender and affectionate Speech, enumerated the many Bleſſings, which God's Providence had beſtow'd upon them and their Anceſtors; how he had preſerv'd them in all their Dangers and Diſtreſſes, and reliev'd them in all their Wants; had made them victorious over all their Enemies, and, from a mean Beginning, rais'd them to the higheſt Degree of Reputation, and brought them into the quiet Poſſeſſion of a Land, that aboundeth with all Manner of Plenty; in Gratitude to ſo great a Protector and Benefactor, he exhorted them to a faithful Obſervance of his Laws, and invited them to a ſolemn Renewal of the *Covenant*, which their Forefathers had made with him. Which when they had done, he not only recorded the Covenant *in the Book of the Law*, but ſet up a great Stone likewiſe, under an Oak, near a Place of religious Worſhip, as a Teſtimony againſt them, in caſe they ſhould prevaricate from God's Service; and being now in the hundred and tenth Year of his Age, *

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not

* If we can ſuppoſe any Truth in the *Samaritan* Tradition, *Nephiet*, who is ſaid to have been *Joſhua's Lieutenant* over the two Tribes and a Half, may very properly be thought the Perſon, who anſwer'd *Phineas* in the Words, which *Joſephus* thus puts in his Mouth: —— "We are not conſcious of having ever departed from your Alliance, "neither are we, in any Sort, guilty of that Affectation of Novelty in erecting this *Altar*, which is now charg'd upon "us. We know but *one God*, and that God is the God of all the *Hebrews*; and but one *Altar*, which is the "Brazen Altar before the Tabernacle. As for this *Altar* here, which we are ſuſpected for, it was never intended "for any *religious* Uſe, but only for a *civil* Memorial to future Times of our Friendſhip and Alliance, and rather to "keep us ſteady in our antient Religion, than to be any ways introductive to the Violation of it. We can ſafely "appeal to God, that we had no ſuch Thought in ſetting up this *Altar*, as is imputed to us: And therefore, let us "intreat you to have a better Opinion of your Brethren for the future, than to think us guilty of ſo mortal an Apo"ſtacy from the Rites and Cuſtoms of our Progenitors, a Sin not to be expiated, in any of the Sons of *Abraham*, "but with the Loſs of his Life." Jewiſh Antiquities, Lib. 5. c. 1.

* *Jeſus* the Son of *Sirach* gives us a long Commendation of *Joſhua*, Ecclus. xlvi. 1, &c. but *Joſephus* is more conciſe in his Character, where he tells us, —— "That he was a Man of political Prudence, and endued alſo with a "ſingular Felicity of popular Eloquence in expreſſing his Thoughts; brave, and indefatigable in War; and no leſs "juſt and dextrous in Peace; and, in ſhort, that he was a Perſon qualified for all great Purpoſes." He is generally reputed to be the Author of the Book that goes under his Name. In the 26th Verſe of the laſt Chapter, it is expreſsly ſaid, that *he wrote theſe Things*. Ecclus. xlvi. 1. The *Son of Sirach*, has made him *Succeſſor* to *Moſes* in the prohetick Miniſtry. And both the Church and Synagogue have all along look'd upon the Book as *Canonical*. The Truth is, *Joſhua* was the only ſacred Penman, we know of, that the *Iſraelites* had in his Age. After he had finiſh'd the Diviſion of the Land, 'tis ſaid, chap. xxiii. 1. that he had many Years of great Leiſure, which he very probably employ'd in giving an Account of the Death and Burial of *Moſes* and *Eleazar*, and from thence continu'd a Narrative of what had been tranſacted under his own Adminiſtration, filling it up with a general Terrier of the Settlements of the Tribes, which was highly expedient for the *Iſraelites* to have recorded, in order to prevent Confuſions about their Inheritances in future Ages. Now if this Suppoſition be right, the Work of *Joſhua* muſt begin where that of *Moſes*

ended,

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not long after this he died, and was bury'd at *Timnah-ſerah*, in Mount *Ephraim*, a Place which the *Iſraelites*, in Acknowledgment of his great Services, had given him.

In a ſhort Time after, *Eleazar* the Son of *Aaron* the Prieſt, who liv'd near *Joſhua*, and died ſoon after him, was buried not far from him, in one of the Hills of *Ephraim*, † a Place, which the *Iſraelites* had in like Manner preſented him with, and which afterwards deſcended to *Phineas*, his Son, and Succeſſor in the Prieſthood.

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And as the Funerals of theſe two great Men, ſo near the ſame Time and Place, call'd to Remembrance the Bones of *Joſeph*, which, at his Requeſt, * had been brought out of *Egypt*, but not yet interr'd; the two Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh* took this Opportunity to perform their Obſequies to the Remains of their great Progenitor, in a Parcel of Ground near *Shechem*, which *Jacob* having formerly bought, had *(f)* given to his Son *Joſeph*, and was now become the Inheritance of his Poſterity.

The Objection.

" *Joshua*, no doubt, was a very " expert *General*, and the Succeſs of " his Arms againſt the *Canaanites* makes " no mean Figure in Hiſtory; but a " great deal of this may be reſolv'd into " the Treachery and Perfidiouſneſs, the " Folly and Infatuation of thoſe, that " pretend to oppoſe him. How deſpica- " ble an Inſtrument ſoever an *Harlot* may " be, yet certainly *Rahab* ſtood *Joſhua* " in no ſmall ſtead, when ſhe conceal'd " the Spies, and (as we may ſuppoſe) " help'd them to the beſt Intelligence " that ſhe could. In the New Teſtament " indeed, ſhe is rank'd among very good " Company, and her Character and Com- " mendation

ended, *viz.* at the xxxivth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, and ended at the 27th Verſe of the xxivth Chapter of *Joſhua*. For as *Joſhua*, at the End of *Deuteronomy*, added an Account of *Moſes*'s Death; ſo what we find from the 28th Verſe of the xxivth Chapter of *Joſhua* to the End of that Book was unqueſtionably not written until *Joſhua* and all the Elders his Contemporaries were gone off the Stage, and was therefore added to End the Book of *Joſhua* by ſome ſacred Penman, (moſt probably by *Samuel*) who was afterwards employ'd to record the ſubſequent State of Affairs of *Iſrael*. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. 12. and *Patrick*'s Commentary, on Joſh. xxiv. 33. But there is the like certainty of another Book of *Joſhua*'s, which the *Samaritans* preſerve with much Reſpect, and make great Uſe of, in the Support of their Pretenſions againſt the *Jews*; neither can we tell, whether *Joſhua* was the Author of that *Prayer*, which the *Jews* repeat as oft as they go into the Synagogues, and begins thus, ——— *It is our Duty to praiſe the Lord of the Univerſe, and to celebrate the Creation of the World; for he hath not made us like unto the Nations of the Earth, but hath prepared for us an Inheritance infinitely richer and greater*, &c. *Wagenſeil*'s Tela Ignea Satanæ, page 223. and *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word.

† This Place is, in the *Hebrew*, call'd the *Hill of Phineas*, it being cuſtomary in thoſe Days for Men to call Places by the Names of their *eldeſt* Son. But then the Queſtion is, To whom did the *Iſraelites* give this Hill? The moſt probable Anſwer is, That they gave it to *Eleazar*; for, he being the High-Prieſt, at the Time of the Diviſion of the Land, they thought proper to give him a peculiar Portion, diſtinct from other Cities of the Prieſts, which were all in the Tribes of *Judah*, *Benjamin*, and *Simeon*, and none in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, Joſh. xxi. 9, 17, 19. And they made Choice of this Country the rather, that he might be near the Tabernacle, which was at *Shiloh*, and near to *Joſhua*, who liv'd at *Shechem*, to be ready, on all Occaſions, to adviſe him, and conſult the Oracle for him. But then againſt this, there lies an Objection, *viz.* that no *Levite* or *Prieſt* was to have any Portion in the Diviſion of the Land; and therefore it is a receiv'd Opinion among the *Jews*, that either *Eleazar*, or *Phineas* had this Inheritance in Right of his Wife: Tho' we cannot ſee, why the High-Prieſt eſpecially, who was certainly the *ſecond* Perſon in the Government, might not have a Manſion-Houſe, and ſome Domains allotted him, for the greater State and Dignity of his Living, without any great Infringement upon the general Laws. *Patrick*'s Commentary, on *Joſh.* xxiv. 33.

* It may reaſonably be thought, that the Bodies of the reſt of the Sons of *Jacob*, from whom the Twelve Tribes deſcended, were brought into *Canaan*, to be there interr'd, as *Joſephus* relates from antient Tradition, *Antiquities*, *Lib.* 2. *c.* 4. and as St *Stephen* confirms it, Acts vii. 16. For tho' *Joſeph* excell'd them all in Dignity, and gave this ſpecial Charge about his Body, yet every Tribe, no doubt, had as great a Regard for their Progenitor, and would be inclin'd to do the ſame for their Fathers, that *Joſeph*'s Deſcendants did for him: But whether they bury'd them in the Sepulchre of *Machpelah*, or in ſome eminent Place in their own Tribe, as *Joſeph* was, there is no one, that gives us any Account. *Patrick*'s Commentary, on *Joſh.* xxiv. 32.

(f) Gen. xlviii. 22.

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" mendation (*g*) is twice commemorated, " but for what Reaſon we cannot tell, " unleſs it be (*h*) for lying to the Govern- " ment, and betraying her Country into " the Hands of its moſt cruel Enemies; " which is ſurely an Example, that de- " ſerves our Deteſtation rather than " Praiſe.

" THE *Iſraelites* were commanded by " God (whoſe Injunctions we are not to " diſpute) (*i*) *to have no Mercy upon the* " Inhabitants of *Canaan*, *but to ſmite and* " *utterly deſtroy them*; and therefore it " looks like mere Madneſs and Infatua- " tion, that a People, who knew them- " ſelves devoted to Deſtruction, (inſtead " of going over to the Enemy, or oppo- " ſing them by *Piece-meals*) did not con- " federate all together, either to expel " thoſe Invaders from their Countries, or " to ſell their Lives and Liberties at as " dear a Price as poſſible.

" SOME of theſe Nations were account- " ed a bold and warlike People; but cer- " tainly the Inhabitants of *Jericho* acted " like mere *Pultroons*, when they coop'd " themſelves up within the Walls of the " City, and never once thought of diſ- " puting the Paſs over the River *Jordan*. " For, whatever we may talk of that " wonderful Paſſage, 'tis evident (*k*) from " the Teſtimony of Travellers, that the " River was no more than a Brook in " Compariſon, and fordable in ſeveral " Places, as (*l*) the Scripture itſelf allows. " But even ſuppoſe it was not, 'tis no " uncommon Thing, (*m*) in Hiſtory to " read of Rivers, larger than this, by the " Force of ſome contrary Wind, driven " back, and their Channels laid dry.

" FOR a People obſervant of his Laws, " God no doubt will, and often does, " work Wonders, in order to give them " an Advantage over their Enemies; but " it is hard to conceive, what Reaſon " there ſhould be for exerting any mira- " culous Power in Behalf of thoſe, who, " as if aſham'd of the Covenant made " with their Forefather *Abraham*, had " now omitted the Sacrament of *Circum-* " *ciſion* ſo long; and, in a ſhort Time " after, had no manner of Regard to God's " *Sabbath*, when they went ſounding their " Horns about *Jericho*, or rather (as ſome " think) aſſaulted the Town, and imbru'd " their Hands in the Blood of ſo many " *Innocents*, on that ſacred Day.

" INSTEAD of *Rams-Horns*, which " are a little improper, one would think, " to make *muſical* Inſtruments of, a Sol- " dier would be tempted to ſay, that the " *Iſraelites* made uſe of *Battering-Rams* " upon this Occaſion: But thoſe, who " have ſtudy'd the Philoſophy of Sounds, " will tell us, that they have a certain " natural Fitneſs to break and demoliſh " ſolid Bodies; or, if this was not the " Caſe, from the violent Effects of ſub- " terraneous Eruptions, or the blowing up " ſome Magazines of Powder, one would " really imagine, that the Fall of the Walls " of *Jericho* was occaſion'd by ſome natu- " ral Cauſe.

" *JOSHUA*, as an old experienc'd " *General*, was doubtleſs Maſter of many " Stratagems, which the ignorant Herd " knew nothing of; and therefore he " might give the Word of Command for " them to *ſhout aloud*, when, at the ſame " Time, he order'd the Match to be laid " to the *Train*, that led to the *Mine* under " the Walls, and ſo they, poor Creatures " might imagine, that it was either their " Noiſe, or ſome miraculous Stroak, that " made them fall; when, in *reality*, the " whole was affected by nothing elſe, but " ſome new Device in War. But by " what Means ſoever he vanquiſh'd the " City, it ſeems a little extravagant, if not " brutal in him, after he had laid it in " Aſhes, to load it with ſuch heavy Im- " precations, when he had loſt no Men, " and met with ſo little Moleſtation in " taking it.

(*g*) Heb. xi. 31. and Jam. ii. 25. (*h*) Chriſtianity as old as the Creation, p. 263. (*i*) Deut. vii. 2. (*k*) *Sandys*'s Travels, lib. iii. p. 141. (*l*) Joſh. ii. 7. (*m*) Vid. *Pliny*'s Hiſt. Lib. ii. Cap. 102. *Dionyſ. Halicarn.* Antiq. Roman. Lib. vi. p. 351. and Lib. vii. p. 409.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

" What the myſterious Oracle of " *Urim* and *Thummim* may be, 'tis paſt " the Skill of Man perhaps to know; but, " be it what it will, it ſeems to have done " the *Iſraelites* no great Service, when it " could not hinder *Joſhua* and the other " Princes, no not even *Eleazar* himſelf, " who wore it, from being impos'd on by " the *Gibeonites*. The *Gibeonites* indeed " acted the crafty Part, and, ſince it was " to ſave themſelves, were not much to be " diſcommended; but certainly the *Iſra-* " *elites* might have known better, than to " think themſelves bound by an Oath, " that was not only drawn from them by " *Wile* and Artifice, but was repugnant " likewiſe to that divine Injunction, which " *previouſly* oblig'd them to extirpate all " the *Canaanites*, even tho' they ſu'd for " Peace never ſo earneſtly, and (*m*) *to* " *make no Covenant* with them, even tho' " they offer'd to become *Proſelytes* never " ſo ſincerely.

" The *Iſraelites* indeed, according to " the Repreſentation which *Joſhua* gives " us of them, were at the beſt but a giddy, " thoughtleſs Kind of People, elated with " Succeſſes, dejected with any Misfortunes, " and wild and boiſterous in the Proſecu- " tion of their Paſſions; for, to inſult over " *one* poor City with Imprecations and " Curſes, when it already lay in Aſhes, " (as was the Caſe at *Jericho*) to droop in " their Courage, and utterly deſpond, " upon a ſmall Defeat given them at *ano-* " *ther*, (as was the Caſe of *Ai*) and to fly " into a Flame, take up Arms, and vow " Revenge, tho' they knew not well for " what, (as was the Caſe between them " and their Brethren beyond *Jordan*) " argues ſuch a Baſeneſs of Mind, and " Barbarity of Temper, and Rudeneſs of " Manners, as but badly become the elect " People of God.

" But well may the Author of this " Book make thus free with his People, " when he is not afraid to record ſuch " Things, as cannot but reflect Diſhonour " upon the ſacred Attributes of God him- " ſelf. *Achan* indeed was a wicked Man " in purloining ſome Part of the Plunder " to himſelf; but what had his poor " Children done, that they muſt be com- " mitted to the ſame Flames? The City " of *Ai* had given the *Iſraelites* ſome " Moleſtation, and was to be ſubdu'd at " all Adventures; but what Neceſſity was " there for God to make uſe of Stratagem " and Artifice (Means, which ſeem below " the Greatneſs of the Almighty, and * " which ſome Nations and Generals have " rejected, as unworthy brave Men) to " give the Victory to his own Creatures.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

" To theſe People of his indeed he " had been very kind, in giving them " what he did of the Land of *Canaan*; " but ſince his Promiſe extended to the " *whole*, ſince (*n*) *from the Wilderneſs*, " *and this* Lebanon, *unto the great River* " Euphrates, *all the Land of the* Hittites, " *and unto the great Sea, towards the going* " *down of the Sun* (as he aſſur'd *Joſhua*) " *was to be their Coaſt*, it looks a little " ſtrange, that God ſhould falſify his " Promiſe, (for all theſe Territories they " never poſſeſs'd) and thus cut them " ſhort.

" Other Slips in our Author may be " excuſable; his talking of the (*o*) *Sanc-* " *tuary*'s being at *Shechem*, when indiſ- " putably it was at *Shiloh*, may charitably " be imputed to ſome ſmall Defect of " Memory; but it really ſhocks one, and " is enough to impeach the Authority of " the Book itſelf, to find recorded in it " ſuch Paſſages, as ſeem to leave an Impu- " tation of Cruelty, Craft, and Breach of " Promiſe

(*m*) Deut. vii. 2, &c.

* It was the Expreſſion of *Alexander the Great*, that he would not *ſteal a Victory*. The ancient *Greeks* gave Notice to their Enemies, when, and where they ſhould engage them. The old *Romans* knew not what Cunning and ſubtle Wiles in carrying on War meant: *Non Fraude, neque occultè, ſed palàm, & Armatum Populum Romanum Hoſtes ſuos ulciſci.* They ſought Victory only by Force and honeſt Fighting, deſiring that their Enemies might be convinc'd of their Valour, and ſubmit to them without Regret, becauſe they were the ſtronger. *Calmet*'s Commentary, on *Joſh.* viii.

(*n*) Joſh. i. 4. (*o*) Ibid. xxiv. 25. 26.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

" Promiſe upon God, whom all Man-
" kind muſt allow to be the Fountain and
" Foundation of all Honour, Truth, and
" Goodneſs."

Anſwered, by ſhewing the Reaſon why the Canaanites *made no better* Defence.

(p) *WHO is like unto thee, O Lord, among the Gods? Who is like unto thee, glorious in Holineſs, fearful in Praiſes, doing Wonders? Thou, in thy Mercy, haſt led forth the People, whom thou haſt redeemed; thou haſt guided them, in thy Strength unto thy holy Habitation. The People ſhall hear, and ſhall be afraid; Sorrow ſhall take hold on the Inhabitants of* Paleſtina. *The Elders of* Edom *ſhall be amaz'd; the mighty Men of* Moab *ſhall tremble, and all the Inhabitants of* Canaan *ſhall melt away. Fear, and Dread ſhall fall upon them. By the Greatneſs of thy Arm they ſhall be as ſtill as a Stone, till thy People paſs over, O Lord, till thy People paſs over, whom thou haſt purchaſed. Thou ſhalt bring them in, and plant them in the Mountain of thine Inheritance, in the Place, O Lord, which thou haſt made for them to dwell in; in the Sanctuary, O Lord, which thy Hand hath eſtabliſhed.*

THESE Words are Part of that triumphant Song, which *Moſes* made, upon the Deſtruction of the *Egyptians* in the *Red-Sea*. They are plain Predictions of what befel the *Iſraelites* forty Years after, and a Declaration they are, that the Conqueſt of their Country was, not only by the Order and Appointment, but by the immediate Help and Aſſiſtance of God; (q) *for* (as the Pſalmiſt expreſſes it) *they got not the Land in Poſſeſſion thro' their own Sword, neither was it their own Arm that helped them; but thy right Hand, and thine Arm, and the Light of thy Countenance, becauſe thou haſt a Favour unto them.* And, if God ſo immediately concern'd himſelf in the Conqueſt of the Country, we need not wonder, that we hear of the People, who were to defend it, being *amaz'd* and *trembling*, and *melting away for Fear*. The *Jewiſh* Doctors have a Tradition, that the vaſt Heaps of Waters, pil'd upon one another, while the *Iſraelites* paſs'd over the River *Jordan*, being ſeen by the People of *Jericho*, and other adjacent Places, occaſion'd ſo general a Conſternation, that they never once thought of maintaining the Paſs. And indeed their Conſternation muſt have been very great, when we find them encloſing themſelves within their Walls, and ſuffering the *Iſraelites* to ſurround them ſeven Days ſucceſſively, without even once attempting to make a *Sally*. They ſaw, in ſhort, that a Power, ſuperior to all human Oppoſition, was engag'd againſt them; and therefore whatever *prior Meaſures* they had taken for their mutual Defence, upon the Approach of an Army, commanded by one, who, when he pleaſes, (r) *maketh the Devices of the People ineffectual, and caſteth out the Counſels of Princes*, they were all broken and diſconcerted.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

Rahab *not an Harlot.*

IT cannot be deny'd indeed, but that, in antient Times, there was a great Affinity between the Buſineſs of an *Hoſteſs*, and an *Harlot*. Thoſe, who kept *Inns*, or publick Houſes for the Entertainment of Strangers, made no Scruple of proſtituting their Bodies: And for this Reaſon perhaps it is, that, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, there is but one Word, *viz. Zonah*, to denote Perſons of both Profeſſions. For this Reaſon very likely it was, that the *Septuagint*, ſpeaking of *Rahab*, give her the Appellation of an *Harlot*, and (as the *Septuagint* was, at this Time, the common Tranſlation of the *Jews*) for this very Reaſon, the two Apoſtles, (s) St *Paul*, and (t) St *James*, as they found it in the Tranſlation, might make uſe of the ſame Expreſſion. It is to be obſerv'd however, that, as the Expreſſion is capable of another Senſe, the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt calls her by a Word, which comes from the *Greek* Πανδοχευτρία or *a Woman that kept a publick Houſe*, without any Work of Infamy; and therefore Charity ſhould incline us to think the beſt of a Perſon, whom both theſe Apoſtles have rank'd with *Abraham*, the Father of the Faithful, and propounded as an Example

(p) Exod. xv. 11. &c. (q) Pſal. xliv. 3, 4. (r) Ibid. xxxiii. 10. (s) Heb. xi. 31. (t) Jam. ii. 25.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Christ. 1451, &c.

Example of Faith and good Works; who was admitted into the Society of God's People; marry'd into a † noble Family of the Tribe of *Judah*; and of whose Posterity *Christ*, the Saviour of the World, was born.

Nor blameable for imposing on the King's Officers.

To save the Lives of the Innocent is certainly a very commendable Thing; but whether it may be done by the Help of Dissimulation and Falshood, or whether *Rahab*, in concealing the Spies, and pretending to the King's Messengers, that they were just gone, did not incur the Sin of wilful Lying, is a Question not so very easy to be resolv'd. Men, as they are Members of a *Civil* Society, have certainly a *Right* to Truth, and the very Design of *Speech* is to be the Conveyance of our real Sentiments to one another; but some *Casuists* are of Opinion, that Circumstances may so happen, as to make it both lawful and necessary, not only to disguise the Truth, but to impose upon others by a false Information. Suppose a *Madman*, for Instance, with a drawn Sword in his Hand, should pursue a Friend of mine, with a full Intent to kill him; and my Friend, by the Benefit of some short Turning, gives him the *Drop*, so that, having lost Sight of him, he comes and demands of me, which Way he took; but I, instead of setting him right, point the Assassin another Way: In this Case, I presume, I commit no Crime, because the Man, in these Circumstances, has forfeited all Right to Truth, nor could I indeed impart it to him, without making myself instrumental to my Friend's Murther. This, in a great Measure, was *Rahab*'s Case. Her Design was, to save the Spies from the Hands of those, that were sent to apprehend them, but in vain had she form'd such a Design, unless she was resolv'd to put it in Execution; and yet, what other Way had she of executing it, but by telling a Lye? It had been to no Purpose for her to have hid them on the Roof of her House, if, for the Sake of Truth, she had thought herself oblig'd to discover the Place of their Concealment; if her Silence had given any Umbrage of Suspicion to their Pursuers; if she had not, in short, by a bold Assertion, diverted their Enquiry some other Way. In this Case the Design of the Means of executing it were inseparable. And yet, since a Design, which could no ways be executed without the Help of a Lye, is both prais'd and propos'd in Scripture, as a Pattern for the Church to imitate, what Right have we to condemn it? Or, upon what Presumption can we imagine, that *Rahab* would have acted more agreeably to the Mind of God, in discovering the Spies out of Respect to Truth, than she did, in preserving them by Virtue of a feign'd Story? But there is another Way of accounting for *Rahab*'s Conduct, and that is this —— (*u*) The Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* informs us, that (*x*) *by Faith she perish'd not with them that believ'd not, when she had receiv'd the Spies with Peace*; where the *Greek* Words are not Τοῖς ἀπί-στοις, *with the Unbelievers*, but τοῖς ἀπειθήσασι, *with the disobedient*, or those that were not persuaded of the Truth of what was told them. But how the Inhabitants of *Jericho* can be said to be unconvinc'd or disobedient, if God had reveal'd nothing to them, or requir'd nothing of them, we cannot conceive. Some Information must have been given both to them and *Rahab*, otherwise they could not be condemn'd for Disobedience, nor she commended for her *Faith*, i. e. for believing, and acting, according to the Will of God, made known unto her. Upon the Supposition then, that the Design of God towards the Inhabitants of *Canaan* was some way or other reveal'd to the King, and People of *Jericho*, and both he and they had been sufficiently warn'd to save themselves from the Destruction that was coming upon them, if they would not obey, but if *Rahab*

From Josh. i. to the End.

† *Rahab* marry'd *Salmon*, a Prince of *Judah*, by whom she had *Boaz*. *Boaz* was Father of *Obed*, *Obed* of *Jesse*, and *Jesse* of King *David*: So that *Jesus Christ* did not disdain to reckon this *Canaanitish* Woman among his Ancestors. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

(*u*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. xii. (*x*) Heb. xi. 31.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

Rahab did, and acted conformably to the Information that was given her, her whole Behaviour will not only ſtand clear of every criminal Imputation, but be highly commendable, and juſtly deſerve a Rank among thoſe illuſtrious Patterns, which the *Apoſtle* propoſes to our Imitation, as being a Perſon juſtify'd not only by her *Faith*, (*y*) but her *Works* likewiſe, *when ſhe receiv'd the Meſſengers, and ſent them out another way.*

And taking Part againſt her own Country.

THE Declaration, which their kind Protectreſs makes to them, (*z*) *I know that the Lord hath given you the Land, and that your Terror is fallen upon us, and that all the Inhabitants of the Land faint becauſe of you, for the Lord your God he is God in Heaven above, and in Earth beneath*, beſpeaks the full Perſuaſion of her Mind; and therefore, not doubting, but that the Ruler of the Univerſe had an uncontroulable Right to diſpoſe of all Kingdoms and Countries according to his good Pleaſure, ſhe judg'd it reaſonable *to obey God rather than Man*, and thereupon endeavour'd, as much as in her lay, to deliver up the Land to the *true Owners*, to thoſe, whom God, by his Donation, had made its rightful Proprietors.

AN Order from Heaven moſt certainly releaſes the *Subject* from his Allegiance to his *Prince*, and the *Citizen* from the Engagement, he lies under to thoſe, that are of the ſame Society: And therefore *Rahab*, having ſuch an Order, (or, at leaſt what was equivalent to it) was at full Liberty to eſpouſe what Party ſhe pleas'd, and muſt have been perfidious to God, and forgetful of her own Preſervation, if ſhe had acted otherwiſe than ſhe did. For (*a*) even ſetting aſide her *Faith*, (for which ſhe is ſo juſtly commended in the *Goſpel*) if ſhe had heard of the Deſtruction of *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, and of the other two Kings on the *Eaſt* Side of *Jordan*, the King of *Jericho* can hardly be ſuppos'd to be ignorant of their Fate: And therefore it was as natural for her to be terrify'd at it, and to provide for her Safety, as it was for him to make a brave Reſiſtance, or periſh in the Attempt. If therefore what the Scripture ſeems to intimate be true, *viz.* that *Joſhua* was oblig'd to offer Peace, before he made uſe of the Sword againſt any of the *Canaanitiſh* Nations; it was as lawful for her, or any other Subject, to accept this Peace, as it was glorious perhaps for a Monarch to refuſe it. At leaſt we cannot but think, that the Refuſal of ſuch advantageous Terms from an irreſiſtible *Conqueror*, at the Riſque of being all infallibly *maſſacred* by him, for the Sake of a King, who (for ought that appears to the contrary) might be a *petty Tyrant*, or for the Sake of a People, whom Fear had render'd incapable of making any tolerable Reſiſtance; when perhaps the Difference of being under the *natural Monarch*, (if he was really ſuch) or the *Conqueror*, was inconſiderable, or (it may be) on the Side of the *latter*: We cannot but think, I ſay, that ſuch a Refuſal would have been an Inſtance of *Patriotiſm*, not to be expected from a *Canaanite*, and, much leſs, from ſuch a young *Hoſteſs*, as *Rahab* muſt have been, ſince we read of her being the Mother of *Boaz*, above thirty Years after this. So that, upon the whole, ſhe acted a Part, that might naturally be expected from her, no ways inglorious in itſelf, and highly agreeable to the Will of God, when ſhe adjoin'd herſelf to thoſe, who, by his Almighty Arm, were ſo viſibly ſupported; and abandon'd the Intereſt of thoſe, who, upon ſo many Accounts, were very juſtly devoted to Deſtruction.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

Reaſons for God's treating the Canaanites *ſo ſeverely.*

WHAT the Spirit ſays unto the Church at *Thyatira*, (*b*) *I gave her Space to repent of her Fornication, but ſhe repented not; Behold, I will caſt her into a Bed, and them that commit Adultery with her into great Tribulation, and I will kill her Children with Death, and give unto every one according to his Works*, is very applicable to the ſeveral Nations in the Land of *Canaan*. Four hundred Years were to intervene

(*y*) Jam. ii. 25. (*z*) Joſh. ii. 9, 11. (*a*) Univerſ. Hiſt. lib. i. c 7. (*b*) Revel. ii. 21, &c.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

intervene between the Commencement of the Promiſe to *Abraham*, and this Completion of it; and the Reaſon, which God gives for this long Delay, is, that (*c*) *the Iniquity of the* Amorites (and by the *Amorites*, he means all the other Nations of *Canaan*) *was not yet full: And* (*d*) *even tho'* (as the Author of the Book of Wiſdom argues) *he could have deſtroyed them all with one rough Word, yet, executing his Judgments by little and little, he gave them Place of Repentance, not being ignorant that they were an haughty Generation, and that their Malice was bred in them, and their Cogitation would never be changed.* For inſtead of reforming, the only Effect, which this Delay had, was, to make them more confirm'd in Wickedneſs, and becauſe (*e*) *this Sentence againſt their evil Works was not ſpeedily executed*, therefore were *their Hearts the fuller ſet in them to do Evil.*

What the Nature and Heinouſneſs of their Iniquities were, we may beſt learn (from (*f*) the many Precautions, which God gives his People againſt them; *for he hated them* (as the (*g*) ſame Author has drawn up the Articles of Accuſation againſt them) *for doing moſt odious Works of Witchcraft, and wicked Sacrifices, for their mercileſs murthering of Children, devouring of Man's Fleſh, and feaſting upon Blood*; and if we may ſuppoſe, that God, ſome way or other, had given theſe Nations ſufficient Notice of his intended Severity againſt them if they did not repent; had abundant Reaſon to preſerve his own People from the Infection of the *Abominations*; and, before their Extirpation was executed, did, (*h*) by his Servant *Joſhua*, offer them Conditions of Peace: Tho' the divine Counſels are a Secret to us, yet, (even upon this Face of Things) we cannot find any Fault with his Treatment of them; ſince, when he had given them *Space to repent, and they repented not*, his Juſtice was certainly then at Liberty to take what Vengeance his divine Wiſdom ſhould think fit.

From Joſh i. to the End.

Reaſons for the Iſraelites *Paſſage of* Jordan.

And indeed this ſeems to be one of the Reaſons, why God divided the River for the *Iſraelites*, who were to be the Inſtruments of this his Vengeance, to paſs over, *viz.* That thereby he might inject a Terror into the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, and ſo facilitate the Conqueſt of their Country. On the Side of *Jordan*, the Kings of the Neighbourhood fear'd no Invaſion. The Depth of the River (eſpecially at the Time of its Overflowing, which was in the *Harveſt* when the *Iſraelites* (*i*) paſs'd it) was Barrier ſufficient, they thought, againſt all that the *Iſraelites* could do. For, in thoſe Days, *Pontoons* were Things never heard of in military Expeditions; and the * Stream is (even at this Day) allow'd to be too fierce and rapid for any one to ſwim over: And therefore, as they expected no Danger from that Quarter, and might for that Reaſon draw out no Forces to defend that Side of their Frontier; ſo the ſacred Hiſtorian has taken care to inform us, that (*k*) *when all the Kings of the* Amorites, *which were on the Side of* Jordan *weſtward, and*

(*c*) Gen. xv. 16. (*d*) Wiſd. xii. 9, 10. (*e*) Eccleſ. viii. 11. (*f*) Vide Lev. xviii. 4. Deut. ix. 4, &c. (*g*) Wiſd. xii. 4, 5. (*h*) Deut. xx. 10, 11. Joſh. xi. 19. (*i*) Joſh. iii. 15. 1 Chron. xii. 15. and Eccluſ. xxiv. 26.

* That the ſacred Writings do conſtantly repreſent this River as not fordable, except at ſome particular Places, very probably made by Art, that the Countries on each Side may have a freer Communication, is plain from the Paſſages, to which theſe ſeveral Citations *Joſh.* ii. 2. *Judg.* iii. 28. and xii. 5. 2 *Kings* ii. 14. do refer. That it was not a poor and inconſiderable Stream, ſuch as ſome have repreſented it, is evident from the Account of *Thevenot* (in his *Travels*, page 193) who himſelf went near the Place, where the *Iſraelites* paſs'd over, and deſcribes it to be "half as broad as the *Seine* at *Paris*, very deep, and very rapid; which agrees very well with what *Maundrell* (in his *Journey from* Aleppo, p. 83.) ſays of it, *viz.* "That its Channel is twenty Yards over, deeper than a Man's "Height, and runs with ſuch a Current, that there is no ſwimming againſt it:" And that (whatever the preſent Condition of *Jordan* may be) 'tis certain, when the *Iſraelites* came into *Canaan*, it was a much larger River than now it is, for even in *Pliny*'s Time, (Nat. Hiſt. Lib. v.) its Channel was much larger than what it now runs in, having then the Title of *Amnis Ambitioſus*; and, in the Days, when *Strabo* wrote (according to his Geog. Lib. xvi.) even Veſſels of Burthen might navigate in it. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. xii.

(*k*) Joſh. v. 1.

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and all the Kings of the Canaanites, *which were by the* Sea, *heard that the Lord had dried up the Waters of* Jordan *from before the Children of* Iſrael, *until they were paſſed over, their Hearts melted, neither was there Spirit in them any more.*

AND as this miraculous Paſſage could not but fill their Enemies with Confuſion, ſo it added, no doubt, freſh Courage to the *Iſraelites*, when they came to conſider, that the ſame God, about forty Years before, had wrought the like Miracle for them in their Paſſage of the *Red-Sea*; that *then* he divided the *Waves*, (*l*) to confirm the Commiſſion, which he had given *Moſes*, and *now* had parted the *Stream*, to ſtrengthen the Authority of his Succeſſor, *Joſhua*, and to give them Aſſurance, that (*m*) *he would be with the one, as he had been with the other*, and empower the *latter* to make good their Poſſeſſion *of the Land of Promiſe*, even as he had enabled the *former* to accompliſh their Deliverance *out of the Land of Bondage.*

And that it was really miraculous.

IN all Rivers whatever, there, queſtionleſs, are ſome ſhallower Places than ordinary, or ſome Paſſages, either by Boats or Bridges, that may be called *Fords*; but that the *Jordan*, at this Time, was either ſo vaſtly overflown, as to render theſe *Fords* impaſſable, or that the *Iſraelites* croſs'd it at Places, which the Enemy never thought of, and where none of theſe *Paſſes* were to be found, is pretty evident from the *Canaanites* making no Preparation to defend their Coaſts on the *River-ſide*, and from the great Conſternation, we find them in, when once they underſtood that the *Jewiſh* Army had got over. For (whatever Opinion we, at this Diſtance of Time, may have of the Matter) they juſtly inferr'd, that the Suſpenſion of a River's Courſe could be effected no other Way, than by a divine Power, either *immediately* acting itſelf, or by the *Inſtrumentality* of its Angels. And though there poſſibly may be ſome Inſtances in Hiſtory, wherein, by the Violence of adverſe Winds, the Courſe of Rivers has either been retarded, or * driven back; yet, as we read of no ſuch Wind concern'd in this Event, the Prediction of *Joſhua*, and the Promiſes of God concerning this Miracle, the Time in which he choſe to work it, and the Analogy it bears with what before was wrought at the *Red-Sea*; theſe, and ſeveral other Circumſtances, make this Tranſaction beyond *Compare*, and rank it, not only among thoſe Prodigies, which very rarely come to paſs, but among thoſe ſtupendous Works, which (contrary to the Laws of Nature) the great Author and Ruler of the *Univerſe*, for the Preſervation of his People, and the Manifeſtation of his own Glory, is ſometimes obſerv'd to do.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

Why Circumciſion might be omitted.

(*n*) *He, that is born in thy Houſe, or he that is bought with thy Money, muſt needs be circumciſed, and my Covenant ſhall be in your Fleſh for an everlaſting Covenant; and the uncircumciſed Man-child, whoſe Fleſh of his Foreſkin is not circumciſed, that Soul ſhall be cut off from his People; he hath broken my Covenant.* Theſe are the Words of the Precept, and they ſeem to be ſo very urgent and expreſs, that one would really think the Ordinance was intended, not only for a Diſtinction between *Jew* and *Gentile*, but for an Inſtitution likewiſe, to take away the Guilt of *Original* Sin. And yet, even upon this Suppoſition, (*o*) the People's frequent moving from Place to Place, the Uncertainty of their Decampments, and the Inconvenience of their Travelling, which would make it dangerous for Children to be circumcis'd before a March, might be ſome

(*l*) *Saurin*'s Diſſertation ſur le Paſſage du *Jourdain*. (*m*) Joſh. i. 17.

* Something of this Nature ſeems to have happen'd in *Auguſtus*'s Time, according to that known Paſſage in *Horace*:

Vidimus Flavum *Tiberim*, retortis
Littore Etruſco violentèr Undis,
Ire dejectum Monumentum Regis,
Templaque *Veſtæ*. Lib. i. ODE II.

(*n*) Gen. xvii. 13, 14. (*o*) *Saurin*'s Diſſert. ſur la Priſe de *Jerico*.

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ſome Apology for their omitting the Obſervation of this Rite, even though they had no divine Diſpenſation for it.

(*p*) It is one of the general Rules among the *Jews*, that *no Precept*, (always meaning no *ceremonial* Precept, for ſome Precepts there are, that were to be obſerv'd, even at the Expence of their Lives) *whoſe Obſervation occaſions Death, is to be attended to*, becauſe the Scriptures ſay, that *he who obſerveth theſe Laws, ſhall live*, not die, *by them*. But how frivolous ſoever this Reaſon may be, 'tis certain, that, in Caſe they apprehended any Danger from the Operation, they carry'd this Diſpenſation ſo far, as to exempt the next Child from having this Ordinance paſs upon him, if ſo be that his Brother before him died of the Wound which he receiv'd in Circumciſion. And, for a farther Excuſe, they add, that, during their Sojourning in the Wilderneſs, for one Crime or other, their Forefathers were generally under the divine Diſpleaſure, in which Condition it would have been a Prophanation of the *Sacrament* to have adminiſter'd it.

But then, if the other Notion of this Ordinance be admitted, *viz.* that it was no more than a *Note* of Diſtinction between the *Iſraelites* and other Nations, as the *Iſraelites* were now alone in the Wilderneſs, there was no Danger of their mixing with others, and conſequently leſs Reaſon for their Obſervation of this *diſtinguiſhing* Rite, until they ſhould enter upon the Poſſeſſion of a Country, where every Kind of Idolatry ſurrounded them on all Hands.

Thus, whether we look upon the Rite of *Circumciſion*, as a Sacrament of *Initiation* into the *Jewiſh* Church, or a Character of Diſtinction only between them and other People, the *Iſraelites* might, without the Imputation of much Guilt, omit the outward Obſervance of it, if ſo be that they did but attend to what was the true Intent and Meaning of it, *viz.* (*q*) *the circumciſing the Foreſkin of their Hearts*; (*r*) *for he is not a* Jew, (as St *Paul* excellently argues) *who is one outwardly, neither is that Circumciſion, which is outward in the Fleſh*; *but he is a* Jew, *who is one inwardly, and Circumciſion is that of the Heart, in the Spirit, and not in the Letter, whoſe Praiſe is not of Men, but of God.* From Joſh. i. to the End.

In like Manner, the Obſervation of the *Sabbath-Day* was a Precept of ſevere Injunction; but, whether the Deſtruction of *Jericho* happen'd on that Day, or any other of the Week, (as the *Iſraelites* were order'd to compaſs the City for ſeven Days *ſucceſſively*) 'tis certain, that one of theſe Days muſt neceſſarily have been the Sabbath; and yet we muſt not ſuppoſe that they committed any great Offence in what they did, becauſe the ſame Authority, which made the Law for the Obſervation of it, gave now a full Licence for the Prophanation of it. The Perſon who met *Joſhua*, and preſcrib'd the Form of the Siege of *Jericho*, by his Aſſumption of divine Honours and Appellations, was doubtleſs the ſame, who deliver'd the Law from Mount *Sinai*: And therefore we need not queſtion, but that *now* he acted in as full Power, in ſuſpending, (ſince his Orders could not be executed without ſuch Suſpenſion) as he *then* did in enjoining the Obſervation of the *Sabbath*; and 'tis in Alluſion (as ſome imagine) to this very Paſſage, that our bleſſed Saviour pronounc'd that Maxim in the Goſpel, (*s*) *the Sabbath was made for Man, and not Man for the Sabbath.* *And the* Sabbath, *not obſerv'd.*

However this be, 'tis certain, that, before our Saviour's Days, the *Jews* carry'd the Obſervation of the Sabbath to a great Degree of Rigour. In the Time of the *Maccabees*, they would not ſo much as defend themſelves againſt the Aſſault of their Enemies on that Day, (*t*) but yielded their Throats to be cut, rather than ſtir an Hand in their own Vindication: Whereas this Example of their Forefathers *inveſting*, if not *ſacking Jericho* on the Sabbath-day, might have taught them, one would

(*p*) *Lightfoot*'s Hor. Heb. in 1 Cor. vii. 19. (*q*) Deut. x. 16. (*r*) Rom. ii. 28, 29. (*s*) Mark ii. 27.
(*t*) *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part II. Vol. IV.

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would think, that, in Caſes of this Nature, it was allowable, not only to defend themſelves, but to prevent their Enemies annoying them, nay, even to fall upon, and deſtroy them, whenever a favourable Opportunity preſented itſelf on that Day.

Why Rams-Horns *were made uſe of at the Taking of* Jericho.

IN the Conqueſt of *Jericho* however, ſome have imagined, that *Rams-horns* were not proper *Materials*, whereof to make Trumpets; that they are not ſo eaſily *perforated*, nor can they ever be brought to make a Sound, ſhrill and extenſive enough for their particular Purpoſes; and therefore they conceive, that Braſs, or Silver, or any other Metal had been more convenient for this Uſe; whereupon (*u*) they derive the Word *Jobel*, in the Singular, (which we render a *Ram's-Horn*) not from the *Arabick*, which ſignifies a *Ram*, but from *Jubal*, the Name of him, who was the firſt Inventor of muſical Inſtruments: And, according to this Senſe, the Trumpets, which the Prieſts upon this Occaſion us'd, may be ſaid to have been faſhion'd *according to thoſe, which* Jubal *firſt invented.*

THIS Interpretation of the Words (which is no bad one) removes all the Incongruity, that may ſeem to ariſe from the *Matter*, whereof theſe Trumpets were compos'd: But then, it is to be conſider'd, that, as the firſt Inſtruments of this Kind were probably made of Horns, ſo has the Notion of the Impoſſibility of *boring* a Ram's-Horn been ſufficiently confuted by our learned *Spencer*. The Truth is, every one knows, that in the Inſide of it, there is a ſofter Part, which may be drawn out by Art, after which it is hollow all the Way up, except four or five Inches towards the Top, Part of which is ſawed off, to make it broad enough for the Mouth, and then the reſt is eaſily bored. But whether there is any Foundation for that Fancy of the *Jews*, that theſe Horns were retain'd in the Proclamation of ſome of their greateſt Feſtivals, in Memory of *Iſaac*'s being reſcued from his Father *Abraham*'s Knife by the Subſtitution of a *Ram* in his Stead, is a Point that we leave to the Speculations of the Curious.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

The Taking of it miraculous.

WHATEVER Materials theſe Trumpets were made of, it is impoſſible to conceive, that there ſhould be any Power in their Sound to demoliſh Cities; and tho' the Noiſe of a great Number of People might be very loud, yet ſtill it would require a Miracle in *Joſhua* to know, what the juſt Proportion was between their Noiſe, and the Strength of the Walls of *Jericho*, ſince the leaſt Deviation in this Reſpect would have defeated the whole Experiment.

WHAT the Effect of Gunpowder, or of other ſulphureous Matter fir'd under Ground, or in the Bowels of the Earth, is, no one, that has ſeen either the Springing of a Mine, or felt the Convulſions of an Earthquake, needs be told; but that no Stratagem of this Kind could be employ'd in the Siege of *Jericho*, is manifeſt, becauſe the Invention of Gun-Powder is a novel Thing, nor had the *Iſraelites* been long enough on the *weſtern Side* of *Jordan*, to have undermined its Walls, even tho' they had had the Secret of ſome *inflammatory Stratum*, to have lodged under them. On the contrary, the whole Proceſs of this Siege (if we may ſo call it) was manag'd at ſuch a Rate, as plainly diſcover'd an Expectance of a Miracle to be wrought: For had not this been the Caſe, inſtead of ſauntring about the Walls for ſeven Days, they ſhould have been working in their *Trenches*, and *carrying on their Approaches*, as we now call it.

THE Art of War was then but in its Infancy; and, as the Manner of undermining and blowing up the moſt ponderous Bodies was what the Ancients were unacquainted with, ſo was the *Battering-Ram* an Invention of a later Date than ſome imagine. (*x*) *Pliny* indeed ſeems to ſay, that *Epeus* firſt made Uſe of it at the Siege of *Troy*; but, in all Probability, (*y*)

(*u*) *Maſius* in Joſh. vi. 4. *Bochart*'s Hieroſ. lib. ii. c. 43. and *Calmet* in Locum.

(*x*) Lib. vii. c. 56.

(*y*) Ezek. iv. 1, 2. and xxi. 22.

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Ezekiel is the earlieſt Author that mentions this Machine, and perhaps the firſt Time that it was employ'd was under *Nebuchadnezzar*, at the Siege of *Jeruſalem*.

But there is no need to ranſack Hiſtory, for the Confutation of this *Syſtem*, which (*z*) they, who propoſe it, do nevertheleſs acknowledge, that, tho' the Walls of *Jericho* might have fallen, without any extraordinary Act of the divine Power, yet, by the Circumſtances of the whole Account, it appears, that this *Event* was altogether miraculous. Nor ſhould *Joſhua*'s denouncing an *Anathema* over the vanquiſh'd City be thought a Thing unprecedented, or a Token of a furious and unplacable Spirit, ſince the like Practice has been obſerv'd by ſome of the greateſt Generals of other Nations; foraſmuch as (*a*) *Agamemnon*, after he had taken *Troy*, denounc'd a Curſe upon thoſe, who ſhould, at any Time, attempt to rebuild it; the *Romans* publiſh'd a Decree of *Execration* againſt them, who ſhould do the like to *Carthage*; and when (*b*) *Craſſus* had demoliſh'd *Sidon*, (which had been a lurking Place to the Tyrant *Glaucias*) he wiſh'd the greateſt Evils imaginable upon the Head of that Man, who ſhould but ſo much as build a Wall about the Place, where it once ſtood.

Joſhua's curſing it no uncommon Thing.

What the Urim *and* Thummim *were.*

Of all the Queſtions in the *Jewiſh* Schools, there is none more difficult, than what we are to underſtand by the *Urim* and *Thummim*, which *Moſes* takes Notice of, as ſomething belonging to the Attire of the High-Prieſt, and withal enabling him to give Reſponſes to ſuch, as by his Mediation came to conſult God. (*c*) The two Words are variouſly tranſlated; but, in the main, all the Tranſlations amount much to the ſame Purport; and, as this ſacred Thing (be it what it will) was to be plac'd on the High-Prieſt's Breaſt, it very properly reminded him of the great Qualifications, requiſite in thoſe of his Order; *Light*, or Sufficiency of ſpiritual Knowledge; and *Perfection*, or the Virtue and Sanctity of his Life. From Joſh. i. to the End.

The general Opinion indeed is, that this *Urim* and *Thummim* were one and the ſame Thing: But (*d*) an ingenious Writer of our own Nation conceives them to be two different Oracles, and apply'd to different Purpoſes; that *Urim* was the Oracle, whereby God gave Anſwer to thoſe, who conſulted him in *difficult* Caſes, and *Thummim*, that, whereby the High-Prieſt knew whether God did accept the Sacrifice or no; that therefore the former is call'd *Light*, as giving Knowledge, which diſpels the *Darkneſs* of our Minds; and the other *Integrity*, or Perfection, becauſe they, whoſe Sacrifices God accepted, were accounted *Thummim*, i. e. juſt, and righteous in his Sight: In ſhort, that by the *former*, the *Jews* were aſcertain'd of the Counſel or Will of God; by the latter, of his Favour and good Acceptance. But this Diſtinction has not met with a general Approbation, becauſe, however, there may be (*e*) Paſſages where the one is mention'd without the other, yet in this Caſe, the one (which is generally the *Urim*) may well enough be ſuppos'd to include both.

The *Jewiſh* Doctors are moſtly of Opinion, that the *Urim* and *Thummim* were nothing elſe, but the precious Stones, which were ſet upon the Breaſt-plate; and that, (*f*) by the ſhining or protuberating of the Letters in the Names of the twelve Tribes, engraven upon the twelve Stones, the High-Prieſt, when he came to conſult God, could read the Anſwer: But, in this Opinion, there are ſome Difficulties hardly to be ſurmounted. For, beſides that all the Letters in the *Hebrew Alphabet* are not to be found on the *Pectoral*, ſince there are four, *viz. Heth*, *Teth*, *Zade*, and *Koph* manifeſtly wanting; (*g*) the Queſtion is, by what Rules the *High-Prieſt* could make a Combination of

(*z*) *P. Merſenne*, in his Comment. on *Geneſis*, and *D. Geo. Merhof.* de Scypho Vitreo, per certum humanæ Vocis Tonum fracto. (*a*) *Strabo*, lib. xiii. p. 898. (*b*) *Zonaræ* Annal. lib. ix. p. 409. (*c*) *Edwards*'s Enquiry into difficult Texts, Part II. (*d*) *Mede*'s Diſcourſe 35. (*e*) Numb. xxvii. 21. 1 Sam. xxviii. 6. (*f*) *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part II. lib. iii. (*g*) *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Urim*.

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of theſe Letters, (ſuppoſing there were enough of them) and ſo put them together, as to ſpell out the divine Oracle; becauſe it is not pretended that theſe Letters mov'd out of their Places, but only ſwell'd or rais'd themſelves above the reſt? Suppoſe, for Inſtance, that any ſix of theſe Letters ſhould have ſwell'd, or ſhone with a more than ordinary Luſtre, yet, how ſhould the High-Prieſt know to diſpoſe of them in right Order, and which ſhould be firſt, and which laſt? If it be ſaid, By the Spirit of Prophecy: This vacates all the Neceſſity of the *Urim* and *Thummim*; becauſe a prophetick Spirit would teach him what he deſir'd to know, without any farther Aſſiſtance.

(*h*) *CHRISTOPHORUS à Caſtro*, and, from him, (*i*) Dr *Spencer* will needs have it, that this *Urim* and *Thummim* were two little *Images*, (much of the ſame Make with the *Gentile Teraphim*) which, being folded in the Doubling of the *Breaſt-Plate*, did from thence give *oracular* Anſwers by an audible Voice, and that this Device was taken from the *Egyptians*. But, beſides that the Word *Teraphim* (to which theſe others were compar'd) is ſeldom or never taken in a *good* Senſe, it ſeems a little improbable, that, in a Matter ſo ſolemn and ſacred, the *Jews* ſhould be left to follow the Examples of the idolatrous *Egyptians*. (*k*) The ſacred Records indeed inform us, that the *Jews* borrow'd of the *Egyptians Jewels of Silver, and Gold, and Raiment*; but they no where intimate, that the *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt borrow'd his *pontifical*, and particularly his *oracular Habit*, from them: And therefore to think, that God, who declares himſelf ſo poſitively againſt the idolatrous Practice of the *Gentiles*, ſhould, by theſe Images of *Pagan* Invention, take the ready Way to give them Countenance and Encouragement; or to think, that the *Jews*, who were expreſſly commanded not to *learn the Way of the Heathen*; and (*l*) *after the Doings of the Land of* Egypt, *where they had dwelt, not to do*; were permitted, nay, commanded to make uſe of this *magical* and *ſuperſtitious* Rite, is ſuch an Heap of odd and wild Conceits, as no unprejudic'd Mind can ever entertain. From Joſh. i. to the End.

OTHERS therefore are of Opinion, that it was the *Tetragrammaton*, or ineffable Name of God; and others, that it was no more than the two plain Words of *Urim* and *Thummim*, written or engraven on ſome Plate of Gold, or precious Stones, which, when plac'd upon the *Pectoral*, would give it an *oracular* Power: (*m*) But the moſt probable Opinion is, that it was no corporeal Thing at all, but only a certain Virtue (which God was pleas'd to give to the *Breaſt-Plate* at its Conſecration) of obtaining an *oracular* Anſwer from him, whenever the High-Prieſt ſhould put it on in order to aſk Counſel of him, in the Manner that he had appointed; and that the Names of *Urim* and *Thummim* were given it, only to denote the *Clearneſs* and *Perſpicuity*, which thoſe Anſwers of God had, *viz.* that they were not like the *Heathen* Oracles, *enigmatical*, and *ambiguous*, but plain and manifeſt, and ſuch, as never fell ſhort of *Perfection*, either in the Fulneſs of the Anſwer, or the Certainty of the Truth of it.

Upon what Occaſions conſulted.

WHETHER this Oracle was only conſulted in the great and important Affairs of the State, or might be advis'd with in Queſtions of a lower Nature, is not entirely determin'd by the *Learned*; but the moſt prevailing Opinion is, that the *High-Prieſt* (who was the only officiating Miniſter in this Ceremony) was not allow'd to addreſs it for any private Perſon, but only for the King, the Preſident of the *Sanhedrim*, the General of the *Army*, or ſome other publick Governor in *Iſrael*; and *that*, not upon any private Affairs, but ſuch only, as related to the publick Intereſt of the Nation, whether in *Church* or *State*.

The Manner of doing it.

WHEN therefore any ſuch Matter happen'd, wherein it was neceſſary to conſult God, the Cuſtom was for the *High-*

(*h*) De Vaticinio. (*i*) Diſſert. de Urim & Thummim. (*k*) *Edwards*'s Enquiry, Part II. (*l*) Levit. xviii. 3. (*m*) *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part I. lib. iii.

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High-Prieſt to put on his Robes and Breaſt-Plate, and ſo preſent himſelf, not within the Veil of the *Holy of Holies*, (for thither he never enter'd, but once a Year, on the great Day of *Expiation*) but without the Veil in the *holy Place*, and there ſtanding, with his Face directly towards the Ark, or Mercy-Seat, whereon the divine Preſence reſted, he propounded the Matter; and, at ſome Diſtance behind him, but without the *holy-Place*, ſtood the Perſon, for whom the Oracle was conſulted, in devout Expectation of the Anſwer, which (as (*n*) it ſeems moſt congruous to the Thing) was given him in an *audible* Voice from the *Mercy-Seat*, which was within behind the *Veil*.

HERE it was that *Moſes* went to aſk Counſel of God in all Caſes; and from hence he was anſwer'd in an *audible* Voice: And, in like Manner, whenever the High-Prieſt preſented himſelf before God, according to the Preſcription of the divine Law, 'tis reaſonable to believe, that God gave him an Anſwer in the ſame Way that he did *Moſes*, i. e. by an audible Voice from the Mercy-Seat: And for this Reaſon it is, that ſuch Addreſs for Counſel is called *enquiring at the Mouth of God*, and the *Holy of Holies* (the Place where the Mercy-Seat ſtood, and from which the Anſwer was given) is ſo often in Scripture ſtiled (*o*) *the Oracle*, becauſe from thence were the Oracles of God deliver'd to ſuch, as came to aſk *Counſel* of him.

* SUCH was the ſtanding Oracle, which the *Iſraelites* might have had Recourſe to upon all important Occaſions; and if, in their League with the *Gibeonites*, they were too haſty and precipitate, their Unadviſedneſs is only to be blam'd, and not the Inſufficiency of that Means, which God had appointed for their better Information. The ſhort of the Matter is, the pretended foreign Ambaſſadors drew them in by a Wile and Artifice. The Story of their *old* Shoes and *mouldy* Bread was ſo well contriv'd, and ſeem'd ſo very plauſible, that they took the Thing for granted, as we ſay. (*p*) *They took of their Victuals*, (as the Text expreſſes it) or receiv'd them, without any farther Enquiry, upon the Account of the Staleneſs of their Proviſion, and (*q*) *aſked not Counſel of the Mouth of the Lord*; and therefore no Wonder, that God ſhould ſuffer them to be outwitted, when they had an infallible Director ſo near at hand, and yet, in a Matter of ſuch Moment, as that of entring into a *national Treaty*, never once bethought themſelves to conſult him.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

Why the Iſraelites *were outwitted, notwithſtanding they had this* Oracle.

BUT there was a greater Error in their Conduct with Relation to the *Gibeonites*. The Orders and Directions, which God gave them, when they enter'd into a State of War, were to this Effect. —— (*r*) That to all Cities, which, upon their Summons ſurrender'd to them, they were to give Quarter; to ſave their Lives, but, at the ſame Time, to make them their

(*n*) *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part. I. lib. iii. (*o*) Exod. xxv. 18, 20. Chap. xxxvii. 6. Lev. xvi. 2. 1 Kings vi. 5, &c. 2 Chron. iii. 16. Chap. iv. 20, &c. Pſal. xxviii. 2.

* The *Jewiſh* Doctors think, that the Cuſtom of conſulting God by *Urim* and *Thummim* continu'd no longer than under the *Tabernacle*: For it is a Maxim among them, that the Holy Spirit ſpake to the Children of *Iſrael* by *Urim* and *Thummim*, while the Tabernacle laſted; under the *firſt* Temple, *i. e.* the Temple of *Solomon*, by the Prophets; and under the *ſecond* Temple, or after the Captivity of *Babylon*, by the *Bath-col*, or *Daughter of the Voice*, by which they mean, a Voice ſent from Heaven, ſuch as was heard at our Saviour's *Baptiſm* and *Tranſfiguration*, Matth. iii. 17. Our learned *Spencer* ſeems to have adopted this Opinion, and endeavours to ſupport it by theſe Arguments, *viz.* That the *Urim* and *Thummim* were a Conſequence of the *Theocracy* of the *Hebrews*: For, while the Lord immediately govern'd his People, it was neceſſary that there ſhould always be a *Means* at hand, whereby to conſult him upon Affairs that concern'd the common Intereſt of the whole Nation; but ſince the *Theocracy* ceas'd, when the Kingdom became *hereditary* in the Perſon and Family of *Solomon*, and the Intereſt of the Nation ceas'd to be common, after the Diviſion of *Iſrael* into two Monarchies, the Oracles of the *Urim* and *Thummim* muſt neceſſarily ceaſe. And accordingly, if we conſult the ſacred Hiſtory, we ſhall meet with no Footſteps of thus applying to God, from the Building of *Solomon*'s Temple, to the Time of its Deſtruction; and after its Deſtruction, all are agreed, that this Oracle was never reſtor'd again. *Spencer* de Urim & Thummim, Cap. 2.

(*p*) Joſh. ix. 14. (*q*) Ibid. (*r*) Deut. xx. 12, &c.

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their Slaves and Tributaries; but, that to ſuch as ſlighted their Summons, and ſtood upon their Defence, they were not to uſe the ſame Treatment. If they were a *diſtant* Nation, or not belonging to the Country of *Canaan*, upon their taking any Place, they were to *put the Men only to the Sword*, ſparing the Women and Children, and other living Creatures that were found in it; but, if they were a neighbouring or *Canaanitiſh* State, that ſtood out and reſiſted, *they were to deſtroy all* without Exception, and *ſave alive nothing that breath'd*. In the whole, however, there was this Injunction, that of what Country ſoever the People were, and whether they reſiſted, or reſiſted not, the *Iſraelites* were to make no (*s*) *Covenant with them, nor with their Gods*; and the Reaſon hereof is this —— (*t*) That, as a League between two Nations implies, in the very Notion of it, their having upon ſome Terms given their Faith to each other, to obſerve punctually what had been ſtipulated between them; and, as when ſuch publick Faith was given and taken, the Parties to the Treaty ſwore ſolemnly to each other by their reſpective Gods; the *Iſraelites*, who look'd upon the Gods of theſe Nations as *Vanity and Nothing*, who were oblig'd to (*u*) *overthrow their Altars, burn their Groves, hew down their Images*, and utterly extirpate their Religion, were totally debarr'd from entering into any Treaty or Alliance with them, becauſe they could not recognize their Idols as Gods, nor take any publick Faith from the Worſhippers of them. For ſo the People ſeem to ſay to the *Gibeonites*, at their firſt Coming into the Camp to propoſe a Treaty, *peradventure you dwell among us*, "are ſome "of thoſe neighbouring Nations, whom we "are order'd to deſtroy, whoſe Gods we "are to drive out, and whoſe Country we "are come to take Poſſeſſion of," *and how ſhall we make a League with you?* "The Interdiction we are under will not "permit us; and therefore, if you pre- "tend to impoſe upon us in this Matter, "the Covenant of courſe is null and inva- "lid; and ſo in Reality it was."

From Joſh. i. to the End.

'TIS reaſonable however to imagine, that, after the Fraud of the *Gibeonites* was diſcover'd, the Princes of *Iſrael* might reflect upon their Neglect, in not conſulting the Divine Oracle before; and, as the Peace, which they had enter'd into, was plainly repugnant to God's Command of exterminating all the *Canaanites*, the Queſtion was, what they ſhould do in this Caſe; whether abide by the Treaty, and ſo poſtpone the Command; or execute the Command, and ſo diſannul the Treaty: The whole Streſs of the Queſtion turns upon this —— (*x*) Whether God commanded the *Iſraelites* to deſtroy all the People of *Canaan* abſolutely, and without Exception; or whether he allow'd them to ſpare ſuch as voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves, and came to implore their Pity and Protection. The Words of the Injunction in this Caſe are full, and expreſs enough; (*y*) *when thou goeſt nigh unto a City to fight againſt it, then proclaim Peace unto it, and if it make thee Anſwer of Peace, and open unto thee, then ſhall all the People that are found therein be Tributaries to thee, and ſhall ſerve thee.* ——*Thus ſhalt thou do unto all the Cities, which are very far off from thee, and which are not of theſe* Canaanitiſh *Nations. But of the Cities of theſe People, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an Inheritance, thou ſhalt ſave alive nothing that breatheth, but ſhall utterly deſtroy them, that they teach thee not to do all their Abominations, which they have done to their Gods.* But here ſome great Writers have obſerv'd, that this utter *Extinction* of the *Canaanitiſh* Nations, conſidering the Reaſons that are given for it, both here and (*z*) elſewhere, is to be look'd upon (*a*) as a Permiſſion, rather than a poſitive Command, and ſhould, at leaſt, (*b*) be underſtood with this Limitation;

And why they abode *by their Treaty with the* Gibeonites.

(*s*) Exod. xxiii. 32. (*t*) *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. xii. (*u*) Deut. xii. 3. (*x*) *Puffendorf*, de Jure Gent. Lib. iv. Cap. 2. Sect. 7. de Juramentis, &c. (*y*) Deut. xx. 10, &c. (*z*) Exod. xxiii. 33. and Deut. vii. 4. (*a*) *Puffendorf*, ibid. (*b*) *Grotius*, de Jure Belli, Lib. ii. Cap. 13.

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tion; *unleſs they immediately ſubmitted, renounced their Idolatry, and did every Thing that was enjoined them.* And to this Purpoſe (*c*) the *Jews* have a Tradition, that *Joſhua* before he declar'd War againſt the ſeven Nations, wrote Letters to them, wherein he offer'd them three Conditions——That, if they were minded to depart, they ſhould quit the Country immediately; if they were deſirous to make Peace, they ſhould come and treat with the *Iſraelites*; but, that if they intended to fight it out, they might betake themſelves to their Arms: And they farther add, that the *firſt* of theſe Conditions the *Girgaſhites* embrac'd, and fled into *Egypt*; the *ſecond* the *Gibeonites* accepted, and made a League with *Joſhua*; and the *third* the confederate Kings made their Choice, when they took up Arms againſt the *Iſraelites*, and were all defeated.

But this is no more than a bare *Hypotheſis*, invented on Purpoſe to ſolve the Difficulty, and ſeems not to have near ſo good a Foundation, as that, which ſuppoſes, that the Princes of *Iſrael*, remembring their former Omiſſion, and their Inſecurity in acting upon their own Bottom, might, in this Perplexity, have Recourſe to God for Advice, and that his Anſwer might be, *that the League ſhould be ratified.* Of this indeed we have no expreſs Mention in Scripture; but in ſo ſhort an Hiſtory of ſuch a Variety of Tranſactions, as that of *Joſhua* is, we may well imagine, that ſeveral Circumſtances may be omitted. For that ſome ſuch Ratification of this Treaty was determin'd by God, we have great Preſumption to believe (*d*) from the ſevere Puniſhiment, which he afterwards inflicted upon the *Iſraelites*, and the Poſterity of *Saul*, for his having ſlain ſome of the Deſcendants of theſe *Gibeonites*, (not improbably (*e*) at the ſacking of the Town of *Nob*). For, tho' this Action of *Saul*'s was cruel and inhumane, becauſe the Decree for the Extirpation of the *Canaanites* was now extinct; yet, what made it more heinous and provoking to God, was, the Infraction of the Treaty, which had ſubſiſted about four Ages, and which coſt the Lives of ſeven of that bloody Prince's Sons, and Grandſons to atone.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

The *Heathens*, it muſt be own'd, had no ſmall Reſpect and Veneration for Oaths: Whenever they took one, it was in the moſt ſolemn and religious Manner. (*f*) They look'd upon the Gods as Inſpectors, and Witneſſes of what they ſaid, more eſpecially at ſuch a Time as this. They believ'd that the *Furies* were appointed to be Avengers of all Perjury; and that, as (*g*) Diſgrace attended it in this World, ſo Deſtruction would purſue it in the next. And, as this was the general Notion of moſt heathen Nations, ſo the *Gibeonites*, who had hitherto conceiv'd a good Opinion of the God of *Iſrael*, would have been ſtrangely *ſcandaliz'd*, † had they found his People prevaricating with their Oaths, even tho' they were made upon a falſe Suppoſition. For Fear therefore, leſt any Diſhonour ſhould fall ultimately upon that divine Majeſty, whoſe Servants they were, *the Princes of the Congregation* unanimouſly agree, (and there ſeems to be ſomething of a divine Inſpiration in this their Unanimity) and declare it as their joint Opinion, (*h*) *We have ſworn unto them by the Lord God of* Iſrael, and therefore, without breaking our Oath, or forfeiting his Favour, *we may not touch them.*

Why the Iſraelites *took Offence at their Brethren.*

It was the ſame commendable Zeal for the Honour of God, that made the *Iſraelites*, on one Side of *Jordan*, conceive ſuch angry Reſentments againſt their Brethren

(*c*) *Saurin*'s Diſſert. ſur l'Artifice des *Gabaonites*, Vol. III. (*d*) 2 Sam. xxi. 1, &c. (*e*) 1 Sam. xxii. 19. (*f*) Vid. *Heſiod.* Dies, Ver. 38, &c. (*g*) Perjurii Pœna Divina Exitium, Humana Dedecus. Cic. de Leg. Lib. ii.

† St *Ambroſe*, treating of this Story, ſpeaks of it in this Manner: —— Joſhua *did not think fit to break the Peace, which he had granted, becauſe it was confirm'd with the awful Solemnity of an Oath, leſt, whilſt he was blaming the Perfidiouſneſs of others, he himſelf ſhould be worſe than his Word, and forfeit his own Honour.* De Officiis, Lib. iii. Cap. 10.

(*h*) Joſh. ix. 19.

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Brethren on the other, upon Suſpicion, that they had *apoſtatiz'd* from his Worſhip into the Idolatry of the Nations, that were round about them. The two Tribes and an half, upon their Return from the Wars, erected an Altar, in Memory of their Relation to the Tribes and Tabernacle, which they had left behind them (*i*). This Altar, it ſeems, was of an Height ſomewhat extraordinary; and, as it was the Cuſtom for *Heathens* to worſhip their Gods (which were generally *celeſtial* Bodies) upon High-Places, as preſuming that thereby they made nearer Approaches to them; their Brethren, on the *Weſt Side* of the River, conjectur'd from thence, that this was an Altar rais'd for the Worſhip of the *Sun*, or ſome other *planetary* God. But, if even they were miſtaken in that Conjecture, ſufficient Reaſon they had to ſuſpect, that it was intended for no good Purpoſe, ſince God had expreſſly forbidden them to offer their Sacrifices at any other Place, but the *Tabernacle*, or upon any other Altar, but that, which was built by his Appointment: For theſe are Directions which *Moſes* gives them; (*k*) *Ye are not yet come to the Reſt, and to the Inheritance, which the Lord your God giveth you:* But, when ye ſhall be put in Poſſeſſion of it, *ye ſhall not do after all theſe Things, that we do here this Day, every Man whatſoever is right in his own Eyes; but in the Place which the Lord ſhall chuſe, in one of thy Tribes, there ſhalt thou offer thy Burnt-Offerings; thither ſhalt thou come, and there ſhalt thou do all that I command thee.*

Now when they had ſufficient Reaſon, as they thought, to ſuſpect their Brethren of a Defection into Idolatry, what ſhould they do? Why, herein they punctually follow the Rules, which God himſelf had preſcrib'd them in ſuch a Caſe. (*l*) *If thou ſhalt hear ſay, in one of thy Cities, which the Lord thy God hath given thee to dwell there, ſaying, Certain Men, the Children of* Belial, *are gone out from among you, and have withdrawn the Inhabitants of their City, ſaying, let us go, and ſerve other Gods, (which ye have not known) then ſhalt thou enquire, and make Search, and aſk diligently, and behold, if it be Truth, and the Thing certain, that ſuch Abomination is wrought among you, thou ſhalt ſurely ſmite the Inhabitants of that City with the Edge of the Sword; deſtroying it utterly, and all that is therein, and the Cattle thereof, with the Edge of the Sword; and thou ſhalt gather all the Spoil of it into the midſt of the Street thereof, and ſhalt burn with Fire the City, and all the Spoil thereof every whit, for the Lord thy God; and it ſhall be an Heap for ever, it ſhall not be built again.* And if the *Iſraelites* on the *Weſt* of *Jordan*, having this Cauſe of Suſpicion, purſu'd theſe Orders to a Tittle, who ſhall ſay, that they did amiſs, or that their Zeal for God's Glory was raſh and precipitate? They took the propereſt Method (which was ſending an Embaſſy) for the Diſcovery of the Truth; and if, upon Enquiry, their Fears were found to be groundleſs, yet it ſeems to be an Error on the better Side, (as we commonly ſay) and an Inſtance of no contemptible Prudence, in Matters of ſo dangerous a Conſequence, always to ſuſpect the worſt.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

Why they were ſometimes dejected.

IT may be doubted perhaps, whether the *Iſraelites* were a People of the greateſt Bravery in the World, but it may truly be ſaid, that there was no Neceſſity for their being ſo; becauſe, upon all Occaſions, they had the *Lord of Hoſts* to protect them, and to fight their Battles for them. Supported by his Aid, (*m*) *how did one of them chaſe a Thouſand, and two put ten Thouſand to Flight, except their Rock had ſold them, and the Lord had ſhut them up?* But, when this was the Caſe, no Wonder at all, that (*n*) *the Hearts of the People melted away, and became like Water.*

THE ſhort of the Story was this:—— They had all along hitherto been victorious; had ſubdu'd a Country beyond *Jordan*; paſs'd that River, and conquer'd the *Capital*

(*i*) *Saurin's* Diſſert. *Joſue renvoie les Reub.* (*k*) Deut. xii. 9, 8, 14. (*l*) Deut. xiii 12, 13, &c.
(*m*) Chap. xxxii. 30. (*n*) Joſh. vii. 5.

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tal of the adjacent Province by Miracle: And now, having ſent out a Party to ſummons a ſmall Place to ſurrender, upon the firſt *Sally* that the Inhabitants make, they are all on a ſudden ſeiz'd with a *Panick*, forget their Courage, and flee, without ſo much as ſtriking a Stroke. This they could not but perceive was the Effect of God's Diſpleaſure, and therefore, conſidering themſelves in an Enemy's Country, they had juſt reaſon to dread, that, if God ſhould deſert them in this Situation of their Affairs, *the People of the Land*, hearing the Report of their Defeat, would come, and (as *Joſhua* expreſſes it) (*o*) *environ them round, and cut off their Name from the Earth.*

Good Reaſon therefore had the *Iſraelites* to be diſconſolate, when they found that God, to whom they ow'd all their Valour and Victories, had forſaken them. But, in the mean Time, how did they behave upon this Occaſion? Why, *they fell to the Earth upon their Knees*, in humble Supplication to God for Mercy; they continu'd all the Day long in faſting and praying, and expreſs'd their Sorrow, and the Senſe of their Unworthineſs with the uſual Tokens of Grief; and was not this better, than to become obdurate under God's afflicting Hand, as were the *Egyptians?* Nay, was not this the very Behaviour, by which the *Ninevites* mov'd the divine Mercy to reverſe the Sentence of Exciſion, that had gone out againſt them? So that, all Things conſider'd, the *Iſraelites*, in this Regard, are not to be blam'd; ſince they, who had loſt the *Rock of their Might*, and had *the Terrors of the Lord ſet in Array againſt them*, were far *from fearing, where no Fear was.*

And, in like Manner, if, to the Reaſons, we have already alledg'd for their Conduct at *Jericho*, we add this one Conſideration, *viz.* that they were juſt now entering upon their Conqueſts; that this was the firſt City they had taken on the *Weſt-Side* of *Jordan*; and that the People, they had to contend with, were to be terrify'd into Submiſſion, rather than intreated; we cannot but be of this Opinion, that an Example or two of *high Severity*, at the firſt ſetting out, was no leſs than neceſſary to reduce the Country more ſpeedily, and, with a leſs Effuſion of Blood; as well as to verify the Promiſe of him, who appointed them; (*p*) *This Day will I begin to put the Dread of thee, and the Fear of thee upon the Nations, that are under the whole Heaven, who ſhall hear Report of thee, and ſhall tremble, and be in Anguiſh becauſe of thee.*

From Joſh. i. to the End.

Without entering therefore into any farther Vindication of the *Jewiſh* Nation, we may ſafely ſay, that, in the Caſes we have had under Conſideration, they were neither *zealous*, nor *timorous*, nor *cruel* without a Cauſe; that, in the *firſt* of theſe Caſes, they expreſs'd their Concern for God's Honour; in the *ſecond*, their Dread of his departing from them; and in the *third*, their Obedience to his Command.

The Caſe of Achan's *Children enquir'd into.*

It is a Law of God's own enacting, that (*q*) *the Fathers ſhall not be put to Death for the Children, neither ſhall the Children be put to Death for the Fathers, but every Man ſhall be put to Death for his own Sin:* But then we are to conſider, that this Law was given to Man, and not to God, who has certainly a more abſolute Right and Sovereignty over Men, than one Man has over another. That, as the *Iſraelites*, at this Time, liv'd under a *Theocracy*, and, in a proper Senſe, had God, for their *civil* Governor, every wilful Tranſgreſſion (ſuch as *Achan*'s was) muſt have been deem'd not only a Violation of the Divine Command, but a Crime of *leſe Majeſty* likewiſe; and that, in Crimes of this Kind, the Practice of all * Governments, *ancient*, as well as *modern*, has been, to make Children

(*o*) Joſh. vii. 9. (*p*) Deut. ii. 25. (*q*) Deut. xxiv. 16.

* Thus *Cicero*, to excuſe the Confiſcations, decreed againſt *Lepidus*, which affected his Children, the Nephews of *Brutus*, has theſe Words, —— *Neque vero me fugit, quam ſit acerbum, Parentum ſcelera Filiorum Pœnis lui: Sed* hoc Præclare Legibus comparatum eſt, *ut Charitas liberorum amiciores Parentes Reipublicæ redderet. Ad* Brutum *Liber* 1. *Epiſt.* 12. And again, —— *In quâ videtur eſſe crudele, quod ad Liberos, qui nihil meruerunt, Pœna pervenit*; ſed & id antiquum eſt, & omnium Civitatum. Ep. 15. *Warburton*'s Divine Legation, Vol. III. Lib. 5.

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dren ſuffer for the Iniquity of the Parent (as in Caſes of *Attaint* of Blood, and *Confiſcation* of Eſtate) and that, with the Reputation of the higheſt *Equity*. Upon the Suppoſition then that *Achan*'s Family were not acceſſary to their Father's Crime, yet God, who gave them Life, had undoubtedly a full Power to take it away, at what Time, or in what Manner, he thought fit; and, if in Caſes of *High-Treaſon* among Men, it is thought reaſonable to devolve ſome Part of the Parents Penalty upon the Children, there is this farther Argument why *Achan*'s Family ſhould be made to ſuffer with him, becauſe God could not expreſs his Severity againſt Sin, nor take their Lives away, at a more convenient Opportunity, than in the Beginning of a *New Empire*, and when each Man's Right and Property was going to be ſettled; that ſuch a dreadful Example of his Indignation againſt *Stealth* might deter others, if not for their own, at leaſt for their *dear* Children's Sake, to abſtain from ſuch dangerous and pernicious Practices. (*r*) The *Jews* have a Maxim, *that he, who is an Accomplice in any Crime, is as culpable as the Perſon who commits it*; and therefore, if we ſuppoſe, that *Achan*'s Family was privy to what their Father had done, and did conceal it, there could be no Injuſtice in including them in the Puniſhment. It may be pretended perhaps, that ſome of them were *Infants*, and ſo muſt be deem'd innocent; but the Text ſays nothing of this: It only calls them (*s*) *Sons* and *Daughters*, and, conſidering that *Achan*, in all Probability, was an old Man, (*t*) as being the *fifth* Deſcendant from *Judah*, it ſeems moſt likely, that his Children (*u*) were grown up, and ſo capable of knowing, and of either concealing, or diſcovering the Fact.

BUT, after all, there is no Occaſion for our running ourſelves into any Difficulty. The Text does not ſay, neither is it any ways imply'd, that *Achan's Sons and Daughters* were executed with him. In the Sentence denounc'd againſt him, we find no Mention made of them, and why then ſhould we ſuppoſe, that they were Partakers in his Puniſhment, any other ways, than as they were *brought out* to be *Spectators* of it? And a piercing Sight no doubt, it was, for Perſons ſo nearly related to behold the ſad Fate of their *Chief*, firſt ſton'd to Death, and then, with all his Goods and Chattels, as well as thoſe accurs'd Things, for which he was condemn'd, committed to the Flames. *His Oxen, and Aſſes, and Sheep* are here taken Notice of, to let us ſee, that *Achan* was a *wealthy* Man, and therefore inexcuſeable in committing this Fact: And, tho' they were not capable of Sin, nor conſequently, of Puniſhment properly ſo call'd; yet, as they were made for Man's Uſe, they might fairly die for his Inſtruction, *viz.* to convince him of the ſad and contagious Nature of Sin, which even involves innocent Creatures in its Plagues; and *emblematically* to ſhew him, how much ſorer Puniſhments are reſerv'd for Man, who, having a Law given for the Conduct of his Life, and the Gifts of *Reaſon* and *Will* to reſtrain him from the Tranſgreſſion of it, will adventure upon Things forbidden, and thereby contract greater Guilt, and draw upon himſelf ſeverer Expreſſions of the Divine Wrath.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

The Stratagem againſt Ai, Joſhua's own.

GOD indeed ſtiles himſelf *The Lord of Hoſts*, and had ſo immediate an Hand in the Conduct of *Iſrael*, that every *military* Atchievement of theirs might very properly be aſcrib'd to him: But when he order'd *Joſhua* (*x*) *to go up againſt* Ai, *and to lay an Ambuſcade behind it*, he might, notwithſtanding this, leave the whole Glory of the Invention, and Execution of it to him, as an able and expert *General*; for, if he had always wrought Miracles in Favour of his People, and left nothing for *Joſhua* to perform, we cannot ſee, how he could have merited the Character of an extraordinary Man.

(*r*) *Saurin*'s Diſſert. ſur le Crime, &c. de Achan. (*s*) Joſh. vii. 24. (*t*) Ibid. Ver. 1. (*u*) *Pool*'s Annotations. (*x*) Joſh. viii. 2.

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In other Events, where the *whole* may be ſaid to be under the Guidance of God, he takes Care to direct every Particular of the Tranſaction. In paſſing the River *Jordan*, and ſurrounding the Walls of *Jericho*, he preſcribes the Form and Order of the People's March, and how, upon every Occaſion, they were to behave; but here, in the Affair of *Ai*, he contents himſelf with merely ſuggeſting the *Means*, as Things that *Joſhua* was no Stranger to, and leaves to him the Contrivance and Application of them. This Stratagem indeed is the firſt, that we find any Mention of in Scripture; but we muſt not from thence infer, that there was never any before put in Execution. The Art of War began very ſoon, and was carry'd on, no doubt, with great Application. The whole Excellence of its Management conſiſts in circumventing, and doubling upon the Enemy with Dexterity; and therefore no Queſtion, but that the Wits of Mankind were always employ'd in taking the Advantage of each other, and in gaining a Victory with the leaſt Expence of Blood on their own Side. (*y*) The *Romans* fell frequently into the Snares, which were laid for them, becauſe their *Generals* were Men of no *military* Skill; and therefore, to excuſe their Ignorance, they alledg'd, that they made War, like *honeſt Men*, without Deceit or Artifice: And if *Alexander* diſclaim'd the Uſe of Stratagems, it was, becauſe he knew the Cowardiſe of his Enemies, and how eaſy a Matter it was to gain a Conqueſt in the fair and open Field. For, it is not to be doubted, but that had he been to attack any other Nation, except the effeminate *Perſians*, he would have taken his Friend *Parmenio*'s Advice, and (without bluſhing at a Victory obtain'd by good Management) fallen upon his Enemy under the Cover of the Night.

However this be, that Stratagems are lawful in War we have good Preſumption to think from God's directing *Joſhua* to make Uſe of one; and tho' he does not (as other Warriors do) employ any of *theſe* at a Pinch, or becauſe he cannot accompliſh his Deſigns without them; tho' he could, with one ſingle Act of his Will, have deſtroy'd the City of *Ai*, and all the Inhabitants thereof, and, without ſuffering his People to ſtrike one Blow, have put them in Poſſeſſion of the promis'd Land; yet, chuſing to act by *ſecondary* Means, he proceeded in the ordinary Way, and, leaving a good deal to *Joſhua*'s Skill and Management, aſſiſted him only at ſome *critical* Conjunctures, that, by a Prolongation of the War, the Reputation of his People might be rais'd, and more frequent Opportunities occur, for the Diſplay of his miraculous Works.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

(*z*) *JOSEPHUS* indeed ſeems not to have conſulted the Honour of *Joſhua* much, when he aſcribes the Delay of the Conqueſt of *Canaan* to the *Weakneſs* of his Army, and the *impregnable* Strength of the Places, he was to attack: But (*a*) ſome other *Jews* make the Matter much worſe, when they tell us, that he deſir'd to prolong the War, not only to retain the Office and Dignity of being *Captain-General*, but becauſe he was inform'd by the Oracle, that, as ſoon as the Conqueſt was finiſh'd, he himſelf was to die. God however ſeems to have given us much better Reaſons for this Retardation, when he acquaints *Moſes* with his Intention: (*b*) *I will not drive the* Canaanites *out from before thee in one Year, leſt the Land become deſolate, and the Beaſts of the Field multiply againſt thee*; and, when he complains of their ſad Defection, after the Death of *Joſhua*, (*c*) *I will not henceforth drive out any from before them, of the Nations, which* Joſhua *left when he died, that through them I may prove* Iſrael, *whether they will keep the Way of the Lord, to walk therein, as their Fathers did keep it, or no:* Whereupon the Hiſtorian tells us, that God accordingly *did leave theſe Nations, without driving them out*; and adds another Reaſon for their Continuance in the Country, *viz.*

Why God gave not the Iſraelites *the Poſſeſſion of all* Canaan.

(*y*) *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Ai*. Vet. & Nov. Teſt. Vol. II. p. 402. (*z*) Antiq. lib. v. c. 1. (*a*) Vid. *Schotan.* Biblioth. (*b*) Exod. xxiii. 29, 30. (*c*) Judg. ii. 21, 22.

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viz. that the *Iſraelites*, by having an Enemy to contend with, might be train'd up in the Art and Myſtery of War: For (*d*) *theſe are the Nations*, ſays he, *which the Lord left to prove* Iſrael, *that by them they might teach thoſe War, who before knew nothing of it.* So that here are three Reaſons given us, why God delay'd the entire Subjection of *Canaan*; viz. becauſe the Children of *Iſrael* were, as yet, too few in Number to repleniſh the whole Country; becauſe God, by keeping the *Canaanites* in Being, was willing both to make Trial of his People's Obedience, and to train them, and their Poſterity, for ſome Ages, up in military Diſcipline and Exerciſe.

BUT there is another Reaſon which *Joſhua*, in his dying Speech, aſſigns for their not enlarging their Conqueſts to the utmoſt Bounds, which God had given them: (*e*) *Take good Heed therefore*, ſays he, *unto yourſelves, that ye love the Lord your God; elſe, if you do in any wiſe go back, and cleave unto the Remnant of theſe Nations, even theſe that remain among you, and ſhall make Marriages with them, and go in unto them, and they to you; know for a Certainty, that the Lord your God will no more drive out any of theſe Nations from before you.*

So that the Promiſe, which God made to the *Iſraelites*, was *conditional*; and, as they manifeſtly falſify'd their Part of the Obligation, by engaging firſt in Affinity, and then in Idolatry with the Nations, which they were bound to deſtroy; ſo God might very well think himſelf releas'd from *his*, and under no farther Concern for their Succeſs, or the Enlargement of their Conqueſt; (*f*) but, as they had been the *Miniſters* of his Vengeance, in puniſhing the Diſorders of the *Canaanites*, they, in their Turn, were now made the *Inſtruments* of his chaſtizing the Diſobedience of his own People: (*g*) *They ſhall be Snares and Traps to you, and Scourges in your Sides, and Thorns in your Eyes, until ye periſh from the good Land, which the Lord your God hath given you.* From Joſh. i. to the End.

AND indeed, if we conſider how violently, in After-Ages, the *Iſraelites* were oppreſs'd by their Enemies, and, by many Battles and Captivities, harraſs'd and diminiſh'd in their Numbers, we ſhall find no Neceſſity of enlarging their Poſſeſſions; becauſe the Country, which they conquer'd, in the firſt ſix Years, was ſpacious enough to contain them. (*h*) The Promiſe however, which God made, was ſufficiently accompliſh'd in the Reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, when the Kingdom of *Iſrael* was in its *Zenith*; and tho' its *Territories* did not extend to the *Euphrates*, yet its *Dominion* did, ſince all that Tract of Land between *Jeruſalem* and that great River was either *ſubdu'd*, or made *tributary* to them.

UPON the whole therefore it is evident, that the Author of the Book of *Joſhua*, (be he who he will) in the three Inſtances, which we have been conſidering, has left no Imputation upon God; foraſmuch as tho' he commanded *Achan* to be put to Death, yet it does not appear, that his Children ſuffer'd with him; or if they did, there is Preſumption to believe that they were Accomplices in his Crime: Tho' he order'd the Taking of *Ai* by a *Stratagem*, yet the whole Form and Contrivance of it he left to the *General*; and tho' the *Iſraelites* did not actually poſſeſs all, that he had promis'd them, yet this was occaſion'd by their own Diſobedience and Cowardiſe, and the Falſification of thoſe *Conditions*, upon which the full Conqueſt of the Land of *Canaan* was ſuſpended.

THERE is but one Objection more, in the Courſe of this Period, which is uſually alledg'd againſt the ſacred Hiſtory, and that is, the ſeeming Contradiction of the *Ark*'s being ſaid to be at *Shechem*, when it was, in Reality, at *Shiloh*: But, in Anſwer to this, ſome have imagin'd, that, as *Joſhua* was now grown old and infirm, the *How the Ark may be ſaid to have been, at this Time, at* Shechem.

(*d*) Judg. iii. 1, 2. (*e*) Joſh. xxiii. 11, *&c.* xxiii. 13. (*h*) *Pool*'s Annotations. (*f*) *Saurin*'s Diſſert. Vol. III. Diſſert. 10. (*g*) Joſh.

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the *Ark*, (*i*) upon this Occaſion, was remov'd from *Shiloh*, the ſettled Place of the divine Reſidence, to *Shechem*, the Place of *Joſhua*'s Habitation, that he might, with greater Solemnity, and in the Preſence of God, (whereof the Ark was the proper *Emblem*) deliver his *Charge* to the People. But other learned Men have obſerv'd, that, (*k*) *by the Sanctuary of the Lord*, we are to underſtand, not the *Ark of the Covenant*, but only ſome certain Place of religious Worſhip, ſuch, very probably, as the *Jewiſh Oratories* were. That the holy Ark was not, on this Occaſion, ſet up here at *Shechem*, is evident, *they ſay*, from that Prohibition given by God, (*l*) *Thou ſhalt not plant a Grove of any Trees, near unto the Altar of the Lord thy God, which thou ſhalt make thee, neither ſhalt thou ſet up a Pillar, which the Lord thy God hateth*: Whereas, in this *Sanctuary*, we read both of an *Oak* planted, and a *Pillar*, or Statue, erected under it; which is certainly ſuch a Violation of the divine Command, as *Joſhua*, upon no Occaſion, can be ſuppos'd capable of incurring. (*m*) 'Tis a very probable Opinion therefore, that the Place, where *Joſhua* ſet up this *monumental* Pillar, was one of thoſe, which the Tribe of *Ephraim* (to whom *Shechem* belong'd) had conſecrated, and ſet apart for a *Proſeucha*, or a Place to aſſemble in for publick Prayer; and that they made choice of this, rather than any other to perform their Devotions in, becauſe it was that particular *Spot*, where God appear'd to *Abraham*, and promis'd his Poſterity the Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

* That there were ſuch *Oratories*, or Places of publick Prayer, among the *Jews*, and that they were generally beſet, or ſhaded

(*i*) *Pool*'s Annot. and *Patrick*'s Com. (*k*) Joſh. xxiv. 26. (*l*) Deut. xvi. 21, 22. (*m*) *Mede*'s Diſ. 18.

* *Epiphanius*, who was a *Jew* bred, and born in *Paleſtine*, ſpeaking of ſome Hereticks, (Lib. i. Hæreſ. 61.) whom he calls *Maſſalians*, and who, according to his Account, were neither *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, nor *Samaritans*, but *Pagans*, tells us, that they, nevertheleſs, pretended to worſhip the one true God, and for that Purpoſe, *had certain open Places, which they called* Proſeuchæ. And *that the Jews* (as alſo the *Samaritans*) *had Places for religious Worſhip of the ſame Denomination*, he proves from the Acts of the Apoſtles, (Chap. xvi. 13.) where Lydia *is ſaid to have met St* Paul, *and to have heard him preach in that Place*, which, ἐδόκει τόπῳ προσευχὴς εἶναι, *ſeem'd to be a Place of Prayer. There is alſo at* Shechem, (*which is now called* Neapolis) continues he, *about a Mile without the City, a* Proſeucha, *a Place of Prayer, like a Theatre, which was built in the open Air, and without a Roof, by the* Samaritans, *who affected to imitate the* Jews *in all Things*. *Juvenal*, in his 3d Satire, deſcribing the Manner, in which ſome wild young Fellows were wont, in their drunken Frolicks, to affront and abuſe every poor Man, they met in the Streets in the Night-Time, brings them in ſpeaking thus:

Ede, ubi conſiſtas, in quâ te quæro Proſeuchâ? Sat. III.

Whereby he either intimates, that he was ſome poor Wretch, who dwelt in an Houſe, that could not keep out Wind and Weather, but, *like the Jewiſh Proſeuchæ*, was all open above; or he alludes to the State of the *Jews* at that Time, who were baniſh'd out of *Rome* by *Domitian*, and had no Place of Shelter, but their *Oratories*, which were without the Walls of the City. For, that the *Jews* had their *Proſeuchæ* about the City of *Rome* is evident from that Paſſage in *Philo*, (de Legatione ad Caium) wherein he commends the Clemency and Moderation of *Julius Cæſar*, who knew that the *Jews* had ſuch Places of publick Worſhip, where they always aſſembled on the *Sabbath-Day*, and yet gave them no Moleſtation, as *Caius* had done. *Joſephus* (in his Life, Sect. 54.) makes mention of a *Proſeucha* at *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, and, in ſeveral Places in the *New Teſtament*, the ſame Term is made uſe of in the ſame Signification. Vid. *Mede*'s Diſcourſe 18. But then the Queſtion is, whether it be not a Miſtake in ſome learned Men, to apply an Uſage, that is mention'd at ſuch and ſuch a Time, to a People who liv'd many Ages before.

Philo Judæus, (de Legat. ad Caium) ſpeaking of the barbarous Outrage of ſome *Gentiles* againſt the *Jews*, dwelling then at *Alexandria*, acquaints us, *that, of ſome of their* Proſeuchæ, *they cut down the Trees, and others they demoliſh'd to the very Foundations*. The Poet *Juvenal* alludes to the very ſame Cuſtom of having Trees planted where the *Jewiſh* Oratories were, when, ſpeaking of a Fortune-Teller of that Nation, he thus deſcribes her:

Arcanum Judæa tremens mendicat in Aurem,
Interpres Legum Solymarum, magna Sacerdos
Arboris, & ſummi Fida Internuncia Cœli. Sat. VI.

And, in another Place, complaining, that through the Corruption of the Times, the once ſacred Grove of *Capena*, which had formerly been the Habitation of the *Muſes*, and the Place where *Numa* was wont to meet the Goddeſs *Ægeria*, was now let out to the beggarly *Jews* for a *Proſeucha*, his Expreſſions are theſe:

Hic, ubi Nocturnæ Numa conſtituebat Amicæ,
Nunc, ſacra Fontis Nemus, & Delubra locantur
Judeis; quorum Cophinus, Fœnumque Supellex.
Omnis enim Populo Mercedem pendere juſſa eſt
Arbor, & ejectis mendicat Sylva Camænis. Sat. III.

For it is hard to conceive, what Affinity there ſhould be between *Jews* and Trees, unleſs it be from the Cuſtom, that their own *Oratories* were uſually ſhaded with them.

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ſhaded with Trees, is evident from ſuch a Variety of Teſtimonies, that it can hardly be conteſted; but, whether they were of ſo early a Date, as *Joſhua*'s Time, or not rather introduc'd after the Captivity of *Babylon*, is a Queſtion not eaſy to determine. In the *main* however we may conclude, that, whether the *Ark of the Covenant* was *occaſionally* brought to *Shechem*, or at *Shechem* there happen'd to be ſuch an *Oratory*, as, in After-Ages, became frequent in *Judea*, there can be no Incongruity in the ſacred *Penman*'s ſaying, that the *Sanctuary of the Lord* (ſince either the *Ark*, or the *Oratory* might merit that Name) was at *Shechem*. There is another Solution however of this Difficulty, which ought not to be diſregarded. † *Shechem* and *Shiloh* were about twelve Miles diſtant from each other, and, in the Mid-Way between them, was *Timnah-Serah*, the Place where *Joſhua* liv'd. Since therefore the Text informs us, that (*n*) *he gathered all the Tribes of* Iſrael *to* Shechem, *and calls for their Elders, for their Heads, for their Judges, and for their Officers, and they preſented themſelves before God*; we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that tho' all the People met at *Shechem*, yet their *Elders* and chief *Officers* only *preſented themſelves* before God. That ſo great a Multitude could not meet together, and encamp in any Place, but where there is a proportionable Compaſs of Ground, is a Matter ſelf-evident; and that, in the Confines of *Shechem*, there was a large and open Country, extending perhaps as far as *Shiloh*, and very commodious for their Reception, we have the Atteſtation of holy Writ. But then, ſince it is impoſſible for one Man to ſpeak to ſuch a Number of People and be heard, *Joſhua*, very probably ſingled out the chief and principal of them, ſuch as he foreſaw would ſucceed him in the Government after his Demiſe, and theſe he took with him to *Shiloh*, a Place in the Neighbourhood, where was the Ark, or *Sanctuary of the Lord*, that he might there with the greater Solemnity, give them his final Charge, which they in their Turns, might deliver to their reſpective Tribes.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

THUS we have endeavour'd to ſatisfy the ſeveral *Objections*, which are uſually made againſt ſome Paſſages in the *ſacred* Hiſtory, during the Government of *Joſhua*: And if profane Teſtimonies would be of any Force, we might produce the Accounts, which their Hiſtorians give us of *Neptune*'s drying up the River *Inachus*, and of *Agamemnon*'s denouncing a Curſe againſt any one, that ſhould repair *Troy*, to juſtify the Narrative we have in Scripture of the miraculous Paſſage of *Jordan*, and the Reſentment and Indignation, which *Joſhua* conceiv'd againſt *Jericho*. The antient *Hercules* was certainly the ſame with *Joſhua*. He is ſaid to have wag'd War in Behalf of the Gods, againſt *Typhœus*, and the reſt of the *Giants* of old, even as *Joſhua fought the Battles of the Lord* againſt the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, Men of a vaſt Stature, and, at that Time, under the Diſpleaſure of Heaven. In Conformity to the ſacred Record of God's deſtroying the confederate Army of the *Amorites* with Hail-ſtones, the ancient Heathens ſay, that *Hercules* was *thus* aſſiſted in his War againſt the Sons of *Neptune*; and *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Timoleon*, tells us, that a terrible Storm of Hail, in the Face of the *Carthaginian* Army, gave him (tho' he had but very few Forces to encounter them) a compleat Victory over them. *The Sun's ſtanding ſtill* is no new Story: *Callimachus* (*o*) repreſents him, as ſtopping the Wheels of his Chariot to hear the Melody of a *Chorus* of *Nymphs*, wherewith he was ſo delighted, that it made him prolong the Day; and, tho' they are miſtaken in the Cauſe, yet the antient Poets diſcover a Tradition of this

Moſt of theſe Things confirm'd by Heathen *Teſtimony.*

miraculous

† *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. xii.

(*n*) Joſh. xxiv. 1.

(*o*) His Words are theſe:

Θεὸς ἔπορ ἐκεῖνον
Ἦλθε παρ' Ἠελίῳ καλὸν χόρον· ἀλλὰ θεῆται
Δίφρον ἐπισσώσας τὰ δὲ φάεα μηκύνονται. Callimachus in Dianam.

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miraculous Event, * when they describe the Heaven's blushing, and the Sun's standing still, at the Sight of the *unnatural* Murther which *Atreus* committed. For if *Statius* mistake not, this bloody Fact happen'd in the Time of the *Theban* War, which, according to the best *Chronologists*, was much about the Time of *Joshua*'s Conquest of *Canaan*. But even supposing *Statius*, or any other Author from whom he took the Hint, are mistaken in their *Chronology*, * the Time of *Phaëton*'s Life (whose Story of misguiding the Chariot of the Sun, is suppos'd to take its Rise from hence) will synchronize with the Year of the Sun's standing still in the Days of *Joshua*. So that, as to the most wonderful Transactions, which, in this Space of Time, we meet with in holy Writ, *God has not left himself without a Witness*; forasmuch as the heathen Writers (tho' with some Variation or Disguise, according to the Humour of their *Mythologists*) are known to relate the same Things.

From Josh. i. to the End.

DISSERTATION I.

Of the Shower of Stones, and the Sun's standing still.

The former of these Miracles.

OF all the miraculous Things, that happen'd in *Joshua*'s Wars with the People of *Canaan*, the *Shower* of Stones, which God sent upon his Enemies, while they fled, and the *Stop*, which he put to the Course of the Sun, that he might have a longer Space to destroy them in their Flight, are the most remarkable, and do therefore deserve a more particular Consideration.

THE former of these Events the sacred History represents in this Manner —— (*p*) *And it came to pass, that as they* (viz. the Army of the *Amorites*) *fled from before* Israel, *and were in the going down to* Bethhoron, *the Lord cast down great Stones from Heaven upon them unto* Azekah, *and they died. They were more, which died of the Hail-Stones, than they, which the Children of* Israel *slew with the Sword.* But the Difference among *Commentators* is, whether we are to understand this Miracle of a Shower of Stones, properly so call'd, or of a Shower of Hail.

Not effected with solid Stones.

THE learned *Calmet*, in a *Dissertation* prefix'd to his *Commentary* upon *Joshua*, has taken a great deal of Pains to shew, that the Stones, which *the Lord* is said to have *cast upon the* Amorites, were not ordinary Hail-Stones, (since it would be incongruous, as he thinks, to interest God in so common an Occurrence) but *real solid Stones*, which he supposes might have been engender'd in the Air by a Whirlwind carrying up Sand or Gravel into a Cloud, and there mixing it with some such *oily* or *nitro-sulphureous* Matter, as might consolidate, and form it into a combustible Body; that so, when, by frequent Agitation, it came to be fir'd, it might burst through the Cloud, and, scattering itself upon the *Explosion*, might fall down upon the Earth in the Nature of a perfect Shower of Stones.

THAT great Quantities of Stones have, in this Manner, been discharg'd from the Clouds, is evident from several Histories. *Diodorus Siculus* (*q*) informs us, that, as the

* Tardius humenti Noctem dejecit Olympo
Jupiter, & Versum miti, reor, Æthera curâ
Sustinuit, dum Fata vetant; nec longius unquàm
Cessavere novæ, perfecto sole, Tenebræ. *Statius* Theb. lib. i. & v.

* The Sun stood still in the Days of *Joshua*, A. M. 2554, when *Phaëton* was about Twenty-four Years old, an Age, of Ambition enough to desire, tho' not of Ability to execute, the difficult Province, which he undertook. *Shuckford*'s Connection, Vol. III. Lib. xii.

(*p*) Josh. x. 11. (*q*) Vol. II. lib. xi.

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the *Perſian* Army was on their March to plunder the Temple at *Delphos*, Thunder and Lightning, and a violent Storm of Stones fell in their Camp, and deſtroy'd a great Number of Men. (*r*) In the Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, when News was brought to the Government, that it had rain'd Stones upon Mount *Alba*, thoſe who were ſent to enquire into the Matter, brought Word, not only that the Fact was true, but that theſe Stones had fallen from the Skies with an Impetuoſity equal to the moſt violent Storm of Hail. (*s*) Not long after the Battle at *Cannæ*, the ſame Author aſſures us, that a Storm of the ſame Kind fell on the ſame Mountain, which laſted for two whole Days; and Events of this Nature, atteſted by the beſt Authors, have been ſo frequent at *Rome*, at *Capua*, at *Livinium*, and ſeveral other Places in *Italy*, that a Man muſt be deſtitute of all Modeſty, who pretends to deny them abſolutely.

NAY, not only great Quantities of *ſmaller* Stones, but ſometimes Stones of a *prodigious* Size have been known to fall from the Clouds, whereof this learned Author, (*t*) among many others, gives us ſeveral Inſtances, both of *antient* and *modern* Date. But then it is juſtly to be queſtion'd, whether theſe Authors have not ſuffer'd themſelves to be impos'd on by the too confident Narrations of others. We may ſuppoſe indeed, that *Whirlwinds*, or *Hurricanes* may raiſe the Sand or Gravel, and carry it on high, or ſome ſudden Irruptions of ſubterraneous Fire may diſcharge great Quantities of Cinders, or Aſhes into the Air, where, meeting with ſome *Exhalations* of a *ſulphureous*, *oily*, or *nitroline* Quality, they may, by the Preſſure of the Clouds, be condens'd, and harden'd into a ſtony Subſtance; yet, how any Cloud ſhould be able to ſupport ſuch a Quantity of *ſmaller* Stones, much more of vaſt *maſſy* ones, as would be neceſſary to deſtroy the Army of the five confederate Kings, and to continue falling down upon them from *Bethhoron* to *Azekah*, Places which lay in different Tribes, and can hardly be ſuppos'd leſs than twelve or fourteen Miles diſtant (to ſay nothing of the many *Apertures* in the Earth, which muſt have been ſeen afterwards in theſe Parts, upon Suppoſition that the Thing was effected by *Vulcanos*) is a Matter not altogether ſo credible.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

THE Truth is, there is no Reaſon for carrying this Miracle ſo high; ſince a Shower of *Hail-Stones* will not only do the Work every whit as well, but ſeems to be the genuine Import of *Joſhua*'s Words; who, having acquainted us, that *the Lord caſt down great Stones* upon the *Amorites*, adds, by Way of Explication, *that they were more, that died by the Hail-Stones, than by the Sword*; where it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that had there been *great* Stones, as well as Hail, the Death of the greater Number of thoſe that periſh'd, would not have been attributed to the *Hail* only.

But Hail-Stones *only.*

IT is ſome Confirmation of this Expoſition, that we find the *Septuagint*, in both Places of the Text, tranſlating it Λιθους Χαλαζης, which *Joſephus* (*u*) calls *a violent Tempeſt of Hail-Stones of a prodigious Size*; and the Author of (*x*) *Eccleſiaſticus* thus recounts the whole Matter; *with Hail-Stones of a mighty Power, he made the Battle to fall violently upon the Nations, and, in the Deſcent of* Bethhoron, *he deſtroy'd them that reſiſted.*

THE Prophet *Ezekiel*, in his Predictions againſt *Gog*, introduces God, as threatning, that (*y*) *he would plead againſt him with Peſtilence, and with Blood, with an overflowing Rain, and great Hail-Stones, Fire, and Brimſtone:* And, in another Place, ſpeaking of falſe Prophets, who ſeduc'd his People into an Opinion of their Security, as if they had been fortify'd within a Wall, he purſues the *Metaphor*, and tells thoſe who *daubed it* with *untemper'd Mortar*, (*z*) *that it ſhould fall*; for

(*r*) *Liv.* Lib. i. Dec. 1.
(*s*) Ibid. lib. 25, 30, 34.
(*t*) See *Saurin*'s Diſſert. likewiſe, who has given us a large Account hereof.
(*u*) Antiq. lib. v. c. 1.
(*x*) Chap. xlvi. 6.
(*y*) Chap. xxxviii. 22.
(*z*) Ezek. xiii. 11.

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for there ſhall be an overflowing Shower, ſays he, *and ye, O great Hail-Stones, ſhall fall, and a ſtormy Wind ſhall rent it.* So that from theſe, and ſeveral other Paſſages of the like Nature, we may learn, that, in executing his Judgments upon the Face of the Earth, *Hail-Stones* are very frequently *Arrows* in the Hands of the Almighty: And of what Force they are to do Execution, we are advertiz'd in what befel the *Egyptians*, when (as the ſacred Hiſtory has related it) (*a*) *the Lord ſent Thunder and Hail, and the Fire ran upon the Ground: And the Lord rained Hail upon the Land of* Egypt; *ſo there was Hail, and Fire mingled with Hail, very grievous, ſuch as there was none like it in all the Land of* Egypt, *ſince it became a Nation. And the Hail ſmote, throughout all the Land of* Egypt, *all that was in the Field, both Man and Beaſt: It ſmote every Herb of the Field, and brake every Tree of the Field.* Nor are there Examples of a later Date wanting (eſpecially in our *Philoſophical* Tranſactions) of the vaſt Havock and Deſtruction, that Hail-Stones (from (*b*) *one* to *five* Pounds Weight) have done in ſeveral Places; killing both Man and Beaſt, and laying the whole Country waſte, for ſome ſixty, or ſeventy Miles round. And therefore, ſince it is agreed on all Hands, that Hail-Stones have frequently fallen, large enough to deſtroy never ſo great a Number of People, when naked and defenceleſs againſt their Blows, what need is there for our having Recourſe to any other Solution?

A SHOWER of Hail indeed, may be ſuppos'd to proceed from a more *natural* Cauſe: But, when the Event happen'd at the very Inſtant, wherein God promis'd to aſſiſt his People againſt their Enemies; when, though it might have annoy'd either Army, it fell only on *that*, which God had before determin'd to ruin; and fell ſo very heavily upon it, as to deſtroy *more than the Sword of the Conquerors had done*; ſuch an Event as this, I ſay, cannot but be look'd upon as a *miraculous* Interpoſition of Providence, how *fortuitous* ſoever the Concourſe of *ſecond Cauſes* may be. In working of Miracles, God uſually employs natural Cauſes and Productions. He does not create any *new Thing* for the Purpoſe; but makes uſe of what is already created, in a new and extraordinary Manner: And therefore, tho' the Shower of Hail, and probably the Wind too, which made it fall with ſuch Impetuoſity, were both of them *natural*; yet the ſending them at the very Nick of Time, and directing them to fall upon the Enemy only, in this there was manifeſtly the *Hand of God*, and ſomething ſupernatural.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

THE other Miracle is thus related in Holy Writ. (*c*) Joſhua *ſaid, in the Sight of all* Iſrael, *Sun, ſtand thou ſtill upon* Gibeon, *and thou Moon, in the Valley of* Ajalon: *And the Sun ſtood ſtill, and the Moon ſtayed, until the People had avenged themſelves of their Enemies. Is not this written in the Book of* Jaſher? *So the Sun ſtood ſtill in the midſt of Heaven, and haſted not to go down about a whole* Day: *And there was no Day like that, before or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the Voice of a Man; for the Lord fought for* Iſrael. Now for the better underſtanding of theſe Words, we muſt obſerve.

The latter Miracle, of what Kind.

1. THAT nothing is more common in Scripture, than to expreſs Things, not according to the ſtrict Rules of *Philoſophy*, but according to their *Appearances*, and the vulgar Apprehenſion concerning them. The Sun and Moon, for Inſtance, are call'd (*d*) *two great Lights*; but, however that Title may agree with the Sun, 'tis plain, that the Moon is but a *ſmall* Body, the leaſt that has yet been diſcover'd in the *Planetary Syſtem*, and that it has no *Light* at all, but what it borrows, and reflects from the Rays of the *Sun*; and yet, becauſe it is plac'd near us, it appears to us larger than other heavenly *Luminaries*, and from that Appearance, the holy Scriptures give it ſuch an Appellation. And, in

The Manner of Joſhua's expreſſing himſelf, juſtify'd.

(*a*) Exod. ix. 23, &c. (*b*) *Saurin*'s Diſſert. ſur la Defaite des cinq Rois. (*c*) Joſh. x. 12, &c.
(*d*) Gen. i. 16.

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in like Manner, becauſe the Sun ſeems to us to move, and the Earth to be at Reſt, the Scriptures ſpeak a great deal of the *Pillars*, and *Baſis*, and *Foundations* of the Earth, and of the Sun's (*e*) *rejoicing, like a Giant, to run its Race*, and of (*f*) *his ariſing, and going down, and haſtening to the Place, where it aroſe*, &c. Whereas it is certain, that, (*g*) if the Sun were made to revolve about the Earth, the * general Law of Nature would thereby be violated; the Harmony and Proportion of the heavenly Bodies deſtroy'd; and no ſmall Confuſion and Diſorder brought into the Frame of the Univerſe: But, on the contrary, if the Earth, turning upon its own *Axis* every Day, be made to go round the Sun in the Space of a Year, it will then perform its Circulation, according to the ſame *Law*, which the other Planets obſerve; and (without the leaſt Exception) there will be a moſt beautiful Order and Harmony of Motions, every where preſerv'd thro' the whole Frame of Nature. As therefore the Scriptures were deſign'd to teach us the Art of *holy Living*, and not to inſtruct us in the Rudiments of *natural Knowledge*, it can be deem'd no Diminution either to their Perfection, or divine Authority, that they generally ſpeak according to the common Appearance of Things, and not according to their Reality, or *philoſophic* Truth. The plain Matter of Fact is, that in the early Ages, both before, and long after the Days of *Joſhua*, the moſt learned *Aſtronomers* had no Notion of the Improvements, which our *modern* Profeſſors have ſince attain'd to. They never once dream'd of the Earth's *Rotation* upon its own *Axis*; but, according to common Appearance, were fully perſwaded, that the Sun and Moon had their reſpective Courſes. Upon this Suppoſition they form'd their *Schemes*, and thought themſelves able to anſwer every Phænomenon by them. And therefore, if God had prompted *Joſhua* to deſire the Prolongation of the Day, in a Manner more agreeable to our new *Aſtronomy*, or to record the Miracle in Terms more ſuitable to it; this would have been a plain Contrariety to all the Rules of Science then in Uſe. The People, who heard him utter the Words, *Earth reſt upon thy Axis*, would have thought him diſtracted, and thoſe who read his Account of what had happen'd, if related in ſuitable Expreſſions, would have decry'd it as falſe in Fact, or paſs'd it by with Contempt and Diſregard, as a wild Fancy or Blunder of his own.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

2. IN Relation to the Places, over which the two heavenly Bodies were to ſtand, the Sun *over Gibeon*, and the Moon *over the Valley of* Ajalon, we muſt obſerve, that (even upon the Suppoſition of the Sun's Motion) the *Jewiſh General* cannot be thought to ſpeak in a proper and *philoſophick* Senſe. For, ſince the Sun is almoſt a Million of Times bigger than the Earth, and ſome Millions of Miles diſtant from it, to juſtify the ſtrict Senſe of the Words, a Line, drawn from the *Center* of the Sun to that of the Earth, muſt exactly paſs by *Gibeon*, which we know it cannot do, becauſe no Part of the *Holy-Land* lies within the *Tropicks*: And therefore we muſt conclude, that *Joſhua* here ſpeaks according to the outward *Appearance* of

In relation to the Places where, and Time, when this Miracle *was wrought.*

(*e*) Pſal. xix. 5. (*f*) Eccleſ. i. 5. (*g*) *Keil*'s Aſtronomical Lectures.

* Beſides this general Argument of Mr *Keil*'s, Mr *Whiſton* has one, which he accounts no leſs than a *Demonſtration*: "If the Earth, *ſays he*, have an *annual* Revolution about the Sun, it muſt affect the apparent Motion of all the other "Planets, and Comets; and, notwithſtanding the Regularity of their ſeveral Motions in their own *Orbits*, muſt render the regular Motions, as to us living upon the moving Earth, ſometimes *direct*, and that ſwiftly or ſlowly; "ſometimes *ſtationary*, and ſometimes *retrograde*, and that ſwiftly or ſlowly alſo; and all this, at ſuch certain Periods, "in ſuch certain Places, for ſuch certain Durations, and according to ſuch certain Circumſtances, (as *Geometry* and "*Arithmetick* will certainly determine) and not otherwiſe. Now, that this is the real Caſe in Fact, and that every "one of theſe Particulars are true in the *Aſtronomical* World, all, that are ſkilful in that Science do freely confeſs, "even thoſe, who do not think fit to declare openly for this *annual* Revolution of the Earth, which yet is the *natural* "and certain Conſequence of that Conceſſion." *Whiſton*'s Aſtron. Princ. of Relig. The Reader, that is deſirous to know more both of the *Annual* and *Diurnal* Motion of the Earth, may conſult Mr *Derham*'s Prelim. Diſc. to his Aſtro. Theol.

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Things, which makes the Sense of his Words plain and intelligible.

WHEREVER we are, (if so be we are not hinder'd by Objects immediately surrounding us) we can cast our Eye upon Part of the *Surface* of the Earth, and, at the same Time, take into our Prospect some small *Extent* of the *Firmament* of Heaven, which seems, as it were, to cover the other; and each *celestial* Body, which we perceive in this Extent above, appears to us to be directly over such and such Part of the Earth, as we *alternately* turn our Eyes to: And 'twas thus, that the *Sun*, when *Joshua* spake, seem'd to him, and to those that were with him, to *be over* Gibeon, *and the Moon to be over the Valley of* Ajalon. This Valley, in all Likelihood, took its Name from some adjacent Town; but then, as there are three *Ajalons* mention'd in Scripture, one (*b*) in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, another in (*i*) *Zebulon*, and another in (*k*) *Dan*, it is reasonable to think, that the Place here spoken of, was in *Dan* the most remote Province from *Gibeon*; for we must suppose, that these two Places were at some considerable Distance; otherwise *Joshua* could not see the Sun and Moon both appear at the same Time, as it is probable they were both in his Eye, when he utter'd these Words.

3. IN Relation to the Time when this Miracle began, and how long it lasted, the Scripture's Expression is, that the *Sun stood still in the midst of Heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole Day:* Which Words can import no less, than that the Sun stood still in the *Meridian*, or much about Noon, and that in this Position it continu'd for the Space of a *civil* or *artificial* Day, *i. e.* for twelve Hours. But (*l*) *Maimonides* is of Opinion, (and in this he is follow'd (*m*) by some Christian Writers) that there was no such Cessation of the Sun and Moon's Motion, but that the whole Purport of the Miracle was this: —— "That God, at *Joshua*'s "Request, granted him and his Soldiers "such a Degree of Spirits, Activity, and "Dispatch, as enabled them to gain a "compleat Victory, and do as much "Execution in one Day, as might other-"wise have taken up two:" But this is a Construction so repugnant to the genuine Sense of the Words, as to need no formal Confutation. From Josh. i. to the End.

THERE is something more, however, to be said to the Notion of other learned Men, who, with Regard to the *Time*, when *Joshua* might send up his Request, and the Miracle begin, think it more probable, that he should pray for a longer Day, when he perceiv'd the Sun just going to leave him, than when it was in its Height. But *Joshua*, no doubt, had Reasons for what he did: He was an old experienc'd *General*, eager for a compleat Victory, and able to compute what Time it would take to atchieve it; so that his Fear of losing any Part of the present Advantage, might make him pray that the Day might be thus prolong'd, until he had obtain'd the *whole*. If the Sun, in its Declension, had stopp'd its Course, it might have answer'd his Purpose perhaps; but then it had given a juster Handle to the Suggestions of those, who would deny the whole Merit of the Miracle. For, if the Retardation of the Sun had not happen'd until it was going to set, (*n*) *Spinosa* might, with a much better Grace, have attributed the extraordinary Length of this Day to the *Refraction* of its Rays from the Clouds, which at that Time were loaded with Hail; or (*o*) *Peirerius*, to some *Aurora Borealis*, or *Parelium*, which, after the Setting of the Sun, might appear about the Territories of *Gibeon*, and so be mistaken for the Sun's standing still: But now, by fixing it in its *meridian* Point, all these Cavils are effectually silenc'd; and (*p*) God, no doubt, who heard him so readily, inspir'd the *Hebrew General*

(*b*) 1 Chron. vi. 69. (*i*) Judg. xii. 12. (*k*) Josh. xix. 42. (*l*) More Nevoch. Part II. Chap. 39. (*m*) *Grotius* and *Masius* in Locum. (*n*) Tract. Theolog. Politic. c. 2. (*o*) Præadam. Lib. iv. c. 6. (*p*) *Calmet*'s Dissert. sur le Commandment, &c.

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General with that Wiſh or Prayer, which otherwiſe perhaps would never have come into his Head.

The Book of Jaſhar, *what.*

4. IN Relation to the Book of *Jaſhar*, (or of *juſt* and *upright* Men) which *Joſhua* quotes, as a Voucher of the Truth of this Miracle, the Opinions of learned Men are much divided. (*q*) Some think, that it was the Book of *Geneſis*, which is here ſo called, becauſe it treats of the Lives of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, three of the moſt righteous Men, that the World then knew. The Targum of *Jonathan* calls it *the Book of the Law*, as containing, not only the chief *Precepts*, which God gave his People, but ſeveral *Promiſes* likewiſe of the Wonders, which he intended to work for them. (*r*) *Joſephus*, and ſome Interpreters after him, will have it to be certain *Annals* of the Lives, and particular Adventures of ſome *Jewiſh Worthies*, and of other Things remarkable, that happen'd to that Nation; tho' others again ſuppoſe, that this was only a *Collection* of ſome *Verſes*, which the *Iſraelites* thought themſelves concern'd to learn by Heart, the better to remember the Miracles which God had been pleas'd to vouchſafe them. But whatever the Subject of this Book was, or † whether it was compos'd in *Proſe* or *Verſe*, 'tis a groundleſs Conjecture to ſay, (*s*) that it was wrote in a figurative and hyperbolical Style, or that the *Quotation*, which *Joſhua* takes from it, is ſo to be underſtood. The Deſign of the Quotation is only to confirm what *Joſhua* had ſaid concerning the Retardation of the Sun; and therefore, if the Book of *Joſhua* affirms, that the Sun did ſtand ſtill, that of *Jaſhar* (in what Stile ſo ever it was written) muſt neceſſarily be ſuppos'd to do the ſame; otherwiſe it would have been to no Purpoſe to have cited it.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

And the whole Narative of this Miracle literal.

IT cannot be deny'd indeed, but that, upon ſome Occaſions, the ſacred *Penmen* do uſe Figures, and *poetical* Expreſſions; but then the Senſe and Chain of the Diſcourſe do eaſily diſcover it, when they do ſo. Whenever they intend to expreſs themſelves in a figurative Manner, there is uſually ſomething going before, which prepares the Reader for it; and beſides that *figurative* Expreſſions cannot be long continu'd, there is always ſomething apparently in them, that can by no means be reduc'd to a *literal* Senſe. But now, in the Scripture Account of this Tranſaction, where do we perceive any Thing like this? (*t*) *Joſhua*, ſeeing the Enemy put to the Rout, begs of God to give him a compleat Victory, and, at the ſame Time, out of the Zeal and Fervour of his Mind, commands the Sun and Moon not to advance any farther until he had effected his Deſire. The ſacred Hiſtorian tells us, that, at his Command, theſe heavenly *Luminaries* actually did ſtand

(*q*) *J. Jarch.* in Joſh. x. 13. (*r*) Antiq. lib. x. c. 17.

† M. *Le Clerc* has taken the Pains to verſify the two Places, where Mention is made of the *Sun's ſtanding ſtill*, by the Tranſpoſition of ſome Words, in order to make it appear at leaſt probable, that the Author of the Book of *Joſhua*, in quoting them out of that of *Jaſhar*, had only reduc'd them to *hiſtorial* Proſe by the contrary Tranſpoſition. But, beſides the Difficulty of telling us, what Kind of Verſes theſe are, (ſince the Art of *ſcanning Hebrew* Poeſy has been loſt as long as St *Jerom*'s Days) if he ſuppoſes them to be only Rhymes and Cadences, it is no uncommon Thing, we know, to meet with ſeveral Paſſages, both in the *Scriptural*, and other *Proſe* Writers, which, with a ſmall Variation of the Text, are capable of this harmonious Turn, and yet, were originally never ſo intended. It is to be obſerv'd however, that tho' the Words, *ſo the Sun ſtood ſtill in the midſt of Heaven, and haſtened not to go down about a whole Day*, are probably cited from ſome antient Record, yet the preceding ones, *and the Sun ſtood ſtill, and the Moon ſtayed, until the People had avenged themſelves upon their Enemies*, (Joſh. x. 13.) are the Author's own, wherein he talks, not in the Loftineſs of a *Poet*, but in the Plainneſs and Simplicity of an *Hiſtorian*: And therefore it is, at leaſt, a bold Aſſumption, to ſay, that a Writer, who barely appeals to another for the Truth of a ſingle Inſtance, has taken the *whole* from him. The moſt that can be fairly concluded from ſuch an Appeal, is, that the Fact is equally affirm'd by both, either in the ſame or equivalent Terms; whereas, had the Terms of the *Sun's ſtanding ſtill in the midſt of Heaven* been intended to mean no more, than that there remain'd ſo much Light, after its Setting, occaſion'd by ſome unuſual *Refraction*, as made the whole Army think it was ſtill above the *Horizon*, no honeſt Man (for Fear of impoſing on his Reader) would have cited them, without modifying their Senſe, or giving them an Explanation. *Saurin*'s Diſſert. ſur la Defaite des cinq Roys; and Univerſ. lib. i. c. 7.

(*s*) *Grotius* and *Le Clerc* in Locum. (*t*) *Calmet*'s Diſſert. ſur le Commandment, &c.

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ſtand ſtill; and, to evince the Credibility of a Thing ſo marvellous, having produc'd the Teſtimony of another Author, that makes mention of the ſame Event, he thereupon concludes, that (*u*) *there was no Day like that, before it or after it, that God hearkened to the Voice of a Man.* Here, we ſee, are all the Tokens imaginable of a ſimple, literal, and hiſtorical Narration: And the Reader muſt therefore be ſtrangely prejudic'd againſt the Belief of all Miracles whatever, who can poſſibly diſtort ſuch plain and uniform Expreſſions into any figurative or metaphorical Senſe, in order to evade the Force of this.

An Objection.

"But, if there really was ſuch a "Miracle wrought, 'tis ſomewhat ſtrange, "that the Author to the *Hebrews*, when "he certainly makes mention of Things "of leſs Moment, ſhould entirely forget "this, or that we ſhould have no Memo"rial of it recorded by any *profane* Wri"ter. God is not ſo prodigal of his Mi"racles, one would think, as to reverſe "the whole Order of Nature, and ſtop "the Sun in its regular Courſe, merely "that a Victory might be obtain'd in one "Day, which, every whit as well, might "have been gain'd in two; tho' it can"not be deny'd, but that, if it was ſo, "his *hearkening to the Voice of Joſhua*, "gave him a Pre-eminence far above "*Moſes*, (foraſmuch as all his Miracles were "nothing in Compariſon of this) even "tho' the Scriptures ſay expreſſly; that "(*x*) *there roſe not a Prophet, in all* If"rael, *like unto* Moſes, *in all Signs and* "*Wonders, which the Lord ſent him to* "*do in the Land of* Egypt, *and in the* "*Wilderneſs.*"

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing the Reaſons why St Paul *omitted it.*

The Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, in (*y*) the Chapter now under Debate, meant no more, than to give his Reader ſome notable Inſtances of the wonderful Power of Faith. To have been too curious in the Choice of theſe Inſtances, eſpecially when he wrote to Perſons of the ſame Nation, and who were as well acquainted with theſe Things as himſelf, would have ſavour'd too much of Art and *human* Wiſdom, which *inſpir'd* Authors always profeſſedly avoid; and to have been too prolix in the Commemoration of them, would have ſpoil'd the Form of his *Epiſtle*, by ſwelling that Part of it beyond its due Proportion. From Joſh. i. to the End.

The Apoſtle himſelf ſeems to be ſenſible of this; and therefore we find him cutting himſelf ſhort, omitting ſome, and reckoning up ſeveral other Inſtances in the Groſs; and (*z*) *what ſhall I more ſay? for the Time would fail me, to tell of* Gideon, *and of* Barak, *and of* Sampſon, *and of* Jephtha; *of* David *alſo, and* Samuel, *and all the Prophets.* You ſee, that, in the Catalogue of his *Worthies*, he obſerves no great Method in enumerating them, nor does he ſo much as mention *Joſhua*, tho' his Character be vaſtly ſuperior to that of *Gideon*, and others, that he takes Notice of; and therefore, if his omitting this Particular of the *Sun's ſtanding ſtill* may be deem'd a ſufficient Argument againſt its *Reality*; by Parity of Reaſon, all the other miraculous Tranſactions, which he has thought proper not to mention, ſuch as the Plagues of *Egypt*, the Wonders in the Wilderneſs, the Paſſage of *Jordan*, and ſeveral others of the like Nature, muſt be reputed deſtitute of Truth, how frequently ſoever they may be recorded in other Parts of Holy Writ.

Why Heathen *Authors.*

And in like Manner, tho' we find no Mention made of this wonderful Event in *Heathen* Writers, yet this is no valid Objection againſt it, becauſe it happen'd many Ages before there was any *Hiſtorians* or *Chronologers*, that we know of, extant to record it. Or if we think, that a Fact, ſo very remarkable, could have hardly eſcap'd a *general Obſervation*, why may we not ſuppoſe, that the publick *Archives*, or Monuments, wherein it was recorded, in the long and obſcure Time that interven'd before any of our preſent

3 Hiſtorians

(*u*) Joſh. x. 14. (*x*) Deut. xxxiv. 10, 11. (*y*) Chap. xi. (*z*) Ver. 32.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

Hiſtorians aroſe, have been loſt; and that nothing has been tranſmitted to us, (except what we have in *Sacred Writ*) but an uncertain *Tradition*, clouded with Fable, and poetical Fictions?

IT can hardly be thought indeed, but that the Humour, which the *Poets* had, * of imputing to *Magick* the Power of ſtopping the Stars in their Courſes, and what they relate of their *Heroes* and *Demi-Gods* being able to lengthen Days or Nights, as it beſt ſerv'd their *military* or *amorous* Purpoſes, proceeded from ſomething: And to what can we aſcribe it more properly, than to a glimmering Knowledge, which they might from Tradition have of this miraculous Event? But however this be, 'tis certain, that the Argument, drawn from the Silence of *heathen* Authors, can be of no Validity againſt the Truth of this Miracle, ſince it did not happen in any Age, when the earlieſt of them liv'd, and might therefore be what they knew nothing of; ſince all their Works have not deſcended to us, and in what is loſt, they perhaps might have related it, as in what is extant, we are ſure they ſay nothing to contradict it.

(*a*) IT muſt be reckon'd a Point of *Juſtice* then, and a Kind of *Right* belonging to all Nations, to be determin'd, in what concerns the Hiſtory of any Country, by the Hiſtory of thoſe People, who are preſum'd to be better acquainted with their own Affairs, than any Strangers can: And therefore we cannot, without apparent Prejudice, deny this Privilege to the *Hebrew* Writers, even tho' we found ſome *heathen* Teſtimonies not entirely according with them. But when nothing of this is pretended; on the contrary, when (as far as theſe dark Times would permit) there is a Concurrence and Harmony between them, there can be no Shadow of Reaſon for calling in Queſtion their Veracity, unleſs the Things which they relate be either *impoſſible* or *contradictory*, which, in the Caſe before us, can never be affirm'd; becauſe it is ſure and ſelf-evident, that the Author of Nature, who gave Being and Motion to the Sun and Stars, may ſtop that Motion, and make them ſtand ſtill, when, and as long as he pleaſes; eſpecially when their Reſt will contribute to his Glory (as it certainly did in this Inſtance) as much as their continu'd Motion does.

From Joſh. i. to the End.

GOD indeed never works any Miracle but upon a juſt and proper Occaſion; but then, we ought to remember, that this Battle, againſt the *confederate* Kings, was fought not *offenſively*, but *defenſively* on the Side of *Iſrael*, in order to ſave a People, whom they had ſolemnly taken under their Protection. The *Gibeonites*, as is generally ſuppos'd, were a *Commonwealth*, for which Reaſon they might not enter into a League with the five Kings; and, as a *free* People, they had a Right, no doubt, to take all proper Meaſures for their Safety. *Joſhua* therefore could not but look upon the Confederacy form'd againſt them, as cruel and unjuſt, and himſelf oblig'd in Honour not to refuſe the Oppreſs'd the Succours, they requeſted of him, upon any Pretence whatever; ſince God's Honour was likewiſe concern'd in the Preſervation of a People, who had enter'd into an Alliance with his own *Inheritance*, and had their Alliance ratify'd by the Mouth of his *High-Prieſt*, and with the Sanction of his moſt bleſſed Name. Upon theſe Conſiderations, *Joſhua* loſes no Time, but marches all the Night to their Aſſiſtance; and, on the next Day, God is pleas'd to reward his Faithfulneſs and Zeal with a moſt miraculous Victory, whereby he not only reſcu'd his Allies, but made all the Land of *Canaan* ſenſible likewiſe, that a greater and more powerful God was on *Iſrael*'s Side, than any whom they worſhipp'd, (*b*) by ſtopping the Sun

Reaſons for God's working this Miracle.

* Ceſſavêre Vices Rerum, dilataque longâ
Hæſit Nocte Dies: Legi non paruit Æther,
Torpuit & Præceps, audito *Carmine*, Mundus. *Lucan*'s Pharſ. lib. vi.

(*a*) *Calmet*'s Diſſert. ſur le Commandment, &c. (*b*) *Patrick*'s Comm. in Locum.

A. M. 2553, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1451, &c.

and Moon (which were two of the principal Deities, whom thoſe Idolatrous People ador'd) in the Midſt of their Courſe.

God might, no doubt, in the Compaſs of two Days, have enabled the *Iſraelites* to have gain'd a compleat Conqueſt over their Enemies, without the *Expence of a Miracle* (as theſe Men call it). But then, had this been obtain'd by the Dint of the Sword only, it would have been imputed to their ſuperior Valour and Strength, and deem'd no more, than the common Fate of War; or had there nothing more remarkable happen'd in it, than a Shower of large Hail-Stones, this might have been thought owing to Chance or natural Cauſes, or at moſt, been only known in that Neighbourhood: Whereas, the ſtopping of the two great *Luminaries*, in the Height of their *Career*, (which could not but be univerſally ſeen and felt) was enough to convince theſe poor deluded People, that the Gods, whom they truſted in, were ſubject to the God of *Iſrael*, and, at the ſame Time, deter the *Iſraelites* from falling into the like Idolatry, from (*c*) *kiſſing their Hand* (as *Job* expreſſes that Form of Worſhip) *when they beheld the Sun as it ſhined, or the Moon walking in its Brightneſs:* To convince them I ſay, that (*d*) *the Gods of the Heathens were but Idols*, and that *it is the Lord who made*, and who ruleth in *the Heavens*.

Joſhua, *notwithſtanding this Miracle, not ſuperior to* Moſes.

It cannot be queſtion'd, but that the Fame of this Miracle rais'd *Joſhua*'s Reputation to an high Degree, nor (*e*) can we ſee any Inconvenience in admitting, that this was a more remarkable Miracle, than any, which *Moſes* ever did; becauſe it does not therefore follow, that *Joſhua*, in other Reſpects, was a Perſon of greater Eminence, than *Moſes*. Our bleſſed Saviour tells his *Diſciples*, (*f*) *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, he that believeth on me, the Works, that I do, ſhall he do alſo, and greater Works than theſe ſhall he do; becauſe I go unto my Father:* And yet he gives us to underſtand, in another Place, that (*g*) *the Diſciple is not above his Maſter, nor the Servant above his Lord.* From Joſh. i. to the End.

ELISHA was the Servant and Attendant on the Prophet *Elijah*, and yet it is certain, that, according to our Eſtimate, he did more and greater Miracles, than his Maſter did; for even (*h*) *after his Death his Body propheſied*; (as the Son of *Sirach* expreſſes it) *he did Wonders in his Life, and at his Death were his Works marvellous.* And therefore we need not account it a ſtrange Thing, that we find *Joſhua* here doing a Miracle, which, in our Opinion, ſurpaſſes all that ever *Moſes* did: Becauſe God's making uſe of the Miniſtry of one Man, rather than another, in his ſurpaſſing Works of Wonder, is no certain Proof of the Man's ſuperior Merit; ſince, in this, as well as any other Diſpenſation, he is at perfect Liberty (*i*) *to chuſe* (if he pleaſes) *the weak Things of the World, to confound the Things that are mighty; yea, and baſe Things, and Things that are not, to bring to nought Things that are, that no Fleſh ſhould glory in his Preſence.*

But after all, we talk of *greater* and *leſs* Miracles, when, in Reality, there are no ſuch Degrees of Compariſon between them. For what is it that makes us account one Work of this Kind greater than another? If it be, becauſe we conceive more Difficulty in the Doing it; this, with Regard to God (the ſole Author of all Miracles) is a great Miſtake, foraſmuch as all Things are equally eaſy to his Almighty Power. The Motion, and other Properties of every created Being, were at firſt impreſs'd by him; (*k*) *He ſpake, and it was done; he commanded, and it ſtood faſt*; and, with the ſame Facility, he can retard, or ſuſpend their Operations, for they have no Power of reſiſting the very firſt Beck of his Will. Since every Thing therefore, that is contrary to the ordinary Courſe of Nature, requires the

(*c*) Job xxxi. 26. (*d*) Pſal. xcvi. 5. (*e*) *Calmet*'s Diſſert. ſur le Commandment, &c. (*f*) John xiv. 12. (*g*) Matth. x. 24. (*h*) Eccluſ. xlviii. 13, 14. (*i*) 1 Cor. i. 27, &c. (*k*) Pſal. xxxiii. 9.

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the Interpoſition of an Almighty Power, and whatever is not impoſſible in itſelf, is equally poſſible to God; with him there can be no Difference between paſſing the *Jordan*, and paſſing the *Red-Sea*, between drawing Water out of the *ſtony Rock*, and arreſting the Sun *in the Firmament of* Heaven; for (*l*) *whatever he pleaſed, that did he, in Heaven, and in the Earth, in the Sea, and in all deep Places.*

From Joſh. i. to the End.

(*l*) Pſal. cxxxv. 6.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of JOSHUA *to the Death of* SAMPSON.

The HISTORY.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

After the Death of Joſhua, *ſeveral Tribes conquer ſeveral Parts of* Canaan.

AFTER the Death of *Joſhua*, * no particular Perſon, that we read of, ſucceeded him in the Government; and therefore the moſt probable Opinion is, that every Tribe was govern'd by their reſpective *Heads*, or *Elders*, (which Form of Government ſubſiſted about *thirty* Years) and that, in their Wars with the *Canaanites*, they made them their Commanders. For, ſeveral of the *Canaanitiſh* Kings remaining ſtill unconquer'd, the *Iſraelites* unanimouſly reſolv'd to ſet about their Reduction; and accordingly repair'd to the *Oracle* at *Shiloh*, to aſk Directions of God, which Tribe ſhould begin the War. God's Orders were, that the Tribe of *Judah* ſhould begin; and therefore they, taking to their Aſſiſtance the Tribe of *Simeon*, firſt ſet upon the cruel † King of *Bezek*; ſack'd the Town, kill'd ten Thouſand of its Inhabitants, and, as he was endeavouring to make his Eſcape, ſeiz'd him, and cut † off his *Thumbs* and *Great-Toes*, in the like Manner, as he had done to no leſs than *ſeventy* little Kings or Princes, whom he compell'd to gather their Meat, like Dogs, under his Table: So that the Similitude of his Puniſhment made the Tyrant reflect upon his own Cruelty, and acknowledge the Juſtice of God in what he had brought upon him.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

AFTER the Conqueſt of *Bezek*, the two united Tribes † inveſted *Jeruſalem*, and, having taken it, put the Inhabitants to

* The *Samaritan Chronicle* tells us indeed, that, in the laſt Aſſembly which *Joſhua* held, he nominated twelve *Chiefs*, of every Tribe one, and put it to the *Lot*, who ſhould ſucceed him in the Government; that the Lot fell upon his Nephew *Abel*, whom he accordingly crown'd, and inveſted with other Enſigns of Honour, &c. But this is thought to be no more than a *fabulous* Account invented to fill up this void Space of Time. *Saurin*'s Diſſert. ſur *Heglon*, Roi des *Moabites* tué, &c.

† There is another Place in Scripture, *viz.* 1 Sam. xi. 8. where *Bezek* is mention'd; and ſince *Euſebius* and *Jerom* tell us, that there were, in their Days, two Towns, about ſeventeen Miles from *Shechem*, of the ſame Name, and not far diſtant from each other, we ſee nothing of Moment to hinder them from being both but one City in former Times. *Welli*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

† The Reaſon of their mutilating him in this Manner, was, to make him uncapable of War any more, being unable to *handle Arms*, by Reaſon of the Loſs of his *Thumbs*, or to *run ſwiftly*, (which was a notable Quality in a Warrior in thoſe Days) by the Loſs of his *Great-Toes*. *Patrick*'s Comm. in Locum.

† We do not read, that *Jeruſalem* was ever taken by *Joſhua*, tho' it ſeems highly probable, that, when he took the King of *Jeruſalem*, he did to it, as he did to the reſt of the Cities belonging to thoſe Kings, *Joſh.* x. 3, 23. But when he was gone to conquer other Parts of the Country, it is likely that the old Inhabitants return'd again, and took

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

to the Sword, and ſet the Place on Fire. They thence march'd to *Hebron*; and, having made themſelves Maſters of it, went to attack *Debir*, which was Part of *Caleb*'s Allotment, though the *Canaanites* at that Time had Poſſeſſion of it. *Caleb*, † who, in all Probability, was *General* in theſe Wars, being reſolv'd to ſtorm the Place, made Proclamation in the Camp, that whoever ſhould attack, and carry it, ſhould have his Daughter *Achſah* as a Reward of his Valour; which his gallant Nephew *Othniel*, Son to his younger Brother *Kenaz*, atchiev'd, and ſo, not only obtain'd the beauteous Damſel for his Wife, but with her a large Eſtate likewiſe in a well-water'd Country, which, at her Requeſt, her Father very generouſly beſtow'd on him.

THUS the Tribe of *Simeon* aſſiſted that of *Judah*, to ſubdue the *mountainous* Parts about *Jeruſalem*, and the *ſouthern* Parts adjoining to the Wilderneſs of *Paran*; and, when this was done, the Tribe of *Judah*, in like Manner, aſſiſted the *Simeonites* to take *Gaza*, *Aſhkelon*, and *Zephah*, which was then call'd *Hormah*; ſo that theſe Places, in After-Ages, came into their Poſſeſſion. Encourag'd by theſe Succeſſes, the Family of *Joſeph* undertook the Conqueſt of *Bethel*; and, to this Purpoſe, ſent out Spies, to take a Survey of the Town, and to gain what Intelligence they could. They perceiving a Man coming out of it, immediately ſeiz'd him, but promis'd to ſpare his Life, upon Condition that he would give them the beſt Information he could, in what Way the Town was approachable. The Man did ſo; and by his Information they ſucceeded ſo well, that, ſending for their Forces, they enter'd the Place, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, except the Man who had given them Intelligence, and his Family.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

THE other Tribes had equally good Succeſs in gaining the Poſſeſſion of the Lands that were allotted them; only the Tribe of *Dan* was compell'd to quit the Plains for fear of the *Amorites*, and to retire into the mountainous Parts of the Country, where they were pent up for ſome Time, until the Family of *Joſeph* came to their Aſſiſtance; and, having reſtrain'd the Inſolence of their Enemies, reduc'd them to a narrower Tract of Land, than what they had at firſt.

They keep Company with the Natives, fall into Idolatry, and are oppreſs'd.

ONE great Default however in thoſe, that were ſucceſsful againſt the *Canaanites*, was, that they did not make a right Uſe of their Victories, but, either through a miſplac'd Lenity, or Covetouſneſs, inſtead of deſtroying them, (as they were commanded) ſuffer'd them to live promiſcuouſly among them, and contented themſelves with making them *tributary*; which ſo far incens'd God, that he ſent an † *Angel*

Poſſeſſion of it, for the Land was not then divided among the *Iſraelites*. But as *Joſhua*, a little before his Death, divided the Land, and this City fell, in Part, to the Share of the Tribe of *Judah*, they diſpoſſeſs'd the *Jebuſites*, that dwelt there, of all but the ſtrong Fortreſs on the Top of Mount *Sion*, which held out till the Days of *David*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Who was their *General* on this Occaſion, is not expreſsly mention'd either in Scripture, *Joſephus*, or any other antient Hiſtorian; and yet, it is hardly to be queſtion'd, but that *Caleb* was the Perſon. He was of the Tribe of *Judah*, older than any other by twenty Years; and yet, like *Moſes*, he continu'd in his full Strength and Vigour. He and *Joſhua* were the only two Spies, who, having ſearch'd out the Land, gave a true Report of it; and therefore, as *Joſhua* was the firſt *General*, he had the greateſt Right to ſucceed him, and this might be the Reaſon why *Joſhua*, at his Death, nam'd no other. He, and *Joſhua* were the two only Perſons, to whom the *Iſraelites* gave Inheritances for their ſignal Services; and, as his Inheritance lay unconquer'd in this Tribe, he had the greateſt Reaſon to be active in reducing it. His Name alone is mention'd in all theſe Wars; and as his Son-in-law, *Othniel*, was the firſt Deliverer of the *Iſraelites* from their Oppreſſions, he ſeems to have ſucceeded *Caleb* in this Dignity, as his neareſt and moſt valiant Relation. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, lib. v. c. 3.

† The *Jews* are generally of Opinion, that, by this Angel, we are to underſtand a *Prophet*, who was ſent by God as a *Meſſenger*, which the Word very often imports; and this Meſſenger they commonly take to have been *Phineas*, who was employ'd upon this Errand. We can ſee no Reaſon however for their departing from the uſual Signification of the Word, eſpecially when there is no Abſurdity in it, and the Senſe of the Context ſeems to require our retaining it. Nay, there is Reaſon to ſay, that the Perſon, who here reproves the *Iſraelites*, was ſomething more than a *created* Angel; for who but God can ſpeak in this Stile, *I made you to* go out of *Egypt?* No Prophet, nor any created Angel durſt have been ſo bold: And therefore, the Opinion of moſt *Chriſtian* Interpreters is, that it was the *Son of God*,

who

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

Angel from *Gilgal*, to expoſtulate the Matter with them; to remind them of the Favours, which he had vouchſaf'd them, in delivering them out of *Egypt*, and bringing them into that happy Land, of his punctual Performance of all the Promiſes he had made them, and of their vile Ingratitude in rejecting his Precepts, for which he had very juſtly withdrawn his Protection from them.

THIS Reproof made the People, for the preſent, a little ſenſible of their Tranſgreſſion, ſo that they fell into a general *Lamentation*; and, deploring the Wretchedneſs of their Condition, offer'd Sacrifices to God, in order to appeaſe his Wrath. But no ſooner was this Fit of Humiliation over, but, continuing ſtill their Correſpondence with the *Canaanites*, indulging themſelves in their looſe Converſation, and making Intermarriages with them, they fell into Idolatry, and worſhipp'd *Baal* and *Aſhteroth*, and other Idols of the Heathens, which ſo provok'd the Lord, that he left them to themſelves; and they (without his Protection) made ſo weak a Defence, that they were often taken, and enſlav'd by their Enemies.

THE firſt Oppreſſor, that the *Iſraelites* had, was nam'd *Chuſan-Priſhathaim*. He was King of *Meſopotamia*, and, when he invaded the Territories of *Iſrael*, he made an eaſy Conqueſt, and impos'd a *Tribute* on them, which laſted for eight Years; but, at the Expiration of that Time, God rais'd up *Othniel*, *Caleb*'s Son-in-Law (who was the firſt of thoſe whom the Scripture calls *Judges*) and inſpir'd him with Courage and Reſolution to take up Arms againſt the King of *Meſopotamia*, whom he ſoon defeated, and ſettled the *Iſraelites* in a State of Peace and Tranquillity, which laſted for forty Years. But during this Space of Time, the People fell into a general Apoſtacy, and Corruption of Manners, whereof the † two following Stories are ſad and remarkable Inſtances.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

The ſad Impiety and Wickedneſs of theſe Times, ſhewn in two Inſtances.

THE Tribe of *Dan* (as we ſaid before) being pent up in the mountainous Parts, found their Territories much too narrow for them; and therefore they ſent out of their Body five Spies to ſurvey the Country, and bring them in Intelligence, in what Part of the Regions round about they might moſt likely extend their Bounds. The Spies, in their Journey, came to the Houſe of *Micah* of Mount *Ephraim*, whoſe Mother, thinking it too much Trouble to go to *Shiloh* to worſhip, and offer Sacrifices there, had made an *Idol*, and plac'd it in a private Chapel of her Son's building: For her Son had an † *Ephod*, and *Teraphim*, and, for ſome Time, had conſecrated

who is frequently in Scripture call'd the *Angel of the Covenant*. And fit it was for him to appear now, as coming from *Gilgal*, to put them in mind of his illuſtrious Appearance near that Place once before, of the Aſſurance he then gave them of his Preſence with them in the Conqueſt of the Land, and of the ſolemn *Covenant*, he made with them, by renewing of *Circumciſion*. The Angel's *coming up from Gilgal* is therefore mention'd, as a very pertinent Circumſtance, to upbraid the *Iſraelites* with their baſe Ingratitude to God, and with their Sloth in not endeavouring to expel the *Canaanites*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Theſe two Stories are related in the xvii, xviii, and xixth Chapters of *Judges*, and being ſo plac'd, they may ſeem to belong to the latter Part of this Period; whereas, in the Judgment of moſt learned Men, they were tranſacted much about this Time. 'Tis plain from the Text, (Chap. xvii. 6.) that theſe Things happen'd *when there was no King* (i. e. no *Ruler*, for, properly ſpeaking, there had hitherto been no King) *in* Iſrael, *but every Man did what was right in his own Eyes*; and the Reaſon why *Samuel*, or whoever was the Author of this Book, places them here, is, becauſe he was not willing to break the Thread of his Hiſtory by intermixing theſe Matters with it, but reſerv'd them to be related apart by themſelves. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† That the Divine Service might be perform'd with a greater Reſemblance of what was done at the Tabernacle in *Shiloh*, he made *prieſtly Ornaments*; for ſo ſome learned Men take the *Ephod* to comprehend, not only the Breaſt-plate adjoining to it, but all the reſt of the Veſtments us'd by the High-Prieſt. His Intention was to ſet up an Oracle in his own Houſe, in Imitation of the Sanctuary of *Moſes*; and therefore, to make the Conformity the greater, 'tis ſuppos'd that he erected a Kind of *Ark*, whereon he plac'd his two *Teraphims*, to anſwer the two *Cherubims* in the Tabernacle, as he caus'd the Prieſt who officiated for him to wear an *Ephod*, in the Manner that the High-Prieſt did, when he conſulted God. Mr *Selden* (in his Syntagma 1. de Diis Syris, Cap. 2.) well obſerves, that the Worſhip of the true God, and of Idols, was here blended together. The *Ephod* and the *Levite*, which *Micah* afterwards provided, were intended, no doubt, for the Service of the true God, but the graven *Image* and *Teraphim*, by which the

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secrated one of his own Sons to be his Priests; until a *Levite*, who had dwelt some Time at *Bethlehem-Judah*, travelling from thence to seek a better Settlement, happen'd to call at *Micah*'s House, and by him was hir'd to execute that Office; whereupon, the Man was fond enough to believe, that God would prosper him not a little, now that he had got a *Levite* to be his Priest.

The Idolatry of the Danites.

IT so happen'd, that some of these Spies being acquainted with this *Levite*, and, after some Discourse, understanding in what Capacity he serv'd *Micah*, desir'd of him to ask Counsel of God, what Success they might possibly promise themselves in the Enterprize they were going upon, and, with the Encouragement which he gave them, they proceeded on their Search, until they came to *Laish*; where, observing a pleasant and fruitful Country, and the People living in a secure and negligent Manner, without any Rule or Discipline among them, they return'd to their Brethren, and gave them an Account, how fruitful the Country was, and how easily, in their Opinion, the Place might be taken by Surprize.

UPON this, the *Danites* drew out a Party of six hundred Men, and sent them to take Possession of the City *Laish*: But, in their Way through Mount *Ephraim*, they call'd at *Micah*'s House, and, in his Absence, seiz'd the *Levite*, the *Ephod*, the *Teraphim*, and other Images, that *Micah* had made; and, as the *Levite* was remonstrating against what they had done, they soon pacify'd him, by representing the Advantage of being a Priest to a whole *Tribe* rather than any one Family; and, with the Hopes of that, he went very willingly along with them.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

MICAH returning Home, and understanding that his Priest and his Gods were gone, musters up his Friends, and pursues the *Danites*; but, when he came up with some of the hindmost of them, and was making his Complaint against the Injury they had done, they wish'd him to be gone; for that, if he persisted to irritate the rest of the Party, it would certainly cost him and his Friends their Lives: And so continuing their March, on the third Day they came to *Laish*, where finding it unguarded they burnt the City, destroy'd the Inhabitants, and took Possession of the Country; but, in a short Time after, they rebuilt the City, which, after the Name of their Father was call'd *Dan*, and here setting up the Images, which they had stolen from *Micah*, they made this same *Levite* (whose Name was *Jonathan*) their Priest: And in this State of *idolatrous* Worship they continu'd for about three hundred Years, even unto the Time † that the Ark of God was taken Captive by the

Children of *Dan* desir'd the *Levite* to enquire of God, belong'd unto *Dæmons*. They neither trusted to the Ephod alone, which related to God, nor to their Teraphim alone, which was their own Invention, but thought it necessary to join both together in divine Worship: And thus began Idolatry in *Israel* by the Superstition of an old Woman, who put this in her Son's Head. This Woman many of the *Jews* suppose to be the same with *Dalilah*, who, having got so much Money of every one of the Lords of the *Philistines*, thought it expedient to employ some of it in expressing her Devotion. But this is an idle Conceit, that has no other Foundation, than *Dalilah*'s being mention'd in the foregoing Chapter; whereas *Micah* was some hundred Years prior to her. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Jurieu*'s Hist. des Dogmes & Cult. Par. III.

† The Words of the Text are: ——— *And the Children of* Dan *set up the graven Image, and* Jonathan *and his Sons were Priests to the Tribe of* Dan, *until the Day of the Captivity of the Land*, Judg. xviii. 30. But then the Question is, what we are to understand by *the Captivity of the Land?* Now there are two Times mention'd in Scripture, when the Children of *Israel* were carry'd away Captive by *Tiglath-Pileser*, when he *took* Hazor, *and* Gilead, *and* Galilee, *all the Land of* Naphtali, *and carried them into* Assyria, 2 Kings xv. 29. And 2dly, by *Salmanasser*, who *carried* Israel *away, and placed them in* Halah, *and in* Habor, *by the River* Gozan, *and in the Cities of the* Medes, 2 Kings xviii. 11. And to one of these, the Words of the Text are suppos'd by some learned Men to refer; but then it must necessarily follow, that this Book was written in later Times, even after the former of these Captivities at least. It can hardly be suppos'd however, that these Images should be suffer'd to continue in the Days of *David*, who was a Man after God's own Heart, and study'd to advance true Religion to the utmost of his Power all the Country over, from *Dan* to *Beersheba*; and therefore others, with good Reason, conclude, that by *the Captivity of the Land* is meant the taking of the Ark by the *Philistines*, and carrying it Captive into the Temple of *Dagon*; for so the Psalmist ex-

pressly

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And the War of the Benjamites.

the *Philiſtines*, which was in the Days of *Samuel*.

NOT long after this, the War of the *Benjamites* broke out, which is another tragical Piece of Hiſtory, and as pregnant a Proof of the People's *Immorality*, as the other is of their *Apoſtacy*. The Subſtance of the Story is this.——* A *Levite* of Mount *Ephraim*, having taken a Wife out of *Bethlehem-Judah*, who prov'd a lewd Woman, ſhe made an Elopement from her Huſband to her Father's Houſe, where ſhe continu'd for ſome Months. The *Levite* however, being willing to be reconcil'd to her, went to bring her home; but, in his Return, happening to be benighted, he was oblig'd to turn * into *Gibeah*, where an old Man of Mount *Ephraim*, who only was an *Inmate* there, after ſome Converſation, receiv'd him into his Lodgings. But, while they were at Supper, the Men of the City beſet the Houſe, and demanded to have the Stranger brought out to them, that, according to the Sin of *Sodom*, they might *know him*. 'Twas in vain to uſe Intreaties to ſo rude a Rabble. The good old Man offer'd them his own Daughter, who was a Virgin; and, at length by Conſent the *Levite*'s Wife was turn'd out among them. They abus'd her all that Night; and, the next Morning, ſhe was found dead at the Threſhold, which enrag'd her Huſband to ſuch a Degree, that, taking her home with him, he cut her dead Body into twelve *Parts*, and ſent one to every Tribe, with an Account of the *inhoſpitable* Treatment, he met with at *Gibeah*; that ſo, in a general Aſſembly of *Iſrael*, it might be reſolv'd, what Method of Revenge it was proper to take upon this diſmal Occaſion.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

THE Aſſembly agreed, that never ſo inhumane an Act had been known in *Iſrael*, ſince the Time they left *Egypt*; and thereupon came to a Reſolution, to bring the Offenders to condign Puniſhment, and, in order to that, ſent Meſſengers to them, demanding the Men, that had committed this Outrage; but they refus'd to deliver them, and, in order to defend the Criminals, muſter'd up all their Forces. The Army of the *Benjamites* conſiſted but of ſix and twenty Thouſand, whereas that of all *Iſrael* amounted to four hundred Thouſand Men; and yet, in two ſeveral Engagements, the *Benjamites* had the better of them; for in the *former*, they kill'd them twenty two Thouſand, and in the *latter*, eighteen Thouſand Men. But the Miſconduct of the *Iſraelites* upon this Occaſion was, that, being too confident of the Goodneſs of their Cauſe, and the Superiority of their Numbers, when they went to conſult God, they only enquir'd of him which of the Tribes ſhould lead the *Van*, without placing their Confidence in him, or depending upon his Aſſiſtance for Succeſs, which theſe repeated Defeats brought to their Remembrance; and therefore, before the third Engagement, they humbled themſelves in a proper Manner before God, and, from his Encouragement, attacked the *Benjamites* once more. But, to make their

preſsly calls that unlucky Event: *He forſook the Tabernacle in* Shiloh, *even the Tent that he had pitched among them; he delivered their Power into Captivity, and their Beauty into the Enemies Hands*, Pſal. lxxviii. 60, 61. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

* *Joſephus* relates this Story with a good deal of Variation from the ſacred Hiſtory: ——— That the *Levite*'s Wife was not a *lewd* Woman, but one, who did not well agree with her Huſband, for which Reaſon ſhe left him, and went to her Father; that the young Men of *Gibeah*, ſeeing her to be a very beautiful Woman, took Notice of the Houſe, where ſhe went in, and came and demanded her, and not the *Levite* himſelf, as the Scripture has it; that the *Levite* did not turn her out, but that the young Men took her by Force, and carry'd her to their own Quarters, where they ſpent the whole Night in all Manner of *beſtial* Liberties, and then ſent her back again next Morning; that, upon her Return, ſhe fell into ſuch a Confuſion of Thought, for what had befallen her that Night, that (what between Shame and Indignation) ſhe ſunk down upon the Ground, and expir'd; that the *Iſraelites*, met in Convention, ſent to the *Benjamites* to deliver up the *Malefactors*, who had committed this brutal Violence upon the *Levite*'s Wife, which they refus'd to do, as thinking it diſhonourable for Fear of a War to ſubmit to Rules of other People's preſcribing, &c. *Joſephus*, Lib. v. c. 2.

* *Gibeah* lay *North* of *Jeruſalem*, about twenty or thirty Furlongs from it, and was built upon an Hill, as its Name imports. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III.

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their Victory the more ſecure, they laid an Ambuſcade behind the City, which, while they pretended to fly, enter'd it, and ſet it on Fire; whereupon the main Body of the *Iſraelitiſh* Army fac'd about, and charg'd ſo furiouſly upon the *Benjamites*, that they ſlew five and twenty Thouſand of them, ſet Fire to their City, and deſtroy'd all that belong'd to them. It ſo happen'd however, that ſix hundred of them (which were all that remain'd of the Tribe) made their Eſcape into the Wilderneſs, and ſhelter'd themſelves in the Fortreſs of *Rimmon*.

The Manner of recruiting their ſlaughter'd Tribe.

WHEN the Heat of the Action was over, and the *Iſraelites* began to reflect coolly on what they had done, they were griev'd not a little; and that the rather, becauſe, at the Beginning of this War, they had all taken a raſh Oath, not to marry their Daughters to any of the *Benjamites*: So that how to recruit the Tribe they could not tell, until they bethought themſelves of theſe two *Expedients*. When the War firſt broke out, they had bound themſelves by Oath, to put all to the Sword, who would not join them in the common Cauſe againſt the *Benjamites*; and finding by their *Muſter-Roll*, that the People of *Jabeſh-Gilead* had neglected to come, they diſpatch'd twelve Thouſand Men, with Orders to put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword, except ſuch Virgins as were *marriageable*, whom they intended to give to the *Benjamites* for Wives. For, by this Time, the *Benjamites* were reconcil'd to the reſt of the People, had left their *Strong-hold*, and were come into the Camp; ſo that, when the Men return'd from the Slaughter of the *Gileadites*, they brought four hundred Virgins along with them, which were immediately given to the *Benjamites*; but as the *Benjamites* were ſix hundred in Number, there was not for every Man one, and therefore they betook themſelves to *another* Expedient.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

ONCE every Year, † there was a *Feſtival* kept at *Shiloh*, whither the young Women of the Country us'd conſtantly to come and dance. The *Iſraelites* therefore ſuggeſted to the *Benjamites*, that, as many as wanted Wives, might at this Time repair to the Place, and, concealing themſelves in the Vineyards, ſeize upon the young Women, as they came out a dancing, and carry them off to their own Habitations. The *Benjamites* accordingly purſu'd their Inſtructions; and, watching their Opportunity, took every one his Damſel away with him: So that, having by this Means got themſelves Wives, they ſettled again in their own Country, and began by Degrees to recruit their Tribe.

Ehud *murthers* Eglon, *King of* Moab, *and reſcues his Country.*

AFTER the Death of *Othniel*, the *Iſraelites* again revolted from the Service of God, and God, to chaſtiſe them for it, ſuffer'd *Eglon*, King of *Moab*, to ſubdue them; ſo that, for eighteen Years together, they were forc'd to be *tributary* to him. But, upon their Humiliation and Repentance, he rais'd them up a Man, even out of the diminiſh'd Tribe of *Benjamin*, who wrought their Deliverance, but in a Method no ways to be juſtify'd, under a leſs Suppoſition, than that he had a divine Commiſſion for ſo doing.

EVERY Year it was cuſtomary for the *Iſraelites* to ſend a *Preſent*, or Tribute to the King of *Moab*, and, for that Year, *Ehud*,

† All the three great Feſtivals were to be obſerv'd in the Place where God ſettled his Habitation, which was now at *Shiloh*; and therefore, ſome are of Opinion, that the Feaſt, here mention'd, was one of theſe; particularly, they think it was the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, becauſe this was a Seaſon of great Joy, for having newly gather'd their Vintage, and the only Seaſon, wherein the *Jewiſh* Virgins were allow'd to dance. At this Time they dwelt in Booths too, behind which the *Benjamites* (as they fancy) might very conveniently conceal themſelves, and ſo watch an Opportunity of carrying away the Virgins: But what ſeems to make againſt this Opinion is, that, at any of theſe publick Feſtivals, the Concourſe of People would have been too great for a Deſign of this Nature to be put in Execution, ſince the Violence, which muſt of Courſe have been offer'd to the young Women, would hardly have met with a general Connivance. 'Tis much more probable therefore, that this was ſome Feſtival peculiar to the People of *Shiloh*, which the *Benjamites* perhaps might know nothing of, and were therefore put in Mind of it by *the Elders of the Congregation*. *Joſephus* tells us, that it was celebrated thrice every Year: And on this Feſtival it might be a Cuſtom for the young Women to go out into the Fields, and there dance by themſelves, which might give their Raviſhers the very Opportunity they wanted. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

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Ehud, the Son of *Gera*, was appointed to go with it. He was a left-handed Man; and, having a Deſign either to free his Country from this Oppreſſion, or periſh in the Attempt, he had for this Purpoſe provided himſelf with a Poniard, which he conceal'd on his right Side. After he had deliver'd the Preſent, pretending he had ſomething of great Importance to communicate to the King, he obtain'd a private Audience of him; when, taking his Opportunity, he ſtabb'd him with the Poniard to the Heart, and ſo ſhutting the Door after him, had Time to make his Eſcape. For, as the King was a very corpulent Man, his Attendants ſuppos'd that he was either repoſing or eaſing himſelf, and therefore forbore to enter into his Apartment, until *Ehud* was quite gone. As ſoon as he came to Mount *Ephraim*, he gather'd together the *Iſraelites* that lay neareſt him; acquainted them with what he had done; and then ſecuring the Fords of *Jordan*, that none of them might eſcape, he fell upon the *Moabites*, and deſtroy'd them all; ſo that, after this Conqueſt, the *eaſtern* Part of the Land of *Canaan* enjoy'd a ſettled Peace † for the Space of *fourſcore Years*.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

BUT tho' the *eaſtern* Coaſt was at Reſt, yet the *weſt* Parts of the Kingdom were ſadly moleſted by the Incurſions of the *Philiſtines*, who dwelt upon the ſame Shore of the *Mediterranean-Sea*. Upon this Occaſion, † *Shamgar*, the Son of *Anah*, aſſerted the Cauſe of *Iſrael*; and, having receiv'd extraordinary Vigour from above, with no better Weapon than an *Ox-goad*, ſlew, at divers Times, ſix hundred of theſe Invaders, and preſerv'd the Peace of the Country for eight Years.

Deborah *and* Barak, *conquer* Siſera, *the General of* Jabin's *Forces.*

IN the *North* Parts of the Country however, the Idolatry, which *Micah* began, propagated apace; ſo that God, being highly incens'd at the People's Impieties, permitted *Jabin*, who, at that Time, aſſum'd the Title of King of *Canaan*, and † had fix'd his Imperial Seat at *Hazor*, to

† There are two Ways, wherein *the Land* (as it is in the Text) may be ſaid to have *had Reſt fourſcore Years*. If by the *Land*, we underſtand the whole Kingdom of *Iſrael*, the Meaning muſt be, that it reſted *about* fourſcore Years, or the *greateſt Part* of fourſcore Years: Becauſe it is a very common Thing in Scripture, to uſe Numbers in this Latitude, and, inſtead of a *minute* Computation, to make mention of the *round* Sum. Thus the *Iſraelites* are ſaid *to bear their Iniquities forty Years in the Wilderneſs*, Numb. xiv. 33. when there wanted almoſt two Years of that Number; and to *dwell in* Egypt *four hundred and thirty*, when, ſtrictly ſpeaking, there wanted ſeveral of it: And, in like Manner, the Land is here ſaid *to have had Reſt fourſcore Years*, when it is declared, at the ſame Time, that the People ſerv'd the King of *Moab eighteen* of them; nor is it any uncommon Thing, in other Authors, as well as the ſacred, to uſe this Form of Expreſſion. But 2dly, if by the Land, we underſtand only ſuch or ſuch a Part of it, the Solution is eaſy. For, it is but ſuppoſing, that there were ſcarce any of the *Judges*, who rul'd over the *whole* Country of *Iſrael*, but ſome in one Part, and ſome in another; ſo that, at the ſame Time, there were ſeveral Judges in the Land, and Peace in one Part, when there was War in another; and then we may (with the learned Sir *John Marſham*) underſtand here by *the Land, which had Reſt fourſcore Years*, not the *whole* Land of *Iſrael*, but the *Eaſtern* Part of it only, which had ſhaken off the Yoke of *Moab*, while, in the mean Time, the *Philiſtines* invaded the *Weſtern* Parts, even as *Jabin* afflicted the *Northern*, as we may ſee in the following Chapter. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Of what Tribe this valiant Perſon was, we are no where inform'd; but it is not unlikely, that he was of one of thoſe Tribes, which border'd upon the *Philiſtines*, *Judah*, *Dan*, or *Ephraim*, becauſe what he did, was againſt them. It is diſputed by ſome, whether he is to be reckon'd among the Number of the *Judges*; but for this, I think, there is no Foundation. The ſhort Account, which the Scripture gives of him, is this: ——— *And after him*, i. e. after *Ehud*, *was* Shamgar, *the Son of* Anah, *which ſlew of the* Philiſtines *ſix hundred Men with an Ox goad, and alſo delivered* Iſrael, Judg. iii. 31. After *Ehud* was *Shamgar*, i. e. he ſucceeded him in the Office of a *Judge*, for this is the natural Senſe of the Words; and *he alſo delivered* Iſrael, which is the very Phraſe, whereby the *Judges* are deſcrib'd. It is not ſaid indeed from what Oppreſſions he deliver'd him; but he is a Deliverer, who preſerves a Nation from being oppreſs'd, as well as he, who reſcues them from an Oppreſſion when they groan under it. This, in all Probability, was *Shamgar*'s Caſe, who, when the *Philiſtines* invaded his Country, gave them a Repulſe, with the Loſs of ſix hundred of their Men, which was enough to diſcourage them from all future Attempts. And indeed, the great Slaughter which he made among them, with a Weapon, in all Appearance, ſo incompetent for the Work, argues him to have been a *Judge*, and poſſeſs'd of a Divine Power, as much as *Sampſon* was, who ſlew a thouſand of his Enemies *with the Jaw-bone of an Aſs*. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† It is very certain, that *Joſhua* burnt the City *Hazor*, and ſlew the King thereof, whoſe Name in like Manner was *Jabin*, which might poſſibly be the common Name to all the Kings of the Country, as thoſe of *Egypt* were call'd *Pharaoh*: But it ſeems not improbable, that this *Hazor* might be retaken, and rebuilt by its antient Inhabitants, and

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to oppreſs them with great Severity for forty Years. This Prince had made *Siſera*, (* an experienc'd Soldier no doubt) General of his Forces, wherein, beſides great Store of other *military* Munition, there were nine hundred arm'd Chariots, which terrify'd the *Iſraelites* to ſuch a Degree, that * ſeveral Tribes, (*a*) deſpairing of Relief, ſat ſtill under their Oppreſſion, and ſome of them were going (*b*) to tranſport themſelves into other Countries. For their Enemies were ſo very cruel to them, that they durſt not travel the common Roads, nor dwell in Villages, for fear of being murther'd or plunder'd; and, having no Arms left to defend themſelves, they were forc'd to retire to fortify'd Places, and there live together in the utmoſt Conſternation.

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In the midſt of this Diſtreſs, † *Deborah*, the Propheteſs, a Woman of great Eminence, and who, for ſome Time, had adminiſter'd Juſtice to the neighbouring Tribes, ſent to *Barak*, the Son of *Abinoam*, a Meſſage from God, that he ſhould get together ten Thouſand Men, of the Tribes of *Zebulun* and *Naphtali*, and march them to † Mount *Tabor*, whither *Siſera*,

and that this King might be a Deſcendant of the other. Some indeed interpret the Words thus ——— That this *Jabin* was King of that Part of *Canaan*, which lay in the Country, where *Hazor* formerly ſtood, and whoſe Seat then was at *Haroſheth of the Gentiles*; for they underſtand this Place to be mention'd in the Text, as the Dwelling-place, not of *Siſera*, but of *Jabin* himſelf, whoſe General *Siſera* was. But there is no Reaſon for this Inverſion of the Order of the Words, ſince the *Canaanites* might, between the Time of *Joſhua* and *Deborah*, find frequent Opportunities (conſidering the Corruption and Idleneſs of the *Iſraelites*) to re eſtabliſh their antient Kingdom in theſe Parts, to rebuild their former *Capital*, and to ſet up one of the old *royal* Line to be their King; who (according to the common Uſages of thoſe Ages) retain'd one and the ſame Name with his Predeceſſors. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II. c. 6.

* This *Siſera* (as *Joſephus* informs us) was a very great Favourite of the King's, for the Services he had done, in reducing the *Iſraelites*, whom he worſted upon ſeveral Encounters, Time after Time, and would never give over the Purſuit, till he brought them at laſt to be abſolute Slaves, and Tributaries to his Maſter. Antiq. lib. v. c. 6.

* This is the Senſe of thoſe obſcure Paſſages in the Song of *Deborah*. *For the Diviſions of* Reuben *there were great Thoughts of Heart. Why abodeſt thou among the Sheepfolds, to hear the Bleatings of the Flocks?* Gilead *abode beyond* Jordan, *and why did* Dan *remain in Ships?* Aſhur *continued on the Sea-ſhore, and abode in his Creeks*, &c. Judg. v. 15, &c.

(*a*) Judg v. 15, 16. (*b*) Ibid. viii. 17.

† The Words *Prophet*, and *Propheteſs*, are of very ambiguous Signification in both *Teſtaments*: Sometimes they denote Perſons extraordinarily inſpir'd by God, and endu'd with the Power of working Miracles, and foretelling Things to come; and ſometimes they are us'd for Perſons endu'd with *ſpecial*, though not miraculous Gifts, or Graces, for the better underſtanding and explaining the Word of God; and of this Sort were the Sons of the Prophets, or ſuch as were brought up in the Schools of the Prophets. As therefore we read nothing of any miraculous Action, that *Deborah* did, ſhe perhaps was only a Woman of eminent Holineſs, and Prudence, and Knowledge of the holy Scripture, by which ſhe was ſingularly qualify'd to *judge the People*, i. e. to determine Cauſes and Controverſies among them, according to the Word of God. For, though *Jabin* oppreſs'd them ſorely, yet it was rather by rigorous Taxations, than infringing their Laws, which he ſtill ſuffer'd to be adminiſter'd by their own Officers: And of this he might take the leſs Notice, becauſe the ſupreme Judicature was exercis'd by a Woman, from whoſe Power and Authority he thought there was no Reaſon to apprehend any Danger; though this certainly gave her an Opportunity of endearing herſelf to the People, and made her, by this Means, the fitter Inſtrument to reſcue them from Oppreſſion. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† *Tabor* is a very remarkable Mountain in *Galilee*, not far from *Kadeſh*, in the Tribe of *Zebulun*, and in the Confines of *Iſſachar* and *Naphtali*. It has its Name from its *Eminence*, becauſe it riſes up in the midſt of a wide champaign Country, call'd the Valley of *Jezreel*, or the great Plain. *Joſephus* tells us, that the Height of this Mountain is thirty *Stadia*, and that on the Top of it, there is a beautiful Plain of twenty Stadia in Circumference. By all which it appears how commodious a Place this Mountain was, to be the Rendezvous of *Barak*'s Forces, ſince it ſtood upon the Confines of ſo many different Tribes, was not acceſſible by the Enemies Horſes and Chariots, and had, on the Top it, a ſpacious Plain, where he might conveniently marſhal and diſcipline his Army. What modern Travellers tell us of this Mountain is much to the ſame Purpoſe: ——— "After a very laborious Aſcent, (ſays "Mr *Maundrell*) we reach'd the higheſt Part of the Mountain, which has a plain *Area* at Top, fertile and delicious, "and of an oval Figure, about one Furlong in Breadth, and two in Length. This *Area* is incloſ'd with Trees on "all Parts, except towards the *South*, and from hence you have a Proſpect, which (if nothing elſe) well rewards the "Labour of aſcending it; for it is impoſſible for the Eyes of Man to behold any greater Gratification of this Na"ture. The Top of this Mountain was anciently environ'd with Walls, and Trenches, and other Fortifications, "of which ſome Remains are ſtill viſible; and, for many Ages, it has been believ'd, that here it was, that our "bleſſed Saviour was *tranſfigured*, in the Preſence of his three Apoſtles, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, though ſome later "Writers have made a Doubt of it." *Calmet*'s Commentary, *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Maundrell*'s Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jeruſalem*.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

Siſera, with all his numerous Army, coming to give him Battle, ſhould infallibly be routed. *Barak* readily agreed to the Motion, upon Condition, that the *Propheteſs* would go with him: And ſo, having muſter'd up his Complement of Forces, they both went together, and poſted themſelves upon Mount *Tabor*. *Siſera* had ſoon Intelligence of this; and, getting a powerful Army together, he made haſty Marches from † *Haroſheth*; paſs'd the * River *Kiſhon*; and encamp'd at the Foot of the Mountain, in hopes of cutting off *Barak*'s Retreat. Upon this, *Deborah* adviſ'd *Barak* not to ſtay till *Siſera* came up to him, but, early next Morning, to march directly down, and fall upon him, with all the Aſſurance imaginable of Succeſs. The *Hebrew* General follow'd her Directions; and, coming down upon the Enemy before they were aware, he charg'd with ſuch Fury, * whilſt God, at the ſame Time, (by a driving Storm of Rain and Hail in their Faces,) ſtruck them with ſuch Terror, that they were not able to ſtand before the *Iſraelites*, but were ſoon broken, and put to Flight. The Purſuit however continu'd all Day; and, as the Night approach'd, the Stars ſhone with an uncommon Brightneſs, to give Light to the Purſuers; and the River *Kiſhon*, * being ſwell'd with the haſty Rain, drown'd the *Purſu'd*, and carry'd the dead Bodies away towards the *Mediterranean-Sea*.

Jael *puts him to Death.*

SISERA, in the mean Time, ſeeing his whole Army broken and diſpers'd, quitted his Chariot, and was making his Eſcape on Foot; when *Jael*, the Wife † of *Heber* the *Kenite*, ſeeing him coming, went

† A Place, ſituated upon the Lake *Semechon*, in the *Upper Galilee*, and is, in Scripture, called *Haroſheth of the Gentiles*, becauſe the People of ſeveral Nations fled thither to be under *Jabin*'s Protection, when they heard that he had poſſeſs'd himſelf of that Country, and kept the *Iſraelites* out of it. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

* This River riſes out of Mount *Tabor*, and, paſſing along the Valley of *Jezreel*, (now the Plain of *Eſdraelon*) empties itſelf into the *Mediterranean Sea*. Some Geographers will needs have it, that this River runs two Ways, partly *weſtward*, into the *Mediterranean*, and partly *eaſtward*, into the *Sea of Galilee*; but this is a Thing incredible, and what is known of no other River in the World; and therefore, if there be any thing in it, the Matter muſt be this ——— That, from Mount *Tabor*, (as it happens from many other Hills) there flow Waters out of two of its Sides, ſome ſhaping their Courſe *weſtward*, to the *Mediterranean*, and others *eaſtward*, into the *Sea of Galilee*: So that there are two Spring-heads, and two diſtinct Rivers, though both ariſing from the ſame Mountain, and perhaps both called by the ſame Name. But whatever becomes of the River that runs *eaſtward*, 'tis plain, from another Paſſage, that the *Kiſhon*, which is mention'd in Scripture, ran weſtward into the *Mediterranean-Sea*; for, when *Elijah* had convinc'd the People, aſſembl'd together at Mount *Carmel*, that *Baal* was not the true God, he enjoin'd them to ſeize all his Prieſts, and to bring them down to the Brook *Kiſhon*, there to be ſlain, 1 *Kings* xviii. So that the Brook *Kiſhon*, which riſes out of Mount *Tabor*, muſt run by Mount *Carmel*, which ſtands on the *Sea ſhore*; and, as *Carmel* ſtands *Weſt* of Mount *Tabor*, the Courſe of the River, which extends from the one to the other, muſt be ſo likewiſe. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II. c. 6.

* *Joſephus* relates the Manner of God's Interpoſition in this Action, in the following Words. "The Armies "were no ſooner engag'd, but there aroſe a violent Wind, with a moſt impetuous Tempeſt of Hail and Rain along "with it. The Storm, driving juſt in the Face of the *Canaanites*, made not only their Bows and their Slings uſe"leſs, but their Weapons likewiſe deſign'd for cloſe Fight; for they could not ſo much as open their Eyes againſt "the Weather; and their Fingers were ſo benumb'd with Cold too, that they could not handle their Arms. ——— "In the Concluſion, it came to paſs, that the *Canaanites* Army was broken, diſpers'd, and cut to Pieces: So that, "betwixt thoſe that fell by the Sword, thoſe that were trampled to Death under the Horſes Feet, thoſe that were "torn to Pieces by the Chariots, and thoſe that fled away, and fell into the Hands of the *Iſraelites* in their Flight, "this prodigious Army, which (according to our Author) conſiſted of thirty Thouſand Foot, ten Thouſand Horſe, "and three Thouſand armed Chariots, was, in effect, totally deſtroy'd." Antiq. lib. v. c. 6.

* Mr *Maundrell* tells us, that, in the Condition wherein he ſaw this River, its Waters were low and inconſiderable; but, in paſſing along the Side of the Plain, he diſcern'd the Tracts of many leſſer Torrents falling down into it from the Mountains, which muſt needs make it ſwell exceedingly upon ſudden Rains. Journey *from Aleppo to Jeruſalem*.

† He was of the Poſterity of *Hobab*, the Son of *Jethro*, Father-in-Law of *Moſes*; and is here call'd a *Kenite*, becauſe originally, he deſcended from thoſe People who dwelt *weſtward* of the *Dead-Sea*, and extended themſelves pretty far into *Arabia Petræa*. The Word *Ken* (from whence they took their Name) ſignifies a *Neſt*, an *Hole*, or a *Cave*; and to this the Prophet *Balaam* might allude, when he addreſſes himſelf to them in theſe Words: ——— *Strong is thy dwelling Place, and thou putteſt thy* Neſt *on a Rock: Nevertheleſs the* Kenite *ſhall be waſted, until* Aſhur *ſhall carry thee* away *captive*, Numb. xxiv. 21. Theſe *Kenites* indeed were ſome of the People, whoſe Lands God had promis'd

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went to meet him, and invited him into her Tent; which he readily accepted, as apprehending no Danger from her, whose Husband was his Master's Ally. The Fatigue of the Day had made him very thirsty, and therefore he intreated *Jael* to give him a little Water; but when, instead of Water, she had given him as much Milk as he desir'd, and he had strictly charg'd her to deny him, in Case that any body should enquire for him, he laid himself down to rest. No sooner was he well asleep, but *Jael*, taking an Hammer and a long Tent-Nail, set it to his Temples, and struck with such a Force, that it quite pierc'd through his Head, and pinned him to the Ground; and when *Barak*, in Pursuit of him, came that Way, she call'd him in, and shew'd him the Place, and Posture, in which his Enemy lay.

Deborah *makes a triumphant Song upon the whole Occasion.*

THIS Victory, which was follow'd * with new Successes every Day, put an End to the Oppression of the *North* for forty Years. It prov'd the utter Ruin of this Kingdom of the *Canaanites* in *Hazor*: And, upon many accounts, was attended with so many signal Events, that the Prophetess *Deborah* thought it not amiss to compose a *triumphant* Song in Commemoration of it; wherein she magnifies the Deliverance it wrought, by recounting the many Calamities, which the *Israelites* before labour'd under; acknowledges its proceeding from the same divine Being, who descended in great Majesty to give the Law on Mount *Sinai*; calls upon all those, who partook in the Benefits of it, to join in the Praises of its great Author; commends those Tribes, that came readily to the War, and upbraids all those, who declin'd their Countries Service.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

The Story of Ruth *here inserted.*

DURING this forty Years Peace, the People again rebell'd against God, and God took the Punishment of them into his own Hands, by sending upon them a grievous Famine, wherein several were forc'd to remove into strange Countries; and, among the rest, † one *Elimelech*, a Man of *Bethlehem*, with his Wife *Naomi*, and his two Sons, *Mahlon* and *Chilion*, went into the Land of *Moab* to live. *Elimelech* died there, and his *Relict* marry'd her Sons to two Women of the Country, whose Names were *Orpah* and *Ruth*. About two Years after this, *Naomi*'s two Sons died, and she, resolving to return to her own Country, desir'd her Daughters-in-

to the Descendants of *Abraham*; nevertheless, in Consideration of *Jethro*, all that submitted to the *Israelites*, were permitted to live in their own Country. In *Numb.* x. 29. we find, that *Hobab* was invited by *Moses* to accompany him into the Land of *Canaan*, and, in all Probability, he accepted the Invitation. At their first Coming, they settled themselves in the Territories of *Jericho*; but, having contracted a particular Friendship with the Tribe of *Judah*, they remov'd with them into the Country, that fell to their Lot, *Judg* i. 16. Every Family of them, however, did not so, for this *Heber* we find, for some Reasons, that are not mention'd, had settl'd his Habitation in the Tribe of *Naphtali*, Judg. i. 11. The *Kenites* indeed, though they were *Proselytes*, and worshipp'd the true God according to the *Mosaick* Law, yet being Strangers by Birth, and so not pretending to any Right or Title to the Land of *Canaan*, held it best Policy, in those troublesome Times, to observe a *Neutrality*, and maintain Peace, as well as they could, both with the *Israelites* and *Canaanites*; and upon this Foot it was, that there was a Peace with King *Jabin* and the House of *Heber*, and that *Sisera*, in his Distress, fled to *Heber*'s Tent for Protection, and put Confidence in the feign'd Civilities of his Wife. *Howell*'s History of the Bible.

* *Josephus* farther acquaints us, that immediately after this Victory, *Barak* march'd with his Army towards *Hazor*, where he encounter'd *Jabin* by the Way, and slew him; and, having kill'd the King, laid the City level with the Ground, and afterwards govern'd *Israel* for a matter of forty Years. Antiq. lib. v. c. 6.

† The Book of *Ruth*, which takes its Title from the Person, whose Story is there principally recorded, is properly an Appendix to the Book of *Judges*, and an Introduction to that of *Samuel*, and is therefore not only plac'd between them, but suppos'd to be wrote by one and the same Hand. Its Subject is very different from the rest, and is therefore made a distinct Treatise. It is indeed of so private a Nature, that, at the Time of its being wrote, the Generality of the People might have thought it not worth recording; but we *Christians* may plainly see the Wisdom of God in having it done. It had been foretold to the *Jews*, that the MESSIAH should be of the Tribe of *Judah*, and it was afterwards revealed farther, that he should be of the Family of *David*: And therefore it was necessary, for the full understanding these Prophecies, that the History of the Family of *David*, in that Tribe, should be written before these Prophecies were reveal'd, that so there might not be the least Suspicion of any Fraud or Design. And thus this Book, these Prophecies, and the Accomplishment of them, serve to illustrate, and explain each other. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, Lib. v. c. 5.

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in-law to remain in *Moab*. *Orpah*, with Tears, took leave of her Mother; but *Ruth* could, by no means, be perſwaded to part with her, and therefore ſhe accompany'd her to *Bethlehem*, where, by † her Mother's Art and Contrivance, ſhe ſo manag'd the Matter, that ſhe marry'd *Boaz*, by whom ſhe had *Obed*, who was the Father of *Jeſſe*, and the Grand-Father of *David*, and from whom (according to the Fleſh) the Saviour of the World was lineally deſcended.

From Judges i to the End of Ruth.

The Midianites *oppreſs the* Iſraelites.

AFTER the Death of *Deborah* and *Barak*, the *Iſraelites* fell again into their old Impiety, and were again given up into the Hand of their Enemies. The *Midianites* were a People ſituated on the Eaſt Side of the River *Jordan*, whom the Children of *Iſrael*, in their Paſſage to the Land of *Canaan*, (*c*) had almoſt totally deſtroy'd; but it is not improbable, that ſome of that Nation, ſaving themſelves by Flight into other Countries, and, after the *Iſraelites* were ſettled in *Canaan*, returning thither again, might, in the Space of two hundred Years, repoſſeſs the Land, where they dwelt before, and ſtill retain the Name of *Midianites*. Theſe People, together with their Neighbours, the *Amalekites*, † and ſome other *caſtern* Nations, for ſeven Years, kept the *Iſraelites* in ſuch Subjection, that they were forc'd to betake themſelves to the Mountains, and to dwell in Dens, and Caves, and fortify'd Places, from whence, as the *Spring* came on, they ſtole out, to cultivate and ſow their Land; but all to no Purpoſe: For, towards the Time of *Harveſt*, theſe Enemies made Inroads into the Country, and, having deſtroy'd the Increaſe of the Earth, and kill'd all the Cattle which fell into their Hands, they then return'd home, and left the poor *Iſraelites* nothing to ſupport themſelves withal. Upon this ſore Calamity, the People began to be ſenſible of their *Apoſtacy*, and to humble themſelves under the afflicting Hand of God; whereupon God † ſent them a *Prophet*, who reproach'd them ſharply with their baſe Ingratitude, but, at the ſame Time, † ſent his Angel to *Gideon*, the Son of *Joaſh*, who dwelt at † *Ophrah*, and was then

God makes Choice of Gideon *for their Deliverer.*

† The whole Management of this Affair is recorded in the Book of *Ruth*, to which we refer our Reader, having leſs Reaſon to be prolix in a Matter that concerns a *private* Family only, and what had not been related in ſuch a particular Manner, but for the Reaſons that we have already aſſign'd.

(*c*) Numb. xxxi. 7, &c.

† Tho' the *Midianites* were the principal People concern'd in theſe Invaſions and Inroads, yet, beſides the *Amalekites*, they had other confederate Nations, who are call'd the *Children of the Eaſt*, Judg. vi. 3, 33. by whom we may underſtand the *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*, as lying *Eaſt* of the *Land of Iſrael*, if not the *Iſhmaelites*, and others that inhabited the Parts of *Arabia*. The *Children* or People *of the Eaſt*, in Gen. xxix. 1. denote the Inhabitants of *Meſopotamia*; but theſe ſeem to be too far diſtant to have any Part in theſe Incurſions; and therefore, ſince we read, (Gen. xxv. 6.) that *Abraham* ſent away the Sons of his *Concubines*, particularly the Sons of *Keturah*, (one whereof was *Midian*, the Father of the *Midianites*) *eaſtward, into the Eaſt Country*, it may not improbably be inferr'd, that, by *the Children of the Eaſt*, in this Hiſtory of *Gideon*, are denoted the Deſcendants of the other Sons of *Keturah*, and of the other Brothers of *Midian*, who had ſettled themſelves in the *eaſtern* Parts, adjoining to *Midian*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament.

† Who this *Prophet* was, we have no Manner of Intimation given us. The *Jews* generally fancy, that he was *Phineas*; but *Phineas* muſt by this Time have been above two hundred Years old, which far exceeded the *ſtated* Period of human Life then. St *Auſtin* is of Opinion, that he was the ſame with the *Angel*, which ſoon after appear'd to *Gideon*; but it is far more likely, that God ſtill continu'd other Prophets among the *Iſraelites*, beſides the High-Prieſt, to put them in mind of their Duty, and to call them to Repentance, when they forſook him: For, from the Caſe of *Deborah*, who is ſaid to have had the Spirit of Prophecy, it appears, that, at leaſt in extraordinary Caſes, God fail'd not to raiſe up ſuch Perſons among them. It is remark'd however of this *Prophet*, (be he who he will) that he gave the *Iſraelites* no Hopes of the Divine Aſſiſtance, but only upbraided them with their Sins. However, when he tells them, that their Calamities was occaſion'd by their Idolatry, he plainly intimates, that, if they would return to the true Worſhip of God, he would again look graciouſly upon them, and deliver them; and accordingly we find, that the Hiſtory of their Deliverance immediately follows. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† That he was not a mere created Angel, is plain from the incommunicable Name *Jehovah*, which he aſſumes, and whereby he ſuffers himſelf ſo frequently to be call'd, Judges vi. 14, 16, 23, 24, 25, 27. And therefore the *Jews*, according to their *Targum*, which ſtiles him the *Word of the Lord*, look upon this Angel, not merely as an heavenly Meſſenger ſent from God, but as the Son of God himſelf appearing in the Form of an Angel. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† *Gideon* was of the Family of *Abiezer*, of the Tribe of *Manaſſeh*; and ſo the *Ophrah*, where he dwelt, muſt be underſtood

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then threſhing out his Corn, in a private and unſuſpected Place, the better to conceal it from the Depredation of the Enemy.

To him the Angel ſignify'd the Purport of his Meſſage, which was to acquaint him, that the Lord had made Choice of him for the Deliverance of his People. *Gideon* at firſt excus'd himſelf upon Account of the Obſcurity of his Family and Fortune; and, when the Angel urg'd the Thing, he deſir'd of him ſome Token of the Divine Miſſion, and, at the ſame Time, requeſted him to accept of a ſmall Entertainment from his Hands. The Angel ſeem'd not to refuſe the Invitation, whereupon *Gideon* haſten'd, and having boil'd a Kid, and made ſome unleaven'd Cakes, he ſpread a Table, and ſet them before him; but the Angel order'd him to take them thence, and place them upon a Rock hard by, and ſo pour the Broth upon them, which, though it might ſeem a little ſtrange, *Gideon* did; and, as ſoon as the Angel had touch'd them with the Staff that was in his Hand, immediately there iſſu'd Fire out of the Rock, which conſum'd them, whilſt himſelf, at the ſame Time, vaniſh'd out of Sight.

Convinc'd by this Miracle, that it was a Meſſenger from Heaven who appear'd to him, *Gideon* began to fear (as the Notion then was) that he ſhould not long ſurvive it; but being aſſur'd by the Angel (tho' then inviſible) that no Harm ſhould befal him, he built a Monument, which he called *Jehovah-ſhalom*, i. e. *the Lord of Peace*, in Commemoration of this gracious Interview; and, being that Night admoniſh'd in a Dream to deſtroy the Altar of *Baal*, and cut down the Grove that ſurrounded it; to build an Altar to God upon the Top of this wonderful Rock, and to offer a Burnt-Sacrifice to him with one of his Father's Bullocks, he readily obey'd: And, taking ten of his Father's Servants with him, demoliſh'd the *one*, and erected the *other*, by next Morning; chuſing the Night to do it in, that he might meet with no Obſtruction. On the Morrow, when the People underſtood that *Gideon* was the Perſon, who had put this Affront upon *Baal*, they came and demanded him of his Father, that they might put him to Death; but, inſtead of complying with their Demand, his Father's Anſwer was, "That, "† if *Baal* was a God, it was *his* Buſi- "neſs, and not *theirs*, to avenge his own "Quarrel;" and from this Anſwer (wherewith he appeas'd the Tumult) *Gideon* ever after obtain'd the Name of *Jerub-baal*, i. e. *the Oppoſer of* Baal.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

About this Time, the *Midianites* and their Company paſſing over the River *Jordan*, came, and encamp'd in † the Valley of *Jezreel*; upon which, *Gideon*, being mov'd by a Divine Impulſe, ſummon'd all thoſe of his own Family to take up Arms firſt, and then ſent Meſſengers to ſeveral adjacent Tribes, exhorting them to ſhake off the Yoke of the *Midianites*, and to join with him; which accordingly they did, and came in ſuch Numbers, that, in a ſhort Time, his Army amounted to two and thirty Thouſand Men, though ſmall in Compariſon of the Enemies Forces, which

underſtood to be ſituated in the half Tribe of *Manaſſeh*, on the *Weſt* Side of *Jordan*, and for this Reaſon it is ſtil'd *Ophrah* of the *Abiezrites*, (Judges viii. 32.) to diſtinguiſh it from another *Ophrah*, that lay in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III. c. 6.

† 'Tis generally ſuppos'd, that *Gideon*'s Father had been a Worſhipper, if not a Prieſt of *Baal*; and therefore it is not unlikely, that he had at this Time been convinc'd by his Son, that God had given him a Commiſſion to recover his People, and to begin with this Reformation; and this made him appear ſo boldly in his Son's Cauſe, becauſe he knew it was the Cauſe of God. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The City of *Jezreel* (which gave Name to the Valley) belong'd to the half Tribe of *Manaſſeh*, on the *Weſt* of *Jordan*, and lay in the Confines of that *half* Tribe and the Tribe of *Iſſachar*, as appears from *Joſh.* xix. 18. In the Hiſtory of the Kings of *Iſrael*, this City is frequently made mention of, where, by Reaſon of the Pleaſantneſs of its Situation, ſome of them had a Royal Palace, tho' their *Capital* was *Samaria*. The *Vale of Jezreel* (which, as we ſaid before, is now call'd the Plain of *Eſdraelon*) is, according to Mr *Maundrell*, of a vaſt Extent, very fertile, but uncultivated, and only ſerving the *Arabs* for Paſturage: But ſome have ſuppos'd, that the *Valley of Jezreel* here mention'd denotes ſome other leſſer Valley, lying between Mount *Hermon* and Mount *Gilboa*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II. c. 6.

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He vanquiſhes the Midianites, *in what Manner.*

which conſiſted of no leſs than a hundred and thirty-five Thouſand.

As ſoon as each Tribe's Complement of Men was arriv'd, *Gideon* (being willing to ſatisfy them, that he did not act this on his own Head, but was the Perſon appointed by Heaven to be their *Leader* and *Deliverer*) deſir'd of God to give them ſome Token of his Commiſſion; and the Token, which he made choice of, was,— That, upon his laying a *Fleece* of Wool on the Ground, † the Dew might be upon the Fleece only, and the Earth round about it be dry, which accordingly happen'd; and then, inverting the former Manner he deſir'd, that the Fleece might be dry, while the Ground all a-round it was wet, which accordingly came to paſs likewiſe. Confirm'd by theſe Signs, that it was the Will of God that he ſhould enter upon Action, *Gideon* march'd directly to the Camp of the *Midianites*, who then lay in the Plain of *Jezreel*; but, before he came thither, God rightly foreſeeing, that, if this Army conquer'd the *Midianites*, they would vainly impute it to their own Courage or Numbers, and not to his Aſſiſtance, order'd *Gideon* to make *Proclamation* in the Camp, that whoever was diffident of the Succeſs of the Undertaking, ſhould have Liberty to return Home: Whereupon two and twenty Thouſand quitted the Field, ſo that ten Thouſand only remain'd with him. It might be thought poſſible however, for theſe ten Thouſand to defeat the Army of the *Midianites*; and therefore God, reſolving that the Glory of the whole Victory ſhould be accounted his own, order'd *Gideon* to † lead the Soldiers down to the Water to drink, where he would give him a Signal, what Men were fit for his Purpoſe, and what not; and the Signal was this, —— That they, who † took up Water in their Hands, and lapped it, ſhould go with him; but they, who laid themſelves down to drink, ſhould be diſmiſs'd; which Experiment reduc'd them to no more than three hundred.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

THESE

† He ſuppos'd that the Dew, which diſtill'd from Heaven, was a Divine Giſt, (as the Scripture after teſtifies) and therefore he deſir'd that it might be directed by God, that, tho' it commonly falls every where, by his extraordinary Providence, it might now water only his Fleece. Some are apt to think, that he choſe a Fleece for his Purpoſe, not only becauſe it was ready at hand, but the better to expreſs how the Land was *ſhorn* by the *Midianites*, even as the Sheep had been by him; that when he begg'd the Dew (as a Sign of the Divine Favour) might fall upon the *Fleece*, it was to repreſent the Kindneſs of God to *him*; and when he begg'd it might fall upon the whole Ground, to repreſent his Favour to *all the People*. But there is a farther Reaſon, why he might deſire to have the Miracle inverted: For, as it is in the very Nature of the Wool to draw Moiſture to it, ſome might be apt to think, that there was no great Matter in this; and therefore he requeſted of God a ſecond Miracle, which was contrary to the former. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Mr *Le Clerc* is of Opinion, that the *ſacred* Hiſtorian has omitted one Circumſtance, which, nevertheleſs, in the very Nature of the Thing, is imply'd, *viz.* that *Gideon*, when he led his Men down to the Water, did forbid them to make uſe of any Cup, or Pot, or ſuch like Thing: For he thinks it incongruous, (as well he may) that, among ſuch a Number, as ten Thouſand Men, no one ſhould be furniſh'd with ſome drinking Veſſel or other. But then, had any of theſe been permitted to be us'd upon this Occaſion, the Experiment could not have been made. Comment. in *Jud.* vii. 6.

† Interpreters are at a ſad Puzzle to conceive, for what poſſible Reaſon God made a Diſtinction between the Soldiers who lapp'd Water in their Hands, and thoſe that laid themſelves down to drink. Some of the *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion, that all, except the three Hundred, who lapp'd, had been accuſtom'd to the Worſhip of *Baal*, which they unwarily diſcover'd by their kneeling to drink: But this is a groundleſs, and far-fetch'd Conceit. The Notion of thoſe, who impute theſe three Hundred Men's Lapping *ſome* to their *Sloth* and *Lazineſs*, and *others* to their *Timorouſneſs*, and the great Fear they were in of being ſurpris'd by the Enemy, is of no more Validity: For though God, if he thought fit, might have employ'd the moſt *daſtardly* among them upon this Expedition, that the Glory of the Victory might entirely redound to himſelf; yet ſince, as we are told, all the fearful Perſons were diſmiſs'd before, and ſince it but badly befits the Character of the *Courageous* to be *lazy*; this Action of *Lapping* is rather to be accounted a Token of their *Temperance*, and of the Nobleneſs of their Spirit, which made them ſo deſirous to engage the Enemy that they would not ſtay to drink, but (tho' they were very thirſty) contented themſelves to *moiſten their Mouths*, as we ſay, with a little Water; whereas the reſt indulg'd themſelves ſo far, as to drink their Belly-full. But after all, the true Reaſon and Deſign of this Method ſeems to be only this, ——— That God was minded to reduce *Gideon*'s Army to a very ſmall Number, which might very likely be done by this Means. For, as the Seaſon of the Year was hot, and the Generality of the Soldiers weary, thirſty, and faint, it was moſt probable, that they would lye down, (as indeed they did) and refreſh themſelves plentifully, and ſcarce to be expected, that any great Number would deny themſelves in this Matter. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Saurin*'s Gedéon Defait les *Madianites*.

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THESE three hundred Men he order'd to hold themſelves in Readineſs, and to have every one a Trumpet, a Lamp, and an empty Pitcher to conceal the Light, which the Lamp would otherwiſe give; and, while they were providing themſelves with theſe, he took his Servant with him, and went down the Enemies Camp, where he heard a *Midianite* relating his Dream to his Companion, which the other interpreted in *Gideon's* Favour; ſo that returning to the Camp, he drew his Men out, and dividing them into three Companies of an hundred Men each, he came upon the Enemy † in the dead Time of the Night. The Watch-Word was, *the Sword of the Lord, and of* Gideon; and, as every Soldier had Directions to do, as their *General* did, they all broke their Pitchers, brandiſh'd their Lamps, and ſounded their Trumpets together.

THE *Midianites*, hearing ſo many Trumpets, and ſeeing ſo many Lights at once, ſuppos'd themſelves to be attack'd by a formidable Army; and ſo riſing in a Fright, and miſtaking their Friends for their Enemies, † they fell upon one another, until they had put every Thing into the utmoſt Confuſion. By this Means, *Gideon*, having obtain'd an eaſy Victory, ſent to the reſt of the Army, who, upon his *Proclamation*, had withdrawn themſelves, ſome to purſue the routed Enemy, and others to ſecure the Paſſes of the River *Jordan*, in order to prevent their Retreat.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

THE Paſſes however could not be all ſecur'd: So that, ſome of the Enemies Troops having made a Shift to croſs the River, *Gideon*, with his three hundred Men, preſs'd hard after them, while the other Part of the Army deſtroy'd thoſe, who ſtaid behind; and, having taken the two *Midianitiſh* Princes, † *Oreb*, and *Zeeb*, they cut off their Heads, and ſent them to *Gideon*.

And puts their Kings, and ſome others, to military Execution.

GIDEON, in the mean Time, and his ſmall Party, were in full Chaſe of two other Princes of *Midian*, *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*; and, when he came to *Succoth* and *Penuel*, two Towns on the other Side of *Jordan*, in the Tribe of *Gad*, he deſir'd of them ſome Proviſion for his Men, becauſe they were faint and weary: But, inſtead of giving him any Refreſhment, they ridiculed the Smallneſs of his Army, for which Inſolence he vow'd to be reveng'd of them upon his Return. Continuing his Purſuit therefore, with his ſmall fatigu'd Party, he came up with the Enemy at *Karcor*, where the two *Midianitiſh* Kings, thinking that they had now ſufficiently eſcap'd, were regardleſs of all Danger: But *Gideon*, falling upon them unexpectedly, ſurpris'd and defeated them, and, having taking them Priſoners, carry'd them in Triumph with him unto *Succoth*, where he executed the Vengeance (which he

† The Expreſſion in the Text is, *in the beginning of the middle Watch:* For, though the *Romans*, in After-Ages, divided the Night into four *Watches*, Matth. xiv. 25. yet, in the *Eaſtern* Parts, and in more antient Times, it conſiſted but of *three*, whereof the firſt began at *ſix*, and continu'd four Hours. The *ſecond* therefore is call'd the *middle Watch*, and began at *eleven*; ſo that, we may ſuppoſe, that it was ſome Time after this, that *Gideon* alarm'd the *Midianitiſh* Camp; and the Reaſons, why he choſe this Part of the Night to do it in, are obvious, becauſe the Trumpets would then ſeem to ſound louder, and the Lights to ſhine brighter, and ſo both increaſe the Conſternation of the Enemy, and conceal the Smallneſs of his own Army. *Pool's* Annotations.

† There might be ſeveral Reaſons for their doing this: ——— Either becauſe the Night was ſo dark, that they could not diſtinguiſh Friends from Foes; or becauſe the Thing was ſo ſudden, that it ſtruck them with Horror and Amazement; or becauſe they ſuſpected Treachery, (as they might eaſily do, ſince the Army conſiſted of ſeveral Nations, *Judg.* vi. 3.) or becauſe God had *infatuated* them, as he had many others on the like Occaſion. *Pool's* Annotations.

† As the Language of the *Iſhmaelites*, the *Midianites*, and the *Amalekites*, who dwelt in *Arabia*, was originally the ſame, becauſe they all deſcended from *Abraham*, their common Father; ſo we may infer, that there was little or no Difference in them at this Time. *Oreb*, in the *Hebrew*, ſignifies a *Crow*, and *Zeeb*, a *Wolf*; and theſe are no improper Words, to repreſent the *Sagaciouſneſs*, and *Fierceneſs*, which ſhould be in two ſuch great Commanders. Nor was it an uncommon Thing for great Families, in ancient Times, to derive their Names from ſuch like Creatures, (hence the *Corvini*, *Gracchi*, *Aquilini*, &c. among the *Romans*) either as *Omens*, or *Monuments* of their undaunted Courage, and Dexterity in *military* Atchievments. But, after all, it ſeems every whit as probable, that theſe were only *Nicknames*, which the *Iſraelites* gave theſe two Princes of *Midian*, to denote their Fierceneſs, and Rapaciouſneſs of Prey. *Bedford's* Scripture Chronology, lib. v. c. 3. and *Le Clerc's* Commentary.

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he had threaten'd) by cruſhing the Princes of that Place to Death under *Thorns* and *Briars*, killing the People of *Penuel*, and demoliſhing its Fortifications. *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, in their March, had laid all the Country waſte, and put many to the Sword, otherwiſe *Gideon* was inclinable to have ſhewn them ſome Mercy: But underſtanding, by their own Confeſſion, that they had ſlain his Brethren at *Tabor*, he order'd his Son *Jether* to fall upon them; but, as he was but a Youth, and ſeem'd a little timorous, † he himſelf diſpatch'd them with his own Hand, having firſt order'd them to be ſtripp'd of their royal Ornaments, and their Camels of their rich Trappings, and Furniture.

THESE great and glorious Actions, in Defence of his Country's Liberty, rais'd *Gideon*'s Name to ſuch a Height, that the People came, and voluntarily offer'd to ſettle the Government upon him and his Family; which he modeſtly and generouſly rejecting, and deſiring only (as an Acknowledgment of his Services) to have the *Pendants*, or Ear-Rings, taken in the Plunder of the *Midianites* given him; the People readily conſented, and, over and above theſe, threw in the coſtly Ornaments, and the Robes of the Kings, together with the golden † Chains, which were about the Camels Necks. The whole amounted to a prodigious Value; and of theſe rich Materials he made an *Ephod*, and plac'd it in the City of *Ophrah*, as a Monument only of his Victory, tho', in After-Times, it came to be perverted to a bad Uſe, gave Occaſion to a freſh *Apoſtacy*, and prov'd the Ruin of *Gideon*'s Family.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

GIDEON, while he liv'd, had ſeveral Wives, by whom (in all) he had ſeventy Sons, beſides one by a Concubine, † whom ſhe nam'd *Abimelech*. As ſoon as his Father was dead, this *Abimelech*, who was a bold aſpiring Youth, tamper'd with the People of *Shechem*, the Place of his Nativity, and where his Mother's Family had no ſmall Intereſt, to make him their King. They, by his Perſuaſions, were inclinable to do it: And (that he might not want Money to carry on his Deſign) furniſh'd him with ſome out of the Treaſury of † their God *Baal-berith*, wherewith he hir'd a Company of profligate Fellows to attend him. With theſe

Abimelech *uſurps the Government of* Shechem.

† In antient Times, it was as much a Cuſtom, for *great Men* to do *Execution* upon Offenders, as it is now an uſual Thing, for them to pronounce *Sentence* upon them. They had not then (as we have now) ſuch Perſons, as the *Romans* call'd *Carnifices*, or publick *Executioners*; and therefore *Saul* had ſuch as waited on him kill the Prieſts; and *Doeg*, one of his chief Officers, did it, 1 Sam. xxii. 17, 18. But the Reaſon why *Gideon* would have had his Son do this Execution, was, that he might be early animated againſt the Enemies of *Iſrael*, even as *Hannibal* is reported, when he was a Boy, to have been incens'd againſt the *Romans*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The Word, which we render *Chains*, is in the Original, *little Moons*, which the *Midianites* might wear ſtrung together about their Camels Necks, either by Way of *Ornament*, or *Superſtition*, becauſe they, as well as all other People of *Arabia*, were very zealous Worſhippers of the *Moon*. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† What the Names of his other Sons were, we have no Mention made in ſacred Writ; but the Name of this one is particularly ſet down, becauſe the following Story depends upon it: And not only ſo, but his Mother perhaps might give him this Name (which ſignifies, *my Father a King*) out of Pride and Arrogance, that ſhe might be look'd upon as the Wife of *one*, who was thought to deſerve a Kingdom, though he did not accept it: And it is not improbable, that the very Senſe of this might be one Means to inflame the Mind of her Son afterwards, to affect the *Royal* Dignity. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The learned *Bochart* is of Opinion, that the *Baal* here mention'd was the ſame with *Beroë*, the Daughter of *Venus* and *Adonis*, deſir'd in Marriage by *Neptune*, but given to *Bacchus*; and that ſhe gave her Name to *Berith* in *Phœnicia*, where ſhe was much worſhipp'd, and thence tranſlated a Goddeſs into other Parts. But, tho' the Word *Baal* (as he maintains) be frequently us'd in a *feminine* Senſe, yet it can hardly be imagin'd, but that the *ſacred* Hiſtorian, if he had been minded to expreſs a *Goddeſs*, might have found out ſome Way of diſtinguiſhing her; might have call'd her (for Inſtance) *Bahalah-berith*, the *Lady*, or *Goddeſs* of *Berith*, without making Both the Words of a *maſculine* Termination. And therefore the moſt *ſimple* and natural Manner of explaining the Name, is, to take it in general for the God, who preſides over Covenants and Contracts, to whom it belongs to maintain them, and to puniſh all thoſe that violate them. For it is to be obſerv'd, that the moſt *barbarous*, as well as the moſt *knowing*, the moſt *religious*, as well as the moſt *ſuperſtitious* Nations have always look'd upon God as the Witneſs, as well as the Vindicator of Oaths and Covenants; that the *Greeks* had their *Zeus Horkios*, as well as the *Latins* their *Jupiter Piſtius*, or *Deus Fidius*, or *Fœcialis*, whom they look'd upon as a God of Honeſty and Uprightneſs, always ſuperintending in Treaties

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he repair'd to his Father's House at *Ophrah*, and, having seiz'd all his Brethren (except *Jotham*, the youngest, who made his Escape) he slew them all † upon *one Stone*, and when he return'd to *Shechem*, instead of meeting with Detestation for this unnatural Murther, was, in a general Assembly of the People, elected their King.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

Jotham's *Parable to the* Shechemites.

WHEN young *Jotham* heard of this, he went upon Mount *Gerizim*,‡ which overlooks the City of *Shechem*, and from thence, *in a parabolical* Speech, represented to † the People his Father's Modesty and Self-denial, in refusing to have the Government settled on him and his Family, which they had now conferr'd on *one*, as much inferior in Virtue and Honour to *Gideon*, and his lawful Sons, as the Bramble is to the Olive-Tree, the Fig-Tree, or the Vine: And then expostulating the Injury done his Family, and upbraiding them with their Ingratitude, he appeals to their Consciences, whether they had done right or not, and denounces a Curse against them for their siding with *Abimelech* in all his wicked Deeds.

Their Revolt from Abimelech.

HAVING thus deliver'd himself to the *Shechemites* *Jotham* made his † Escape to *Beer*, where he liv'd secure from *Abimelech*'s Rage; and it was not long before his

Treaties and Alliances. And for this Reason not improbably, the House of their God *Berith* was the Citadel, the Arsenal, and the Treasury of the *Shechemites*, even as *Plutarch* informs us, that in the Temple of *Saturn*, the *Romans* reposited both their Archives and publick Wealth. *Bochart*, Canaan, lib. ii. c. 17. *Pool*'s Annot. in Loc. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Baal-berith*, and Jurieu, Histoire des Dogmes & Cultes, &c. Part IV. Chap. i.

† This Stone some will have to be an *Altar*, which *Abimelech* dedicated to the Idol *Berith*, and erected in the same Place, where his Father *Gideon* had destroy'd his Altar before; and so they account, that this Slaughter of his Sons was design'd for an *expiatory* Sacrifice of their Father's Crime in demolishing the Altar and Grove dedicated to that *Idol*. But this is a little too far-fetch'd, though there is hardly any other Reason to be given, why they should all be murder'd upon one and the same *Stone*. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

† This is the first *Fable*, that we find any where upon Record; and from hence it appears, that such Fictions as these, wherein the most serious Truths are represented, were in Use among the *Jews* (as they are still in the *Eastern* Countries) long before the Time of *Æsop*, or any other Author that we know of. Various are the Reasons that may be assign'd for the first Invention of them; but these two seem to be the principal; 1. Because Men would suffer themselves to be reprehended in this Guise, when they would not endure plain Words: And 2dly, Because they heard them with Delight and Pleasure, and remember'd them better, than any grave or rational Discourses.

The Trees went forth on a Time, to anoint a King over them, (So that Anointing was in Use two hundred Years before the first Kings of *Israel*) *and they said unto the Olive-Tree, Reign over us. But the Olive-Tree said unto them, Should I leave my Fatness, wherewith by me they honour God and Man*, (because Oil was offer'd in Sacrifice to God, and fed the Lamps of his House, besides all the other Uses, wherein it was serviceable to Man) *and go to be promoted over the Trees? And the Trees said to the Fig-Tree, Come thou, and Reign over us. But the Fig-tree said unto them, Should I forsake my Sweetness, and my good Fruit*, (an apt Representation of that Content, and Fulness of Pleasure, which may be enjoy'd in a private Life, and cannot, without Folly, be exchang'd for the Troubles and Cares, that Men meet with in the Managery of publick Affairs) *and go to be promoted over the Trees? Then said the Trees unto the Vine, Come thou, and Reign over us. And the Vine said unto them, Should I leave my Wine, which cheereth God and Man*, (a Form of Speech, imitated by *Heathen* Authors, especially by *Virgil*, (Georg. lib. ii.) where, speaking of some generous Wine, he terms it ——— *Mensis, & Diis accepta secundis*, since Wine, as well as Oil, was us'd both in *Jewish* and *Heathen* Sacrifices) *and go to be promoted over the Trees? Then said all the Trees unto the Bramble*, (the meanest of all Trees, good for nothing but to be burnt, and therefore fitly representing *Abimelech*, from whom the *Shechemites* could expect no Manner of Benefit, but a great deal of Trouble and Vexation) *Come thou, and Reign over us. And the Bramble said unto the Trees, If, in Truth, ye anoint me King, then come and put your Trust in my Shadow*; (an apt Emblem of *Abimelech*'s ridiculous Vanity, to imagine, that he should be able to maintain the Authority of a King, any more, than the Bramble could afford a Shadow or Shelter) *and if not, let Fire come out of the Bramble, and devour the Cedars of* Lebanon. (Words that carry a lively Image of *Abimelech*'s ostentatious Spirit, and Menaces to take severe Vengeance on the *Nobles* of *Shechem*, such as the House of *Millo*, who had been chiefly instrumental in his Promotion, in Case they should desert him.) This is the *Parable*; and in some Measure, its Interpretation: The only Difficulty is, to know, whom these Trees are set to signify. And here, some have thought, that, by the *Olive-Tree*, we are to understand *Othniel*; by the *Fig-Tree*, *Deborah*; and by the *Vine*, *Gideon*; for, to the two former, they suppose, that the Offer of the Kingdom was made for the Services done their Country, and by them rejected, as well as by the last. But for this there is no Authority; neither is there any Necessity, in the Explication of such *Fables*, to assign a particular Reason for every Image, that is drawn in them. It is sufficient, if we can but hit of their main Intendment, which, in this of *Jotham*, was to convince the *Shechemites* of their Folly in chusing a Man for their King, who was no more able to protect them, than a Bramble was to cover other Trees, that should resort to it, under the Shadow of its Branches. *Saurin*'s Dissertations, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‡ This was a City, that stood on the *Northern* Frontiers of the Tribe of *Judah*, which did not acknowledge *Abimelech* for King, and therefore *Jotham* knew, that he might have sure Refuge and Protection there.

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his Curſe began to operate. For the People of *Shechem*, * growing jealous and diſtruſtful of their new King, were for apprehending and killing him, which made him leave the Place, and eſcape for his Life. As ſoon as he was gone, they ſet up another vile Wretch, *Gael*, the Son of *Ebed*, to be their Governor. Under his Protection, the People ventur'd out to reap the Fruits of the Earth, and having, upon this Occaſion, made themſelves merry, they expreſs'd their Deteſtation of *Abimelech*, and none was more forward than *Gael* to ſpeak contemptibly of him, and to make his Boaſts what he would do with him, if he could but once catch him. *Zebul*, whom *Abimelech* intruſted with his Concerns in his Abſence, gave him Intelligence of all that paſs'd, and adviſ'd him to come with ſome Forces, before it was too late. Accordingly, he marches all Night, divides his Army into four Parts, and, early in the Morning, had beſet the City. *Gael*, tho' a very *Coward*, ſeeing Matters reduc'd to this Extremity, march'd out with what Forces he had, but was ſoon defeated, and ſlain. *Abimelech*, next Day, ſtorm'd the Place, and kill'd all the Inhabitants that came in his Way; but ſome having betaken themſelves to a *Fort* belonging to the Temple of their God *Berith*, he ſet Fire to it, and deſtroy'd them all together.

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DURING theſe Times of Confuſion, the Town of *Thebez*, not far diſtant from *Shechem*, revolted; and *Abimelech*, being now fluſh'd with Victory, beſieg'd and took it; but the Inhabitants flying to a ſtrong Tower, he endeavour'd to burn that, as he had done the other, but not with the ſame Succeſs. For, while he was encouraging his Men, and helping them to ſet the Gate on Fire, * a Woman threw down a Piece of Millſtone upon him, which fractur'd his Scull; ſo that finding himſelf mortally wounded, he call'd to his *Armour-Bearer* to put an End to his Life, that it might not be ſaid, he died by the Hand of a Woman. Thus God, in his abundant Righteouſneſs, puniſh'd both *Abimelech*, and the Men of *Shechem* according to their Deſerts; and, within the Space of three Years after their Crimes were committed, made them the Inſtruments of each other's Deſtruction.

Who is kill'd by a Woman at Thebez, *by the Fall of a large Stone.*

AFTER the Death of *Abimelech*, *Tolah*, the Son of *Puah*, an eminent Man of the Tribe of *Iſſachar*, undertook the Government, and continu'd it for three and twenty Years. He dwelt on Mount *Ephraim*, near the Center of the Country, that the People might, with more Conveniency,

Puah *and* Jair *made Judges: Under the latter, the People apoſtatize, and are oppreſs'd.*

* In the Text the Expreſſion is, *Then God ſent an evil Spirit, or Spirit of Diſcord, between* Abimelech *and the Men of Shechem*, Judg. ix. 23. which, in Scripture, is an uſual Form of Speech, and denotes not any *poſitive* Action, but a Permiſſion only, or, at moſt, a Direction from God. It is obſerv'd however, that this Manner of Expreſſion may poſſibly have given Riſe to ſome Notions in the Theology of the *Heathens*, when they ſuppoſe, that the *Furies* are appointed by the Gods to ſow the Seeds of Diſcord among Men.

Luctificam Alecto, dirarum ab Sede Sororum,
Infernique ciet Tenebris; cui triſtia Bella,
Iræque, Incidiæque, & Crimina noxia Cordi.

And a little lower,

Diſjice compoſitam Pacem, ſere Crimina Belli:
Arma velit, poſcatque ſimul, rapiatque Juventus. *Virg.* Æn. vii.

* Thus *Plutarch* relates, that *Pyrrhus*, at the Siege of *Thebes*, was kill'd by a Woman's throwing a *Tile* upon his Head; but there is ſomething more remarkable in *Abimelech*'s Death by a Stone, becauſe, as he ſlew all his Brethren upon *one Stone*, for him to die by no other Inſtrument carry'd ſome Stamp of his Sin upon it. The Manner of his Death however, puts me in mind of what the ſame Author records of the *Spartan* General, *Lyſander*, who fell inglorioufly under the Walls of *Haliartus*. "Thus he died, ſays he, but not like *Cleombrotus*, who was ſlain, while he "was gloriouſly making Head againſt an impetuous Enemy at *Leuctra*, not like *Cyrus*, or *Epaminondas*, who receiv'd "a mortal Wound, while he was rallying his Men, and ſecuring to them the Victory. Theſe great Men died in "their Callings. They died the Death of Kings and Commanders: Whereas he, like ſome common Soldier, or "one of the forlorn Hope, caſt away his Life ingloriouſly; giving this Teſtimony to the ancient *Spartans*, that they "did well to avoid ſtorming of Walls; in which the ſtouteſt Man may chance to fall by the Hand, not only of an "abject Fellow, but by that of a Boy, or a Woman, as they ſay *Achilles* was ſlain, in the Gates of *Troy*, by the "Hands of the effeminate *Paris*." *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Plutarch*'s Comp. of *Lyſander*, and *Sylla*.

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veniency, resort to him for Judgment; and, tho' there is not much recorded of him, yet he seems to have been a prudent and peaceable Man; rais'd up to reform Abuses, to put down Idolatry, to appease Tumults, and heal the Wounds, which were given to *Church* and *State*, during *Abimelech*'s Usurpation.

HE was succeeded by *Jair*, a *Gileadite*, of the Tribe of *Manasseh*, the first Governor that was rais'd up out of any of the Tribes beyond *Jordan*, and who, in the main, seems to have been more sollicitous to † *aggrandize* his own Family, than to mind the Concerns of Religion. For, during his Administration, the People not only worshipp'd *Baalim*, and *Ashtaroth*, as they had frequently done before, but adopted the Gods likewise of every neighbouring Nation, of the *Syrians*, the *Zidonians*, the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, and the *Philistines*; so that God, being incens'd against them, incited the *Philistines*, and the *Ammonites* to invade them on all Quarters in one and the same Year. Nor did these People make their Incursions only upon the Tribes, that were on the *East* Side of *Jordan*; but, passing the River, gave the Tribes of *Judah*, *Benjamin*, and *Ephraim*, no small Molestation, and, by their sundry Defeats, made them feel the Weight of their Power.

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THE *Israelites*, finding themselves not able to cope with such powerful Enemies, grew sensible of their Folly; and, to recover the Protection of God, renounc'd all their *Idols*, and betook themselves to his Service in good earnest; Whereupon, † his Mercy returning with their Repentance, he soon found out Means to affect their Deliverance.

Jepthah *delivers them, and vanquishes the* Ammonites.

THERE was, at that Time, in the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, which settled on the *East* Side of *Jordan*, a Man of Note among his People, whose Name was *Gilead*, of the Family of that *Gilead*, the Son of *Machar*, to whom *Moses* gave the (*d*) City of *Gilead*, from whence the Family took their Name. This Man had by his Wife several Sons, and one † by a Concubine, whom he nam'd *Jepthah*; but when his Sons grew up, and their Father

† The Reasons, which the Scripture gives us to think, that he really did aggrandize his own Family, are, 1st, Because he is said to have had thirty Sons, that rode on *thirty Asses Colts*: For, as in those Days, the *Israelites* had but few Chariots, and were not allow'd to keep many Horses, the most honourable of them were us'd to be mounted on these Creatures, which, in the *Eastern* Countries, were much higher, and more beautiful, than they are with us. 2dly, *They had thirty Cities, or Villages, called after their own Name, in the Land of* Gilead: For, as we read that *Jair*, the Son of *Manasseh*, went and took the small Towns of *Gilead*, and call'd them *Havoth jair*, (Numb. xxxii. 41. and Deut. iii. 14.) so we may presume, that this *Jair*, who was afterwards Judge of *Israel*, recover'd the Places, which his Ancestor conquer'd, and perhaps added some more to them, that each Son of his might have one. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† This is the most remarkable Repentance and Reformation that we meet with in the History of the *Judges*; and it seems to be so serious, that, in the Times of those three Governors, who succeeded *Jepthah*, we read nothing of their relapsing into Idolatry. And, as their Repentance was sincere, so the Expression of the Divine Compassion towards them, *viz. that his Soul was grieved for the Misery of* Israel, *Jud.* x. 16. is the strongest that we meet with; though every one knows, that the Divine Nature is not capable of *Grief*, properly so called, but the Meaning is, that he quite alter'd his former Intention, and, in much Mercy, resolv'd, upon their Repentance, to deliver them.

(*d*) Numb. xxxii. 29.

† Several *Jewish* Doctors are of Opinion, that the Word *Zonah* may signify, either one of another Tribe, or one of another Nation; and so, *Josephus* calls *Jepthah*, Ξένου παρὰ τ μητέρα, *a Stranger by the Mother's Side*. It is to be observ'd however, that among the *Jews*, if such Persons as were deem'd Strangers embrac'd the *Law*, their Children were capable to inherit, among the rest of their Brethren. *Jepthah* indeed, complains of the hard Usage he met with, but it was upon this Occasion, when his Country he found stood in need of him; for had he been unjustly dispossess'd of his Right of Inheritance before, we can hardly suppose, that a Man of his Courage and martial Spirit would have sat down contented with his Exclusion. It is not to be doubted therefore, but that he *was the Son of an Harlot*, properly so call'd: But then the Question is, Why God should make Choice of a Person of his Character for so great an Instrument of his Glory? To which it may be reply'd, 1st, That God has prescrib'd Laws to Men, but none to himself; and can therefore alter his Dispensations as he pleases, according to the Circumstances and Exigences of Things. 2dly, That as he chuses to act by *second* Causes, he always makes use of such Instruments, as (all Things consider'd) are propereſt for his Purpose, without Regard to any Blemishes, for which they themselves are not accountable: And 3dly, That he might purposely dispense with the Law in this Case, to shew, that those, who are *basely born* ought not to despond, but, by a virtuous and good Life, expect a Share of God's Blessings. *Howell*'s History, Lib. iv. in the Notes.

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Father was dead, they expell'd *Jephthah*, as having no Right of Inheritance with them, ſo that he was ſent to ſeek his Fortune, and, at length, ſettled in the † Land of *Tob*; where, being a Man of great Courage and Bravery, he was ſoon made the *Captain* of a ſmall Army, with whom he us'd to make Excurſions into the Enemies Country, and ſometimes bring off rich Spoils.

THE *Ammonites* had now rais'd a large Army, with a Deſign to invade the Country of *Gilead*, and, as it is ſuppos'd, to lay a Siege to *Gilead* itſelf. The *Gileadites*, on the other Hand, were reſolv'd to defend their Country, and, to that Purpoſe, had got together what Forces they could; but then they were at a Loſs for a *General*. *Jephthah*, they knew, was a Man of Courage and Conduct, who had ſignaliz'd himſelf on frequent Occaſions againſt the Enemy; and therefore, in a full Aſſembly of their *Chiefs*, it was reſolv'd to ſend him an Offer of the Command of their Army. Surpriz'd at this ſudden Change, and remonſtrating a little their former Unkindneſs to him, he conſented at laſt to accept of the Command; but it was on this Condition, that, if he happen'd to be ſucceſsful in the War, they ſhould eſtabliſh him their Governor for Life, which they readily conſented to, and ſolemnly ratify'd. Being inveſted with this Power and Authority *Jephthah* ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of *Ammon*, to demand the Reaſon of his invading the *Gileadites*; to whom that Prince reply'd, that their Land was *his*, and that the *Iſraelites*, in their Paſſage from *Egypt*, had taken it from his Anceſtors, which he now intended to recover. *Jephthah* return'd him, by other Ambaſſadors, in Anſwer, that, if either *Conqueſt* or *Preſcription* conferr'd a Title, they had a juſt Right to the Country they poſſeſs'd, ſince they took it, not from them, but from the *Ammorites*, and had, for *three hundred Years*, been in quiet Poſſeſſion of it; but all would not do. The *Ammonites* were reſolv'd upon a War, and *Jephthah* made all Things ready to receive them: But, before he took the Field, he * made a Vow, that, if he return'd with Victory, the firſt Thing that came out of his Houſe to meet him, he would certainly offer unto the Lord, which many think was the Occaſion of the ſacrificing his own Daughter.

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HOWEVER this be, 'tis certain, that when he return'd out of the Country of *Ammon*, where his Battles were fought with Succeſs, he met with ſome Diſturbance at Home; for the Tribe of *Ephraim*, not long after, paſs'd the River *Jordan*, on purpoſe to pick a Quarrel with him, becauſe, (as they pretended) he had not ſent for them to join the Army, and ſhare in the Victory. † At other Times they had been noiſy and clamorous enough, but now they proceeded ſo far as to threaten to burn his Houſe over his Head. *Jephthah* endeavour'd what he could, to pacify them with good Words; but, when he found that Reaſoning would not do, he fell upon them with his Army, and put them to Flight: And, being reſolv'd to hinder them from giving him the like Moleſtation any more, he ſent, and ſecur'd all the Paſſes over *Jordan* in their Way home; ſo that, as faſt as they came thither, if upon Examination they own'd themſelves

And ſuppreſſes the Inſurrection of the Ephraimites.

† We read no where elſe of this Country, which, very probably, was not far from *Gilead*, upon the Borders of the *Ammonites*, in the Entrance of *Arabia Deſerta*; or perhaps it is the ſame with what is called *Iſh-tob* (2 Sam. viii. 6, 8.) which was in *Syria*, and ſo near the *Ammonites*, that they hir'd Forces from thence, as well as from other Nations, to fight againſt *David*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* To make a Vow, was an Act of religious Worſhip, and in itſelf no way culpable; nay, not only the *Jews*, but other Nations look'd upon it in this View: And therefore we find *Livy* ſo frequently telling us, that the *Roman* Generals were wont to vow to *Jupiter*, or *Apollo*, or ſome other God, that if, by their Help, they ſhould prove ſucceſsful, they would devote ſome Part of the Spoil, they ſhould take in the War, to their Uſe, or build Temples and dedicate them to their Honour. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Tho' *Gideon* had called the *Ephraimites* to aſſiſt in the Purſuit of the *Midianites*, and had given them the Advantage of Plunder, and the Honour of taking *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, two Princes of *Midian*, Priſoners; yet, becauſe they were not called at firſt to the Battle, they took upon them to reprehend him very ſharply, which he, like a prudent Man, took patiently, and pacify'd them with good Words. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, Lib. iv. in the Notes.

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Ephraimites, they were immediately put to the Sword; if they deny'd it, they had † the Test-Word SHIBBOLETH given them, which (if they pronounc'd it SIBBOLETH) discover'd their Country, and cost them their Lives; insomuch, that what in the Field, and what on the Banks of the River, no less than † two and forty thousand *Ephraimites* were slain.

THUS *Jephthah*, having deliver'd his Country from the Attempts both of *foreign* and *domestick* Foes, liv'd the Remainder of his Days in Peace, and, after the Administration of publick Affairs for six Years Continuance in all, he died, and was honourably bury'd in his own Country.

HE was succeeded by *Ibzan* of *Bethlehem*, who, after he had govern'd seven Years, was succeeded by *Elon*, of the Tribe of *Zebulun*; and he, after he had rul'd ten Years, by *Abdon*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, who rul'd eight. Of these *Judges* the sacred History says nothing remarkable, only that some of them had a numerous Issue, which is mention'd to shew that the Government, at that Time, was not *Hereditary*.

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DURING the Administration of these *Judges*, the *Israelites* enjoy'd a Peace of three and twenty Years Continuance; but when they relaps'd into their old Impieties, God suffer'd the *Philistines* to invade and oppress them, whereupon, *Samson*'s valiant Acts began to display themselves. He was the Son of *Manoah*, † of the Tribe of *Dan*, and of a Mother, whose Name we no where find in Scripture. This Woman was a long Time barren, and had no Children; and therefore when an Angel appear'd to her, while she was alone, and gave her Assurances, that she would be Mother of a Son, who was to be † a *Nazarite* from his Birth; to drink no Wine or strong Liquor; and † never have his Hair shav'd; upon her telling her Husband these glad Tidings, he requested of God to vouchsafe him a Sight of the same

Samson's Parentage, Birth, and juvenile Exploits.

† Nothing is more notorious, than that the People of the same Nation, who speak the same *Language*, differ very much in their *Pronunciation* of it, in several Parts of the Country. In *Palestine*, the People in *Galilee*, and those that liv'd at *Jerusalem*, spake the same Tongue, and yet, in the Time of *Christ*, the latter could tell St *Peter*, that his *Speech bewray'd him*, Matth. xxvi. 73. In *Greece* all spake *Greek*, and yet the *Ionians*, *Atticks*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians* pronounc'd very differently. And here, tho' the *Gileadites* and *Ephraimites* were all of one Nation, yet the latter, we find, could not pronounce the Letter *Schin*. There were doubtless therefore many other Words, which they could not frame their Mouths to speak, as the *Gileadites* did, but this *one* was chosen, because it was fit for their Purpose. For, as *Shibboleth* signifies *Floods of Water*, the *Gileadites*, when they saw any *Ephraimite* appear, might put this Test to him, and bid him say, *Let me pass over the Water*. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

† This was a terrible Slaughter, for one Tribe to make of another; but the *Ephraimites* seem to have deserv'd it, as a just Punishment of their Pride and Insolence; in despising so great a Man as *Jephthah*, who had sav'd all the People of *Israel*, and threatening to destroy his House, after so glorious a Victory; in reviling their Brethren likewise; invading them without a Cause, and attempting to drive them out of their Country. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† As the Tribe of *Dan* lay bordering upon the *Philistines*, it was most expos'd to their Incursions and Invasions; and therefore God, out of that Tribe, chose *Samson*, to be a Scourge to them, and a Revenger of his People, which is very agreeable to the Prophecy of *Jacob*, when he blessed his Sons, a little before his Death. Dan *shall be a Serpent by the Way, an Adder by the Path, biting the Heels of the Horse, so that his Rider shall fall backward*, Gen. xlix. 17.

† A *Nazarite* was one, who, under the *Levitical* Law, either to attain the Favour, or avert the Judgments, or acknowledge the Mercies of Almighty God, vowed a Vow of particular Purity, and *separated* himself (for so the Word signifies) in an extraordinary Manner, to the Service of God. The Time of this Vow lasted usually for eight Days, sometimes for a Month, and, in some Cases, for the Person's whole Life. During this Time, the Persons (for Women, as well as Men, might enter into this Engagement) bound themselves to abstain from Wine, and all strong Liquors; not to cut the Hair of their Heads; not to come near a dead Corps, nor assist at a Funeral: Nay, the Matter was carry'd so high, that if any happen'd to die suddenly in their Presence, the whole Ceremony of this *Separation* was to begin a-new. After the Time that their Separation was ended, they were to offer such Sacrifices, as the Law appointed, and then, being absolv'd from their Vow by the Priest, they might drink Wine, and use the same Freedom, that other People did. *Samson's Nazaritism* (to which he was consecrated by his Parents) was to last the whole Term of his Life; but his frequent Intercourse with the *Philistines*, and the great Havock and Slaughter, that he so often made among them, would induce one to think, that he had a particular Dispensation exempting him from the Observation of some of the foregoing Rules. Vid. Numb. vi. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries upon it, and *Calmet*'s Dictionary under the Word.

† Long Hair was esteem'd very much among the *Jews*; and such Persons as were made *Nazarites* by their Parents, and consecrated to God from the Womb, were requir'd to wear their Hair long and uncut, because it was a Token not only of Beauty, but of Majesty and Veneration. *Howell*'s History, in the Notes.

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ſame heavenly *Meſſenger*, which accordingly God granted him, and, when *Manoah* intreated the Angel to accept of a ſmall Entertainment, which he choſe rather to have converted into a Sacrifice, *Manoah* made ready a Kid, and Wine for Libations; and, having plac'd them upon an Altar made of Stone, as the Smoak of the Sacrifice began to aſcend, the † Angel mounted up in the Flame, and ſo diſappear'd.

AT the Time appointed the divine Promiſe was accompliſh'd, and the Woman was deliver'd of a Son, whom ſhe nam'd *Samſon*. While he was yet a Youth, the Spirit of God began to appear in him, and to exert itſelf in ſome notable Exploits and Feats of Activity, in what was called † the old Camp of *Dan*, (lying between † *Zorah* and *Eſhtaol*) the Place where he was born. When he came to Man's Eſtate, he fell in Love with the Daughter of a *Philiſtine*, who liv'd at *Timnah*; and tho' his Parents did not ſo well approve of the Match, becauſe ſhe was ſprung from an *idolatrous* Family, yet, ſuch was their Tenderneſs for their Son, that they indulg'd his Paſſion, and went both of them with him to † *Timnah* to treat about the Marriage. As they were on their Journey, and *Samſon* was ſtraggling a little from the Company, all on a ſudden a young Lion came running at him with open Mouth, but he took it, and ſlew it with as much Eaſe, as if it had been a Kid; and, ſome Time after, as he paſs'd that Way, (which was when his Father and Mother went with him to ſolemnize his Nuptials) he turn'd aſide to ſee what was become of the Lion's Carcaſe, and, to his great Surpriſe, found a † Swarm of Bees, and ſome Honey in it, which he took, and gave Part of it to his Parents, but did not tell them from whence he had it.

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His Marriage, ſlaying the Philiſtines, *and burning their Corn with* Foxes.

IT was cuſtomary in thoſe Days to continue the *nuptial* Entertainment for ſeven Days, and, to do the Bridegroom greater Honour, his Wife's Relations had brought † thirty of their prime Youth to bear him Company, to whom (as the Manner then was)

† Angels Bodies, which the *Platoniſts* called ὀχήματα, or *Vehicles*, are not ſubject to the Laws of *Gravity*, as ours are. After our Saviour's Reſurrection, the Hiſtory of the Goſpel informs us, how immediately, and in an Inſtant, his Body could move from Place to Place; and therefore it is no Wonder, that *Manoah* and his Wife ſhould diſcover the Perſon, that appear'd to them to be an Angel by the Manner of his Aſcenſion. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† This Camp of *Dan* was probably that Place, where the *Danites* made their Encampment, in their Expedition and Enterprize againſt *Laiſh*, Judg. xviii. 11. for it is not at all likely that the *Philiſtines*, who had the *Iſraelites*, at that Time, entirely under their Subjection, ſhould ſuffer them to have any ſtanding Camp. And this, by the Bye, is a good Argument, that the Story of *Micah*, and of the *Danites* Expedition, was tranſacted before *Samſon*'s Time, though the Compilers of the *Bible* have plac'd it after. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, in the Notes.

† Both theſe were Towns in the Tribe of *Dan*, whereof *Zorah* lay on the Frontiers of *Judah*; and for this Reaſon *Rehoboam*, upon the Revolt of the Ten Tribes, ſeems to have kept this Place, tho' lying in one of theſe Tribes, and to have fortify'd it, for a Barrier-Town, on that Side of the Kingdom of *Judah*; as he did alſo *Aijalon*, another Town belonging to the ſame Tribe. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II. Chap. vi.

† It is not improbably thought, that the Place which is called *Timnah*, Joſh. xv. 10. and *Timnatha*, Joſh. xix. 43. was the ſame with this. It was aſſign'd at firſt to the Tribe of *Judah*, but afterwards to the Tribe of *Dan*, and was, in all Likelihood, the Place whither *Judah*, the Patriarch of the Tribe, that was called after him, went up to his Sheep-ſhearers, *Gen.* xxxviii. 12. *Wells*'s Geography, ibid.

† Bees are obſerv'd by *Ariſtotle* and others to abhor ſtinking Smells, and to abſtain from Fleſh; which has made ſome think it ſtrange, that a Swarm of Bees ſhould be found in the Carcaſe of a Lion: But it is no hard Matter to ſuppoſe, that either Time had conſum'd, or Birds and Beaſts devour'd all the Fleſh, ſo that nothing was left of the Lion but the *Skeleton*, in which the Bees did not breed (for the Notion of Inſects breeding in that Manner is now quite exploded) but only ſettled themſelves, when they *ſwarm'd*, as they have ſometimes done in dead Men's Scull's, and in their Tombs. *Bochart*'s Hieroz. Part II. lib. iv. c. 10. and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† During the Time of the *Marriage-feaſt*, which, for a Virgin, laſted ſeven, but for a Widow, only three Days, it was cuſtomary among the *Jews*, to have a choſen Set of young Men, whom the *Greeks* called *Paranymphs*, and the *Hebrew Scheliachim*, to keep the *Bridegroom* Company; as alſo a certain Number of young Women were about the *Bride* all this Time. Theſe young Men were generally of the Bridegroom's Relations and Acquaintance; but, at *Samſon*'s Marriage, they belong'd to his Wife's Family, (and were ſent, as ſome of the *Jews* think) not ſo much to do him Honour at the Time of his *Nuptials*, as to be a *Guard* over him, leſt he ſhould make any Diſturbance, of which the *Philiſtines* were afraid, when they underſtood that he was a Man of ſo much Strength and Might. *Lamy*'s Introduction, Lib. i. Cap. 14. and *Calmet*'s Diſſert. ſur les Marriages des Heb.

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was) he propounded a *Riddle* †, which if they could explain in the Time, that the Feaſt laſted, he oblig'd himſelf to give them thirty Suits of Clothes, and an equal Number of Shirts; but if they could not, they were to forfeit the like to him. The Words of the Riddle were, *Out of the Eater came forth Meat, and out of the Strong came forth Sweetneſs*; which ſo puzzled the young Men, that they could not, for their Hearts, deviſe what it meant, and therefore applying themſelves to *Samſon*'s Wife, what with Threats, and what with Intreaties, they prevail'd with her to get the Secret out of her Huſband: Which when, with much Importunity, ſhe had done, ſhe told it them, and they, at the Concluſion of the Feaſt, gave him to underſtand that they knew it. He told them however by whoſe Information they had it, and, being deſperately enrag'd went down to † *Aſkalon*, a City of the *Philiſtines*, where having ſlain † thirty Men, he gave their Clothes to thoſe that had expounded the Riddle; but, taking the Thing very ill of his Wife, he left her, and went down to his Father's Houſe, while ſhe, in his Abſence, was marry'd to one of the young Men, that had been his Companions all the Wedding-Week.

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As ſoon as his Reſentment was abated, and his Anger appeas'd, *Samſon* took a Kid for a Preſent to his Wife, and went to her Father's Houſe, with a full Purpoſe of being reconcil'd to her; but, to his great Amazement, was deny'd Admittance to her Room, and told by her Father, that, upon Preſumption he had quite forſaken her, he had marry'd her to one of his Companions, but had another Daughter younger, and more beautiful, that was at his Service. This Anſwer was far from ſatisfying him; and therefore, imagining that the Affront was not ſo much the Act of his Father-in-law, as the general Contrivance of the *Philiſtines*, he turn'd about ſhort, and vow'd Revenge, which he afterwards executed in the following Manner.

By ſome Means or other, he got together a Multitude of *Foxes*, to the Number of three hundred; and, tying them two and two together by the Tails, with a lighted Torch between each Pair, he turn'd them into the ſtanding Corn at different Places, and ſo not only ſet the Fields on Fire,

† This Riddle, which *Samſon* propos'd at his Nuptials, is ſomewhat ſingular. As the Men and Women were not permitted to be together in theſe *Eaſtern* Countries, they could not amuſe themſelves with their Converſation; and as they could not ſpend their Time merely in dull eating and drinking, it is hence preſum'd that their Cuſtom was, in their Compotations and Feaſts, (as we find it afterwards among the *Greeks*) to propoſe Queſtions, and hard Problems to be reſolv'd, in order to exerciſe the Wit and Sagacity of the Company. *Selden* de Uxore Hebr. lib. ii. c. 16. But as to this Riddle of *Samſon*'s, ſome People are apt to find Exceptions. The Oppoſition, they ſay, is manifeſt in the former Part of it, but not in the latter; for *Weakneſs* is oppos'd to *Strength*, not *Sweetneſs*, whoſe Oppoſite is *Bitterneſs*, or *Sharpneſs*. But *Bochart* has ingeniouſly obſerv'd, that theſe two Words, *ſtrong* and *ſharp*, are oftentimes us'd promiſcuouſly. For, in the *Arabick* Language, the Word *Mirra*, which ſignifies *Strength*, comes from *Marra*, which ſignifies to be *ſharp* or *bitter*; and ſo it is in the *Latin*, where *Acer*, a *ſharp Man*, is as much as a valiant Man, one who *eagerly* (as we ſpeak) engages his Enemy, and (what is more) we find in ſome of the beſt Authors, this particular Epithet apply'd to Lions ——— *Genus acre Leonum*, Ovid. Faſt. And therefore the *Antitheſis* of the Words, is this, ——— *Food came from the Devourer, and Sweetneſs from what is eager or ſharp*, i. e. violent and fierce. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† It is a City in the Land of the *Philiſtines* ſituated between *Azoth* and *Gaza*, upon the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean-Sea*, about five hundred and twenty Furlongs diſtant from *Jeruſalem*. It is ſaid to have been of great Note among the *Gentiles*, for a Temple dedicated to *Dircete*, the Mother of *Semiramis*, here worſhipp'd in the Form of a *Mermaid*; and for another Temple of *Apollo*, where *Herod*, the Father of *Antipater*, and Grandfather of *Herod the Great*, ſerv'd as Prieſt. The Place ſubſiſts to this Day, but is now very inconſiderable. Some Mention there is made of the Wine of *Aſkalon*, and the Cypreſs-Tree, (a Shrub that was antiently in great Eſteem, and very common in this Place) but modern Travellers ſay no ſuch Thing of it now. *Calmet*'s Dictionary under the Word, and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III.

† It may well be queſtion'd, upon what Occaſion *Samſon* could meet with thirty *Philiſtines*, all cloth'd in their new and beſt Attire, even though we allow that he went with a Diſpoſition to pick a Quarrel with them, and ſlay them; but then it is but ſuppoſing, that, at this Time, there was a Merry-making, either in the Fields, or in the City, at ſome publick Solemnity, when great Companies us'd to be gather'd together, and appear in their beſt Apparel, and the Thing is done. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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Fire, but the Vine and Olive Yards likewiſe, inſomuch that the whole Country was in a Blaze. When the *Philiſtines* underſtood that it was *Samſon*, who had done this, in Revenge to the Affront, which his Father-in-law had put upon him, they came in a Body, and fir'd the Houſe over his Father's Head, and ſo burnt him and *Samſon*'s Wife together. This was a freſh Provocation, for which *Samſon* threaten'd to be reveng'd; and, thereupon, without any Ceremony, fell immediately upon them, and ‖ ſlew a great Number of them.

SAMSON, being conſcious to himſelf, that he muſt have highly provok'd the *Philiſtines* by this laſt Slaughter of them, took up his Reſidence thence forwards on the † Top of the Rock *Etam*, which was in the Tribe of *Judah*. Hereupon the *Philiſtines* came down with an armed Force, and demanded *Samſon* to be deliver'd up to them. The People of *Judah*, fearing the Conſequence of this Invaſion, detach'd a Body of three Thouſand Men to *Samſon*; who, after they had expoſtulated the Injury he had done them in provoking their Enemies ſo highly, told him in plain Terms, that they were come to ſeize, and deliver him up to the *Philiſtines*.

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His Killing a 1000 *with a Jaw-Bone.*

SAMSON ſubmitted to have himſelf bound (which was done with new ſtrong Cords) upon Condition, that they themſelves would not ſide with th. Enemy againſt him; and ſo being brought to the Place, where the *Philiſtines* were encamp'd, they now thought they had him ſecure, and therefore ran out with Joy to receive him. But as they came near him, he ſnapp'd the Cords aſunder, and, happening to eſpy a freſh Jaw-Bone of an Aſs, he made Uſe of that for Want of a better Weapon, and therewith ſlew no leſs than a Thouſand Men; from which Atchievement, the Place was afterwards called, either ſimply *Lehi*, i. e. the *Jaw-Bone*, or *Ramah-Lehi*, the *Lifting up of the Jaw-Bone*. Fatigu'd with this Fight, and being now exceſſive thirſty in a Place, where no Water was to be had, he made his Supplications to God, and God immediately caus'd a Fountain of delicious Water to iſſue from an hollow Rock, adjacent to *Lehi*, wherewith *Samſon* allay'd his Thirſt, and was reviv'd; and from this Event the Place was call'd *En-hakkor*, the *Well of him that pray'd*, ever after.

Carrying away the Gates of Gaza.

AFTER this Action *Samſon* made nothing of the *Philiſtines*, but went openly into † one of their Cities call'd *Gaza*, and

‖ The Words in the Text, according to our Tranſlation, are, *And he ſmote them Hip and Thigh with a great Slaughter*; Judg. xv. 8. But the Words in the Original will admit of this Signification, *He ſmote them with his Leg on their Thigh, and gave them great Hurts or Wounds*; and, to juſtify this Senſe, a learned Commentator ſuppoſes, that there was at this Time, ſomewhere among the *Philiſtines*, Wreſtling-Matches, and other rural Exerciſes, to which every one was invited, and that *Samſon* among the reſt, might go thither: that there he threw great Numbers of the *Philiſtines*, who perhaps might value themſelves upon their Activity that Way; and, in the Midſt of the Grapple with them, broke their Thighs with a Kick or Twiſt of his Leg. If this Suppoſition be right, the Phraſe *Crus Femori impingere* ſeems to be much the ſame with what the *Greeks* call σκελίζειν, or ἀποσκελίζειν; for, though this Kind of Exerciſe grew into high Eſteem among the *Grecians*, who were ſo famous for their *Gymnick* Sports; yet, that Wreſtling was an Exerciſe not unknown among the People of the *Eaſt* is manifeſt from Gen. xxv. 26. xxx. 8. and xxxii. 24. This our Commentator offers but as a Conjecture indeed; but it ſeems much more feaſible, than the Interpretation either of the *Vulgate*, or *Chaldee* Paraphraſt. *Le Clerc* in Locum.

† This was a ſtrong Place in the Tribe of *Judah*, (as *Joſephus* relates) to the Top of which no more than one Man could come a-breaſt, and therefore eaſily defenſible: By all this however, and what follows in this Hiſtory of *Samſon*, it is plain, that he had no Commiſſion from God, nor was mov'd by any extraordinary Impulſe to make open War (as did *Gideon*, *Jephthah*, and others) for the Deliverance of *Iſrael* from the Yoke of the *Philiſtines*, but only to weaken them and keep them in Awe, that, out of Dread of him, they might be leſs cruel in their Oppreſſion; and that this was all that God intended to do by him, is pretty plain from the Words of the Angel, Judg. xiii. 5. *He ſhall begin to deliver* Iſrael. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† This City was, by *Joſhua*, made Part of the Tribe of *Judah*, but, after him, it fell into the Hands of the *Philiſtines*, and was one of their five *Principalities*, ſituated between *Raphia* and *Aſkelon*, towards the ſouthern Extremity of the promis'd Land. The advantageous Situation of this Place was the Cauſe of the many Revolutions, to which it became ſubject. At firſt of all it belong'd to the *Philiſtines*, but, in *Joſhua*'s Time, was conquer'd by the *Hebrews*. In the Reigns of *Jotham* and *Ahaz*, it recover'd its Liberty, but was conquer'd by *Hezekiah*. It was made ſubject to the

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and took up his Lodging in a publick Houſe of Entertainment. The Governor of the Place had ſoon Intelligence of him, and ſent Guards to beſet the Houſe, and to watch the Gates of the City for his going out next Morning; but *Samſon*, being inform'd of this, roſe in the Midnight, and taking the two Gates of the City, Gate-Poſts, Bars, Bolts, Chain and all, he laid them on his Shoulders, and carry'd them to the Top of an Hill, † that looks towards *Hebron*, and there left them.

Falling in Love with Dalilah, *by whom he is betray'd, and deliver'd to the* Philiſtines.

At length a more fatal *Adventure*, than any of theſe, befel him: For, falling in Love with a beautiful Woman nam'd † *Dalilah*, who liv'd in the Vale of *Sorek*, which lay in the Tribe of *Judah*, he was ſo infatuated to her, that he loſt all Regard to his own Safety. The Princes of the *Philiſtines*, obſerving his Paſſion for this Woman, came and promis'd her † a round Sum of Money, if ſhe would learn of him, and diſcover to them, what might be the Cauſe of this his wonderful Strength, and † how he might be depriv'd of it. This ſhe undertook to do; and fail'd not to employ all her Art and Sollicitation, to get the important Secret from him. For ſome Time he amus'd her with Fictions, and made her believe, that his Strength conſiſted ſometimes in one Thing, and ſometimes in another; firſt, that binding him with Bands made of green Withs, then, that tying him with Ropes that had never been us'd, and again, † weaving his

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the *Chaldeans*, when they reduc'd *Syria* and *Phœnicia*; and afterwards fell into the Hands of the *Perſians*. They were Maſters of it, when *Alexander* beſieg'd, took, and demoliſh'd it. It afterwards roſe again (but not near of the ſame Magnitude) under the Name of *Mojuma*, which underwent as many Viciſſitudes as the former. The Kings of *Egypt* had it for ſome Time in Poſſeſſion; *Antiochus the Great* took and ſack'd it; the *Aſmoneans*, or *Maccabees*, took it ſeveral Times from the *Syrians*; *Alexander Jannæus*, King of the *Hebrews*, deſtroy'd it; *Gabinius* repair'd it; *Auguſtus* gave it to *Herod the Great*; *Conſtantine* gave it the Name of *Conſtantia*, with many independent Privileges, in Honour of his Son; but the Emperor *Julian* deſtroy'd, and depriv'd it of all. *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

† The Words in the Text are, that *he carried them up to the Top of a Hill, that is before* Hebron, Judg. xvi. 3. but the Word, which we render *before*, does equally ſignify *in the Sight of* Hebron; and therefore, ſince the Diſtance between *Gaza* and *Hebron* is no leſs than twenty Miles, it is more probable, that the Hill, where *Samſon* left theſe Gates, lay between the two Cities, and in View of both, that the Inhabitants of one City might behold them to their Confuſion, and they of the other to their Encouragement to hope for a future Deliverance. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† It is certain, that *Sorek* was a Place in the Land of *Judæa*, famous for choice Wines, as may be gather'd from Gen. xlvi. 11. Iſaiah v. 12. and Jer. ii. 21. and lay not above a Mile and a half from *Eſcol*, from whence the Spies brought a Bunch of Grapes for a Sample of the Fruitfulneſs of the Country; but whether *Dalilah*, who is ſaid to live here, was a Woman of *Iſrael*, or one of the Daughters of the *Philiſtines*, (who at this Time were Rulers in the Country of *Judah*) or whether ſhe was his Wife, or an Harlot only, is not expreſs'd in her Story. St *Chryſoſtom* and others are of Opinion, that he was marry'd to her; but if ſo, ſome Mention, one would think, there ſhould have been of the Marriage-Ceremonies in this, as well as in his former Wife's Caſe: Nor can we think, that the *Philiſtines* would have been ſo bold, as to attempt to draw her into their Party, and to bribe her to betray him into their Hands, had ſhe been his lawful Wife. It appears indeed, by her whole Behaviour that ſhe was a mercenary Woman, who would do any Thing to get Money, and accordingly *Joſephus* (Antiq. lib. v. c. 1.) calls her a common Proſtitute of the *Philiſtines*. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

† The Princes of the *Philiſtines*, from their five chief Cities, *Accaron*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*, *Azoth*, and *Gath*, 1 Sam. vi. 17. are ſuppos'd to be five in Number, ſo that, if they made her a common Purſe, (as we ſay) of five Times eleven hundred Pieces, or five thouſand five hundred Shekels of Silver, it would amount to about three hundred and forty three Pounds fifteen Shillings. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, in the Notes.

† There is a good deal of Probability in *Joſephus*'s Manner of telling this Story, *viz.* That while they were eating and drinking together, and he was careſſing her, ſhe fell into an Admiration of his wonderful Deeds; and, having highly extolled them, deſir'd him to tell her, how he came ſo much to excel all other Men in Strength. For we cannot ſuppoſe, that ſhe came bluntly upon him all at once, and deſir'd to know, (as it is in the Text) *wherewith he might be bound and afflicted*. This had been diſcovering her wicked Deſign againſt him at once, and defeating herſelf of an Opportunity of betraying him; and therefore we muſt conclude, that the Sacred Hiſtory in this Place (as it frequently does elſewhere) gives us only the Sum and Subſtance of what *Dalilah* ſaid to her *Paramour*, without taking notice of all the cunning and artful Speeches, wherewith ſhe dreſs'd it up. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† We have follow'd in this Paſſage (which indeed is a very obſcure one) the Notion of the learned *Spencer*, (de Leg. Moſis Rit. lib. iii. c. 6. Diſſert. 1.) concerning the Hair of the *Nazarite*; but a learned Commentator is of another Opinion, *viz.* that *Samſon*'s Hair, being very long, was interwoven with the Threads and Warp of a Web of Cloth. And to this Purpoſe he ſuppoſes, that in the Room where he ſometimes ſlept upon a Couch, there might ſtand very near a Loom, wherewith *Dalilah*, (as the Cuſtom then was) at her leiſure Hours, might work and divert

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his Hair into *Treſſes*, and ſo *filleting* them up, would bereave him of his Strength: But theſe were no more than *mock Stories*, for, upon Trial, ſhe found that all this ſignify'd nothing; and therefore, betaking herſelf to all her Arts and Wiles, ſhe complain'd of his Falſeneſs, and upbraided him with his Want of Love, ſince he with-held a Thing from her, which ſhe was ſo impatient to know: And thus, by daily *teazing* and importuning him, ſhe prevail'd with him at length to tell her the Secret, *viz.* that, *in the Preſervation of his Hair (for he was a* Nazarite *from his Birth) his Strength and Security lay.*

THERE was ſomething in his Manner of telling her this, that made *Dalilah* believe ſhe had now got the true Secret from him; and therefore ſhe ſent Word thereof to ſome of the Chief of the *Philiſtines*, who came and paid her the Money they had covenanted to give her: And, when ſhe had cut off his Hair, as he lay ſleeping in her Lap, they fell upon him, bound him, and put out his Eyes; and, having carry'd him to *Gaza*, they ſhut him up in Priſon, and made him † grind in the *Mill*, like a Slave.

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IN Proceſs of Time however, his Hair grew again, and with it his former Strength return'd: So that, when ſeveral of the Princes and Nobility of the *Philiſtines* were met in a general Aſſembly, to return Thanks to their God † *Dagon*, for having deliver'd their worſt and foreſt Enemy into their Hands; and after they had feaſted a while, and were now grown merry, they order'd that this ſame *Samſon* ſhould be ſent for, that they might have Pleaſure in ridiculing his Miſery, and making Sport with his Blindneſs, and accordingly *Samſon* was brought. A large Number of People was upon this Occaſion met together; and the Building, where the Feaſt was celebrated, had only two

His laſt Exploit, and Death.

herſelf, and that now, by his Permiſſion and Connivance, ſhe might take the Locks of his Hair, work it into the Web, and, to hinder it from being pulled out, ſecure it with an Iron Pin thruſt into the Beam, but that *Samſon*, when he awoke, took the Loom along with him at his Hair. And indeed, without ſome ſuch Suſpicion as this, we cannot very well tell what to make of his going away with *the Pin of the Beam, and with the Web*, Judg. xvi. 14. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† Before the Invention of *Wind* and *Water-Mills*, Men made uſe of *Hand-Mills*, wherewith to grind their Corn; and, as this was a very laborious Work, we find Maſters (eſpecially in moſt *Comick* Authors) threaten'd their Servants with it, in caſe of any Delinquency. It was the Work indeed of *Malefactors*, as well as Slaves; and therefore it ſeems very probable, that, in this Priſon, where *Samſon* was put, there was a publick Mill, as *Socrates* (Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. v. c. 18.) tells us there were ſeveral afterwards in *Rome*, in the Time of *Theodoſius*. So that from this, and ſome other Circumſtances, we may learn, that the *Philiſtines* Purpoſe was, not to put *Samſon* to Death, (even as they had promis'd *Dalilah* they would not) but to puniſh him in a Manner (*viz.* with Blindneſs, hard Labour, and Inſults) much worſe, and more intolerable, than Death itſelf. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† The Word *Dagon*, is taken from the *Phœnician* Root *Dag*, which ſignifies a Fiſh; and accordingly the Idol is uſually repreſented (as the *Heathens* do *Tritons* and *Syrens*) in the Shape of a Woman, with the lower Parts of a Fiſh — *deſinit in Piſcem mulier formoſa ſuperne*. ——— For this Reaſon learned Men have imagin'd, that *Dagon*, was the ſame with *Derceto*, which the People of *Aſkelon* worſhipp'd, and near which Place there was a great Pond full of Fiſh conſecrated to this Goddeſs, from which the Inhabitants ſuperſtitiouſly abſtain'd, out of a fond Belief that *Venus*, having heretofore caſt herſelf into this Pond, was *metamorphoſed* into a Fiſh. The learned *Jurieu* is of another Opinion, *viz.* That *Dagon*, whoſe Termination is Maſculine, both in ſacred and profane Writings, is always repreſented as a *Male Deity*, and may therefore very properly be thought to be the *Neptune* of the Ancients. The *Phœnicians* in particular (from whom both the *Greeks* and *Romans* borrow'd their Gods) living upon the Sea-Coaſt, and by their Navigation and Commerce, gaining great Advantages from that Element, can hardly be ſuppos'd to want a Deity to preſide over it. *Saturn*, and his three Sons, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*, were their principal Idols: And, as *Saturn* was their *Moloch*, *Jupiter* their *Baal*, and *Pluto* their *Baal-Zebub*; ſo have we Reaſon to preſume, that *Neptune* was their *Dagon*. This however, will not hinder us from ſuppoſing, that there might be two Deities, a *Male*, and a *Female*, worſhipp'd in the ſame Country, and under the ſame Figure or Form; and that, as the *Pagan* Theology gives *Jupiter* a *Juno*, to be his Conſort in Heaven; and *Pluto*, a *Proſerpine* to keep him Company in Hell; ſo *Neptune* had his *Amphitrite* to be the Partner of his liquid Empire in the Sea. According to this Suppoſition, the *Dagon* of *Gaza* or *Aſhdon* muſt be *Neptune*, and the *Derceto* of *Aſkelon*, a few Leagues diſtant, *Amphitrite*, the Daughter of *Doris* and *Oceanus*. Nor can it be thought incongruous to ſuppoſe farther, that the Univerſal God of the Sea might, in one Place, be repreſented as a *Male* (as at *Aſhdod*); and, in another (as at *Aſkelon*) as a *Female*, to ſignify the Fecundity of that Element, which produces, and nouriſhes ſo many living Creatures. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, *Calmet*'s Dictionary, and *Jurieu*, Hiſtoire des Dogmes & Cultes, Par. IV. Chap. vi.

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two large Pillars to ſupport the Roof. After the *Philiſtines* therefore had inſulted *Samſon*, as long as they thought fit, he deſir'd the Boy, that led him, to guide him to one of thoſe Pillars, that he might reſt himſelf a little againſt it. The Boy did ſo: And *Samſon* by this Means having laid hold of the two main Supporters, the one with his right Hand, and the other with his Left, after a ſhort *Ejaculation* to God for the *Reſtoration* of his former Strength, he gave them ſuch a terrible Shake, that down came the Houſe, and cruſh'd no leſs than three Thouſand Perſons to Death under its Ruins, and *Samſon* among the reſt.

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† Thus died this *Hero*, in the Midſt of his Enemies, as he deſir'd; and when his Relations heard of his Death, they ſent, and † took away his Body, and bury'd it honourably in the Sepulchre of his Fathers.

The Objection.

"JUDGES, according to the Notion that one would have of them, ſhould "be Men of great Gravity and Sedateneſs; "not only regular and religious themſelves, "but zealous Promoters of Virtue, and "ſevere Avengers of all Wickedneſs and "Impiety; well ſkill'd in the Knowledge "of the Laws of God, and impartial in "the Adminiſtration of Juſtice: But, "inſtead of this, what do we meet with "in this Hiſtory of their Lives, but Cru-"elty and Perfidiouſneſs, a profane Neg-"lect of the Service of God, Encourage-"ment given to Vice by their own Ex-"amples, and ſuch *Romantick* Accounts "of ſome of their Actions and Adventures, "as no human Faith can ſwallow?

"For what can we think of *Ehud*'s "*left-handed Doings*, in aſſaſſinating *Eg-lon*, King of the *Moabites*, under the "wicked Pretence of having a Meſſage to "deliver to him from God? And yet, it "muſt be own'd, that this was not near "ſo baſe as *Jael*'s inviting *Siſera* (who "was then at Peace with her and her "Huſband) into her Tent, and, in Cir-"cumſtances that would have mov'd "another's Compaſſion, knocking him "on the Head, for which ſhe merited to "have her Name recorded in a *triumphant* "Song.

"The *Faith* of ſeveral of theſe Wor-"thies is highly commended (*e*) by the "Author to the *Hebrews*; and yet we "find *Barak* refuſing to obey the divine "Summons, unleſs *Deborah* would pro-"miſe to go along with him; and *Gideon* "requeſting Miracle upon Miracle for "the

† It is made a Queſtion among *Caſuiſts* and *Divines*, whether *Samſon* ought to have died in this Manner, with a Spirit of Revenge, and Self-murther? St *Auſtin* excuſes him indeed, but it is upon the Suppoſition that he was urg'd thereunto by the inward Motions of him, who is the great Arbiter of our Life and Death; and St *Bernard* affirms, that, if he had not a peculiar Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt to move him to this, he could not, without Sin, have been the Author of his own Death; but others maintain, that, without having Recourſe to this *ſupernatural* Motive, this Action of his might be vindicated from his Office, as being the *Judge* and *Defender* of *Iſrael*, and that he might therefore devote his Life to the Publick Good (as ſome *Heathens* have merited the Commendation of Poſterity by ſo doing) without having any Thing in View, but the Death of his Enemies, and the Deliverance of his own People. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, and *Saurin*'s Diſſert. ſur divers Exploits de *Samſon*.

† How the People of *Gaza* came to permit *Samſon*'s Relations to come and take away his Body is not ſo obvious to conceive. In all Nations there was formerly ſo much Humanity, as not to prohibit Enemies from interring their Dead, nor did any of the *Iſraelites* join with *Samſon* in his Enterprizes; he ſtood alone in what he did: But this laſt Slaughter which he had made among them, might have provok'd them, one would think, to ſome Acts of Outrage even upon his dead Body. It is to be obſerv'd however, that inſtead of any Acts of Violence, they might perhaps be much humbled and mollify'd by this late Diſaſter; and might fear, that if they deny'd him Burial, the God of *Iſrael*, who had given him ſuch extraordinary Strength in his Life-Time, would not fail to take Vengeance of them. And therefore, dreading his very Corps, they were deſirous to get quit of it (even as they were of the *Ark* afterwards) and glad that any came to take ſuch a formidable Object out of their Sight. *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

(*e*) Heb. xi.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

" the Confirmation of his Faith, tho' he " had *Demonſtration* enough that the " Meſſenger came from God.

" NO Man had certainly experienc'd " more ſignal Interpoſitions of God's " Goodneſs in his Favour, than this *Ge-* " *neral* had done; and yet, how badly " did he requite his gracious Protector, " in making an *Ephod*, to be an Inſtru- " ment of Idolatry, and a Means, in Af- " ter-Ages, to alienate the Hearts of the " People? And how implacable was his " Revenge, in cruſhing the Princes of " *Succoth* under Thorns, and putting the " Inhabitants of *Penuel* all to Death, mere- " ly for denying him ſome Proviſions, " which, after all, he had no Right to " demand?

" BUT, of all the Men, that *judged* " *Iſrael*, commend me to *Samſon* (and " yet he is recorded among the Worthies " of old) for a compleat Pattern of Lewd- " neſs and Immorality, brutal Strength, " and brutal Paſſions. It was a Feat, " one would think, great enough (tho' " *Joſephus* makes no mention of it) for " *Shamgar* to kill ſix hundred of his Foes " with an *Ox-Goad* only; but what is " this to the *Heaps upon Heaps*, which " *Samſon* ſlew with the Jaw-Bone of an " Aſs; and to the Waters which guſh'd " out at the Socket of one of the Teeth " of the ſame Jaw-Bone ſo very oppor- " tunely to allay his Thirſt? A ſervice- " able Weapon this, both to deſtroy his " Enemies, and refreſh himſelf!

" IT may favour of Spite and Malice " perhaps, for him to ſet the Country in " a Blaze, and burn down all the poor " People's Corn, merely becauſe his Wife, " whom he left firſt, had play'd the Jilt, " and betaken herſelf to another Man; " but it would really raiſe one's Won- " der, to think, where he could poſſibly " get ſuch Multitudes of *Foxes*, as would " do the Work: And tho' we ſhould al- " low, that, after his Hair was grown " again, he might have Strength enough " to pull down the Houſe, where the " *Philiſtines* were feaſting; yet it ſeems " hardly conſiſtent with the Rules of " *Architecture*, that a Fabrick, able to " contain three thouſand People, ſhould " have its whole Weight ſupported by " two Pillars only.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

" THE Truth is, *Samſon*'s Character " at beſt is but a rough and uncouth one; " and ſome Things are ſaid of his Exploits, " that ſeem to exceed the Bounds of " Probability. But, the Wonder of all is, " how he comes to be called a *Judge of* " *Iſrael*, who, in all Appearance, was " good for nothing elſe, but to kill the " Men, and lie with the Women: And, " as eaſily may we conceive, in what " Senſe *(f) Wine may cheer God*, as how " *the Spirit of the Lord* might *come upon* " *him*, whoſe Actions were ſo *diametrically* " oppoſite to every Motion of that bleſſed " *Inmate*.

" IT may well exerciſe our Wonder " again, why none of theſe Judges (whoſe " Office it was to reform all Abuſes) ſet " about the Extirpation of Idolatry. The " Princes of *Iſrael* were certainly in the " Right (tho' *Joſhua* in all his Wars never " did it) in having Recourſe to the *Oracle* " of God; and yet the *Inſtruments* and " *Offices* of Religion ſeem to be ſtrangely " blended, when the *Levite* in *Micah*'s " Houſe pretended to anſwer the *Da-* " *nites* every whit as well by a *Tera-* " *phim*, which was no more than a *Pa-* " *gan* Idol. And tho' the other *Levite*, " mention'd in this Hiſtory, might not " have ſufficient Reaſon for cutting his " dead Wife into Pieces, and ſending " them about to every Tribe; yet cer- " tainly the *Iſraelites* acted a juſt Part, in " eſpouſing the Quarrel: And therefore " we cannot conceive, why God ſhould " ſuffer the *Benjamites*, theſe bold Con- " temners of all Goodneſs, to be twice " ſucceſsful againſt them. And when, in " Proceſs of Time, the other Tribes had " got the better of them, 'tis ſtill another " Paradox, how their Minds came to be " ſo chang'd towards them, as to ſtick

(f) Judg. ix. 13.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Christ. 1443, &c.

" at no Means (neither Rapes nor Murthers) to recruit their Tribe, and effect " their Reſtauration.

" WITHOUT entering therefore into " the *odd* Story, which is told of *Boaz* " and *Ruth*, and by what a ſhameleſs " Contrivance, the young Widow drew " in the old Man to marry her; we may " adventure to ſay, that during this Period, " the *Iſraelites* gave ſmall Proof of their " being the *peculiar People* of God; and " that the Rulers, whom he is ſaid to " have *rais'd up*, were the very reverſe of " what they ſhould have been, (*g*) *a Ter-* " *ror to good Works*, rather than *Evil*, " and Promoters of Wickedneſs and Ido- " latry, rather *than Avengers, to execute* " *Wrath upon thoſe*, that were guilty of " them."

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing the Power and Authority of theſe Judges.

JUDGES, which, in *Hebrew*, are *Shophetim*, were a Kind of Magiſtrates, not much unlike the *Archontes* among the *Athenians*, and the *Dictators*, among the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians*, a Colony among the *Tyrians*, had a Sort of Rulers, whom they called *Suffetes*, or *Shophetim*, much of the ſame Extent of Power; and *Grotius*, in the Beginning of his Commentary on this Book of *Judges*, compares them to thoſe *Chiefs*, that were in *Gaul*, in *Germany*, and *Britain*, before the *Romans* introduc'd another Form of Government. Their *Power* conſiſted in a *Medium* (as it were) between that of a King and an ordinary Magiſtrate, ſuperior to the latter, but not ſo abſolute as the former. They were indeed no more than God's *Vicegerents*, and every Attempt to raiſe themſelves to *regal* Dignity was look'd upon as an Uſurpation upon his Right, who alone was to be conſider'd as the *Sovereign* of the *Hebrews*; and therefore we find *Gideon* refuſing this ſupreme Authority, when it was offer'd him; (*h*) *I will not rule over you, neither ſhall my Son rule over you; the Lord ſhall rule over you.*

THE *Honour* of theſe Judges laſted for Life, but their *Succeſſion* was not always continu'd; for there were frequent Interruptions in it, and the People liv'd often under the Dominion of Strangers, without any Government of their own. According to common Cuſtom, they were generally appointed by God. The Gifts which he inveſted them with, and the Exploits he enabled them to do, were a Call ſufficient to that Office: But, in Caſes of extreme Exigence, the People made ſometimes Choice of ſuch, as they thought beſt qualify'd to reſcue them out of their Oppreſſion, without waiting for any divine Deſignation.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

THEIR Right extended ſo far, as to arbitrate in all Affairs of War and Peace, and to determine all Cauſes; but then they had none at all to make any new Laws, or lay any new Taxes upon the People. Their *Dominion* did ſeldom reach over all the Land; but, as it often happen'd, that the Oppreſſions, which occaſion'd a Recourſe to their Aſſiſtance, were felt in particular Tribes, or Provinces only; ſo the Judges, which were either rais'd, or choſen to procure a Deliverance from theſe Grievances, did not extend their Command over all the Land in general, but over that Diſtrict only, which they were appointed to deliver.

And their Liableneſs to be wicked.

IN ſhort, theſe Judges were by their Office the Protectors of the Laws, the Defenders of Religion, and the Avengers of all Crimes, eſpecially of that of *Idolatry*; and yet it muſt be own'd, that theſe were Men of the like *Paſſions* and *Infirmities* with others, and that the great Advantages, which, under God, they procur'd for the *Iſraelites*, did not exempt them from that Frailty, which is incident to all human Things.

THE ſacred Story indeed tells us, that (*i*) *the Lord raiſed up Judges, which delivered the* Iſraelites out of the Hands of thoſe, that ſpoil'd them, *and that when he raiſed them up he was with them*, i. e. he communicated to them Gifts, both *natural* and *ſupernatural*, according to the Exigencies of his People, and, in all their Encounters

(*g*) Rom. xiii. 3, 4. (*h*) Judg. viii. 23. (*i*) Ibid. ii. 16, 18.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

Encounters with their Enemies, attended them with a peculiar Providence: But as well may we infer, that every *General*, who fights the King of *England*'s Battles with Succeſs, ſhould be a Man of ſingular Sanctity, as that thoſe, who were employ'd under God in that Capacity, ſhould lead Lives anſwerable to their high Character. The Power of working Miracles is not always accompany'd with an holy Life. Many, that ſhall ſay unto Chriſt, (*k*) *Have not we propheſied in thy Name, and in thy Name caſt out Devils, and in thy Name done many wonderful Works*, by Reaſon of the Iniquity of their Lives ſhall find no Acceptance with him: What Wonder is it then, to behold ſome, both Kings and Conquerors, even while they ride in Triumph over the vanquiſh'd Foes, tamely led captive by their own Paſſions; ſo that while we cannot but admire them for their *military* Exploits, we are forc'd to blame and cenſure them for their private Conduct?

To mention one for all. *Samſon*, a Perſon born for the Caſtigation of the *Philiſtines*, and to be a Pattern of Valour to all ſucceeding *Heroes*, forgot himſelf in the Arms of a *Dalilah*, and, to the Paſſion he had for a baſe perfidious Woman, ſacrific'd thoſe Gifts, which God had beſtow'd on him for the Deliverance of his *Church*, and ſo, to all Ages, he became a ſad Example of the Corruption and Infirmities of human Nature. The like perhaps, in other Reſpects, may be ſaid of the reſt of the *Judges*: But then we are to remember, that they were Perſons under a particular *OEconomy* of Providence; that their Conduct therefore is no Direction to us, tho' their Paſſions the Almighty might make uſe of (and therefore tolerate) for the Accompliſhment of his wiſe Ends: *Howbeit they meaned not ſo, neither did their Heart think ſo*, (*l*) as the Prophet expreſſes himſelf upon the like Occaſion.

Ehud's Murther of Eglon.

WHETHER it be lawful, according to the Right of Nature and Nations, for *Subjects* to reſcue themſelves from *Tyranny* by taking away the Life of the *Tyrant*, and to recover their Country, which has been unjuſtly taken from them, by deſtroying the *Uſurper*, is a Queſtion, that, has been much debated, and what, at preſent, we need not enter into, for the Vindication of *Ehud*'s Fact. It is the Obſervation of the learned (*m*) *Grotius*, that the Authority of the King of *Moab* was never legitimiz'd by any Convention of the *Iſraelites*, and, conſequently, that they were at Liberty to ſhake off his Yoke, whenever they found a convenient Oppportunity. The only Difficulty is, (*n*) whether a *private* Man might make himſelf an Inſtrument in effecting this, in the Manner that *Ehud* did? But to this it is reply'd, that *Ehud* was no *private* Man, but acted by a Warrant and Authority from God: And, to this Purpoſe, the Hiſtory acquaints us, that (*o*) *when* Ehud *had made an End of offering the Preſent*, which the *Iſraelites* ſent to *Eglon*, he was upon his Return home, and *had gone as far as the Quarries, which were by* Gilgal. The Word *Peſil*, which is here render'd *Quarries*, moſt commonly ſignifies (as indeed it is in the Marginal Note, as well as the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*) *graven Images*, which it is not improbable the *Moabites* had ſet up in this Place, rather than any other, in pure Contempt of the God of *Iſrael*, who had for ſo long a Time made *Gilgal* famous by his Preſence in the Tabernacle, while it ſtood there.

THESE *Images* when *Ehud* beheld, his (*p*) Spirit was ſtirred with a juſt Indignation within him; and therefore, proceeding no farther in his Journey Home, he diſmiſs'd his Attendants, and went himſelf back, with a Reſolution to revenge this Affront to God, as well as the Oppreſſion of his People.

THAT this his Return was directed by a divine Impulſe and Inſtigation, is evident, I think, from the Hazard of the Enterprize he was going upon, and the many favourable

(*k*) Matth. vii. 22. (*l*) Iſa. x. 7. (*m*) De Jure Belli & Pacis, lib. i. c. 4. §. 19. (*n*) *Saurin's* Diſſert. ſur *Heglon* tué par *Ehud*. (*o*) Judg. iii. 11, &c. (*p*) *Patrick's* Commentary.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chrift. 1415, &c.

favourable Occaſions that accompany'd the Execution of it. For, how could any Man in his Senſes think that a ſingle Perſon, as he was, ſhould ever be able to compaſs the Death of a King, amidſt the Circle of his Guards and Attendants? How could he expect that an Enemy, as he was, ſhould be admitted to a private Audience? or that, if he ſhould prove ſo lucky, the King ſhould be ſo far infatuated, as to order all the Company to quit the Room? The killing the King muſt have been a great Difficulty under theſe Circumſtances; but then, his making his Eſcape, had all the Signs of an Impoſſibility in it: And yet, without his eſcaping, the Deſign of delivering his Country muſt have been abortive. Upon the whole therefore it appears, that nothing, but a divine Inſtinct, could have given him Courage to ſet about the Thing; and therefore it was not all Fallacy, when he told *Eglon*, that *he had a Meſſage from God unto him*, becauſe God had ſent, and commiſſion'd him to kill him: So that, what he did in this Caſe, he did not of himſelf, or from his own mere Motion, but by Virtue of an Order, which he had receiv'd from God, who had deſtinated this *Oppreſſor* of his People to this *untimely* Kind of Death.

THIS ſeems to be the only Way, whereby we can apologize for *Ehud*, in a Fact, *which by* no Means is to be made a Precedent, and, without a divine Warrant, is in no Caſe to be juſtify'd. But, as for the Holy Scriptures, wherein this Action is related *ſimply*, and without either Diſlike or Approbation, why ſhould they ſuffer in our Eſteem upon that Account, any more than *Livy*, *Thucydides*, or any other *Heathen* Author, for recording the various Tranſactions (and ſome of them full as baſe and barbarous as this) that happen'd in the Ages whereof they treat?

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IT is a Miſtake to think, that every Perſon, whom the Scripture mentions, nay, whom the Scripture commends in ſome Reſpects, ſhould, in all others, be faultleſs and unblameable; and it would be a much greater Imputation upon the Truth and Authority of theſe ſacred Records, if the *People of God* were all made *Saints*, and no black Actions recorded of them; ſince it is the receiv'd Character of a good Hiſtorian, *that, as he ſhould not dare to relate any Thing that is* falſe, *ſo neither ſhould he conceal any Thing that is* true.

And Jael's *Murther of* Siſera *conſider'd.*

THERE is ſomething peculiar in relation to the Fact of *Jael*, and that is the Words of the *Propheteſs*, in her triumphant Song: (q) *Bleſſed above Women ſhall* Jael, *the Wife of* Heber, *the* Kenite, *be*; *bleſſed ſhall ſhe be above Women in the Tent*; which ſome look upon as a Commendation of *Jael*, and conſequently, an Approbation of the Murther of *Siſera*: (r) But *Deborah* herein might only propheſy, how, and in what Manner, the *Iſraelites* would be affected towards that Woman, by whoſe Means (tho' perhaps not in the moſt *commendable* Way) they had been deliver'd from a very dangerous Enemy.

'TIS natural for us, when at any Time we are reſcu'd from an Adverſary, by whom we have ſuffer'd much, and have Reaſon to dread more; 'tis natural, I ſay, for us to wiſh well to the Perſon, by whoſe Means he was taken off; nor are we apt to conſider the Action according to the Meaſure of ſtrict Virtue, by reaſon of the Benefit, which accrues to us thereby. *Deborah* might therefore mean no more, than what were the common Notions of Mankind in a Caſe of this Nature. But, even † admitting her Words to be a Commendation of the Fact, we might, very likely, perceive ſeveral Reaſons for it,

(q) Judg. v. 24. (r) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† One of our Annotators has another Way of accounting for the Commendation, which is given to *Jael* in *Deborah*'s Song, and that is by giving up the Divine Inſpiration of it. "It is not to be deny'd, *ſays he*, but that there "are ſome Words, Paſſages, and Diſcourſes recorded in Scripture, which are not divinely inſpir'd, becauſe ſome of "them were utter'd by the *Devil*, and others by the holy Men of God, but miſtaken: Such is the Diſcourſe of "*Nathan*

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

it, if we had but a Knowledge of ſome Circumſtances, which we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, tho' the Scripture has not related them to us.

IT is certain, that the *Kenites* deſcended from *Hobab*, the Son of *Jethro*, Father-in-law to *Moſes*, were (*s*) at firſt invited to go with the *Iſraelites* into the Land of *Canaan*, and were all along kindly treated by them. They indeed had no Share in the Diviſion of the Land, nor were they permitted to dwell in their Cities; yet they had the free Uſe of their Country, and were allow'd to pitch their Tents (as their Manner of Life was) wherever they thought fit for the Convenience of their Cattle, tho' generally they choſe to continue in the Tribe of *Judah*. By this Means a ſtrict Friendſhip interfer'd, and a firm Alliance was always ſubſiſting between the *Iſraelites* and theſe People; whereas, between the *Kenites* and *Jabin*, there was no more than a bare Ceſſation of Hoſtilities, and tho' *Heber* and they continu'd *neutral* in this War, yet it was not without wiſhing well to their ancient Friends, the *Iſraelites*, among whom they liv'd.

Now it is a receiv'd *Maxim* among all *Civilians*, that where two Compacts ſtand in Competition, and cannot be both obſerv'd, the *ſtronger* ſhould always have the Preference. An Agreement, for Inſtance, ſays *Puffendorf* (*t*), that is made with an Oath, ſhould always ſuperſede that which is made without one. 'Tis but ſuppoſing then, that the two depending Treaties were of theſe different Kinds, and this will be a Circumſtance in Favour of *Jael*; but then if we may ſuppoſe farther, that *Jabin* was a grievous Tyrant, and *Siſera* the chief Inſtrument of his Tyranny; this (*u*) (according to the Opinion of ſome) will ſupply us with a full Apology for what ſhe did. "For there are certain Monſters in "Nature, *ſay they*, in whoſe Deſtruction "all Civil *Society* is concern'd. To do "any Thing to preſerve them, nay, to "ſlip a proper Opportunity of ridding the "World of them, (whatever Terms we "happen to be under with them) is to be "falſe to what we owe to the whole *Com-*"*munity*, under the Pretence of *Fidelity* "to a baſe *Ally*. When Matters are come "to ſuch an Extremity, that we muſt "fight with Men, as we do with wild "Beaſts, Fallacy of any Kind (which "at other Times is juſtly deteſted) may, "in ſome Meaſure, be then excus'd; "nor have they, who in their Dealings "with others, are regardleſs of all Laws, "both *human* and *divine*, any Reaſon to "complain, if, upon ſome Occaſions, "they meet with a Retaliation."

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JAEL, when ſhe took the *Hammer* and *Nail* in her Hand, might have this perhaps, and much more to ſay in her own Vindication: But what abſolves her moſt effectually with us, is, the Declaration, which *God* had made in Favour of the *Iſraelites*, by the wonderful Defeat of *Jabin*'s Army, and the Direction and Impulſe, wherewith he excited her to diſpatch his vanquiſh'd *General*. (*x*) Had ſhe been left to herſelf, ſhe would have been contented (one would think) to have let him laid ſtill, until *Barak*, who was

"*Nathan* to *David* (2 Sam. vii. 3.) which God preſently contradicted (Ver. 4, 5, &c.) and ſeveral Diſcourſes in *Job*, "which God himſelf declares to be unſound; *ye have not ſpoken of me the Thing that is right, as my Servant* Job *hath*, "Job xlii. 7. This being ſo, *continues he*, the worſt, that any malicious Man can infer from this Place, is, ——— "That this Song, tho' indited by a good Man, or Woman, was not *divinely* inſpir'd, but only compos'd by a "Perſon piouſly minded, and tranſported with Joy, for the Deliverance of God's People, but ſubject to Miſtake: "who therefore, out of Zeal to commend the happy Inſtrument of ſo great a Deliverance, might eaſily overlook "the *Indirectneſs* of the Means, by which it was accompliſh'd, and commended that, which ſhould have been "diſlik'd. If it be urg'd that the Song was compos'd by *Deborah*, a *Propheteſs*, and muſt conſequently be divinely "inſpir'd, the Anſwer is, 1ſt, That it is not certain what Kind of Propheteſs *Deborah* was, whether *extraordinary*, "and infallible, or *ordinary*, and ſo liable to Miſtake. But, 2dly, that every Expreſſion, even of a true and extraordinary Prophet, was not divinely inſpir'd, as is evident from *Nathan*'s Miſtake above-mention'd, and from *Samuel*'s "Error concerning *Eliab*, whom (for his outward Stature and Comelineſs) he took *to be the Lord*'s Anointed." 1 Sam. xvi. 6. *Pool*'s Annotations.

(*s*) Numb. x. 29. (*t*) De Jure Nat. & Gent. lib. iv. c. 2. (*u*) Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Saurin*'s Diſſert. ſur la Defaite de *Jabin*. (*x*) Scripture Vindicated, Part III.

A. M. 2701, &c. Ant. Christ. 1443, &c.

in Purſuit of him, had come up, and ſurpriz'd him. To fall upon him herſelf was an Enterprize exceedingly bold and hazardous, and above the Courage of her Sex; and therefore we may conclude, that if it was God, who inſpir'd her with this extraordinary Reſolution, ſhe was not to be blam'd (notwithſtanding the *Peace* between *Jabin* and her Family) for being *obedient to the heavenly* Impulſe; becauſe all Obligations to Man muſt neceſſarily ceaſe, when brought in Competition with our higher Obligations towards God.

Barak's Faith clear'd.

WHOEVER looks into the Catalogue of the Worthies, whom the Author to the *Hebrews* enumerates, will ſoon perceive, that, as he is far from being exact in the Order, wherein he places them, ſo; by the *Faith*, for which he commends them, he means no more, than a Belief of what God told them, and ready Obedience to his Commands, whenever they were ſignify'd to them by a proper Authority. *Deborah* was, at this Time, a very remarkable Woman, famous for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and Determination of Controverſies among the People; but, notwithſtanding this, it would have been Raſhneſs in *Barak*, to have gone upon ſo hazardous an Undertaking without any farther Aſſurance than this. He did not abſolutely refuſe to go, nay, he offer'd to go upon the firſt Notice, and for this his Faith is commended in Scripture; but then he was minded to have ſome farther Conviction, that this Notice was from God, and of this he could not have a better Proof, than if the *Propheteſs* herſelf would go, and ſhare with him the Fate of the Battle.

THE Enemy was as formidable an one, as ever the *Iſraelites* had to encounter. *Nine hundred Chariots of Iron*, when, (*y*) in Times of greater military Preparation, *Mithridates* had but *one* hundred, and *Darius* no more than *two* hundred in their Armies, was enough to inject Terror into any *Commander*, whoſe Forces conſiſted all of Foot, and had no proper Defence againſt theſe deſtructive Engines. Good Reaſon had he therefore to apprehend, that the People would not ſo readily have inliſted themſelves into the publick Service, had there not been a Perſon of her Character to appear at the Head of it. She was a *Propheteſs*, and had receiv'd frequent Revelations from God; and therefore, when the People ſaw her perſonally engag'd in it, they would be the apter to be perſuaded, that the Expedition was by God's Appointment, and therefore, without all Peradventure, would be attended with Succeſs. And as *Deborah*'s joining with *Barak* in the Expedition, might be thought a good Expedient to raiſe a ſufficient Number of Forces; ſo might it equally be thought a Means effectual, both to prevent their Deſertion, and to animate them to the Fight: And accordingly (*z*) *Joſephus* tells us, "That, when the two "Armies lay encamp'd, one within the "Sight of the other, the *Iſraelites* were "ſtruck with ſuch a Terror at the infinite "Odds of the Enemy in Numbers, that "both *General* and Soldiers were once "upon the very Point of ſhifting for "themſelves, without ſo much as ſtriking "a Blow; but upon *Deborah*'s Aſſurance, "that it was the Cauſe of God, and that "he himſelf would aſſiſt, and bring them "off, they were prevail'd upon to ſtand "the Shock of the Battle."

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

BUT there is one Advantage more, which *Barak* might more eſpecially promiſe to himſelf in having *Deborah*'s Company in this Expedition, and that is, that he might not want an Oracle to reſort to upon any Emergency, that might happen; becauſe he was perſuaded, that God, who, by her *Means*, had put his People upon this Enterprize, would not fail, by her *Mouth*, to direct him in the Management of it. And, accordingly, in the grand Point of all, *viz. when it was the propereſt Time to engage the Enemy*, we find the Benefit, which he receiv'd from her Company and Converſation: (*a*) *Up*, ſays ſhe; *for*

(*y*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*z*) Antiq. lib. v. c. 6. (*a*) Judges iv. 14.

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for this is the Day, in which the Lord has delivered Siſera *into thy Hand. Is not the Lord gone out before thee? So* Barak *went down from Mount* Tabor, *and ten Thouſand Men after him, and the Lord diſcomfited* Siſera, *and all his Chariots, and all his Hoſt, with the Edge of the Sword.*

Gideon's *Faith aſſerted.*

THE Faith of thoſe Perſons, whoſe Actions are recorded in the *Old Teſtament*, and *Fame* commemorated in the *New*, conſiſted (as we ſaid) in a firm Belief of God's Declarations, and a ready Obedience to his Commands; and how can we account *Gideon* culpable in either of theſe Reſpects? When the Angel of the Lord (or a Perſon much ſuperior, as ſome ſuppoſe) appear'd to him, and brought him the News of God's having appointed him to deliver his People from the Oppreſſion of the *Midianites*, he ſeems indeed at firſt to be willing to decline the Office, as conſcious of his own Incapacity; but deſires withal to have ſome Conviction given him, (as who, upon the like Occaſion, would not have deſir'd ſome?) that the Meſſenger came from Heaven, and was in Reality no *Impoſtor*; but when once he was ſatisfy'd in this, he never pretended to diſpute the divine Command.

HE knew very well, that, when he pulled down the Altar and Grove of *Baal*, he muſt neceſſarily incenſe the whole Country againſt him, and run the Hazard of his own Life; and yet, to do it more effectually, he took to his Aid ten of his Father's Servants, and, that he might meet with no Moleſtation, did it in the Night. He knew very well, that when he *ſounded a Trumpet* in order to form an Inſurrection in the Country, and to raiſe ſome Forces to aſſert his Nation's Liberty, the *Midianites* would interpret this as an open Declaration of War, and come againſt him with an Army, as numerous as the *Sand on the Sea-ſhore* for Multitude; but this he matter'd not. He knew, that two and thirty thouſand Men, when he had rais'd them, were but a Handful, in Compariſon of the Enemy; and yet, to ſee two and twenty thouſand of theſe deſert him all at *once*, and of the ten thouſand, that remain'd, no more left at *laſt* than bare three hundred; this was enough to ſtagger any one's Mind, that had not a firm Reliance on the Word, and Promiſes of God. He knew, that three hundred Men, had they been all *Giants*, and arm'd *Cap-a-pee* with Coats of *Mail*, would not be able to do any great Execution againſt ſo numerous a Foe; but when he found, that, inſtead of being arm'd, he was to attack the Enemy *naked*, and, inſtead of Swords and Spears, (as uſual) his Soldiers were to march in ſuch a Plight, as was never ſeen before, with every one a Light, a Pitcher, and a Trumpet in his Hand; and, when they came up with their Enemy, were to break their Pitchers, flouriſh their Lights, ſound their Trumpets, and, inſtead of regular fighting, were only to ſhout and roar, like ſo many Men either *mad* or *drunk*; who but a *Gideon*, that had his Faith confirm'd by ſo many Viſions and Miracles before, would have obey'd, and put in Execution ſuch Orders, as muſt have been thought wild, and frantick, and abſurd, had they proceeded from any other Mouth but God's?

WELL therefore might he be allow'd to requeſt a Repetition, nay, a Multiplication of Miracles, who was to have the Trial of his Faith and Obedience carry'd to ſuch an Extremity: But the Truth of the Matter is, that it was not for his own Sake, that he made this Requeſt. He had been ſufficiently convinc'd by the Fire's breaking out of the Rock at the Touch of the Rod in the Angel's Hand, that nothing was impoſſible to God, and that the Means, which he directed (how incongruous ſoever they might appear to Men) would certainly not fail of their Effect: But it was for the Sake of his *Allies*, that had juſt now join'd him in this Expedition, that he ſent up his Petition to God, to have them likewiſe ſatisfy'd; and therefore we may obſerve, that when all the *Quota*'s were come up, and encamp'd together,

A. M. 2261, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

then (very likely in the Audience of the whole Army) he requeſted of God, (*b*) *and ſaid, if thou wilt ſave* Iſrael *by my Hand, as thou haſt ſaid, behold I will put a Fleece of Wool in the Floor*, &c. It was for their Sakes, I ſay, that the Miracles were wrought, that they, who were to ſhare in ſo hazardous a War, and *to deſtroy the Armies of the Aliens* with ſo ſmall a Force, nay, with no Force at all, ſhould have ſome Aſſurance given them, that the God of *Iſrael*, who had ſo often promis'd their Fore-Fathers, that if they would continue in his Favour, (*c*) *one of them ſhould chaſe a Thouſand, and two of them put ten Thouſand to Flight*, was determin'd to aſſiſt them in this Enterprize.

His puniſhing the Gadites *vindicated.*

If ever this Promiſe was literally fulfilled, it was in this Defeat, which *Gideon* gave the *Midianites:* But the Inhabitants of *Succoth* and *Penuel*, it ſeems, made but a Jeſt and Ridicule of it, for which they receiv'd a condign Puniſhment; but of what Kind their Puniſhment was, *Commentators* are not ſo well agreed. (*d*) The Word in the *Hebrew* ſignifies *Threſhing*, and thence it is generally inferr'd, that *Gideon* caus'd the principal Men of *Succoth*, who had deny'd his Soldiers Proviſion in their Diſtreſs, to be ſtripp'd naked, laid flat on the Ground, † and a good Quantity of Thorns and Briars heaped on them; that ſo, by Cart-Wheels, or other heavy Carriages paſſing over them, their Fleſh might be pierc'd and torn, and themſelves tortur'd, if not quite cruſh'd to Death.

This was a Puniſhment, not much unlike what *David* inflicted on the *Ammonites*, after he had taken their City *Rabbah*; but the *Ammonites*, in my Opinion, did not ſo much deſerve it, as theſe: For thus ſtands the Caſe. *Gideon* was now in Purſuit of two Kings, who, after the general *Rout* of their Army, were making their Eſcape with a Party of five thouſand Men. Coming to two Places in the Tribe of *Gad*, who were *Iſraelites* as well as he, and equally concern'd to have been venturing their Lives for the publick Liberty, he is deny'd a ſmall Refreſhment for his Men fatigu'd all the Night with fighting for them, and, without ſome Recruit, in no Condition to continue their Purſuit: So that, as far as in them lay, inſtead of aſſiſting their gallant Country-Men, who had merited every Thing from their Hands, theſe *Gadites* took part with the Enemy, and did what they could to facilitate their Eſcape, by denying ſome Relief to their weary Purſuers. By the Right of War *Gideon* might have demanded this Help from any Nation, but much more from a People, who were embark'd in the ſame Cauſe, and whoſe Refuſal of ſo ſmall a Boon had the Aggravation of Perfidy and Ingratitude, as well as Hard-heartedneſs, to inflame its Guilt.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

Nor was this all. His Brethren, the *Gadites*, not only refus'd him this common Courteſy, but were very witty likewiſe, in making their Jeſts and *Sarcaſms* upon *Gideon*. They upbraided him with the Smallneſs of his Army, and magnify'd the Strength of his Enemies, and thereby, not only did all they could to diſcourage his Men in their Purſuit, but endeavour'd likewiſe to have it believ'd, that there was no Interpoſition of God in gaining this Victory, and that *Gideon* would never be able to accompliſh it: And ſo, to their other vile Qualities, they added Inſult and Irreligion; a Contempt of God, and a Diſparagement of the Man, *whom the Lord had made ſo ſtrong for himſelf*. And therefore it is not at all to be wonder'd at, that *Gideon*, under all this Exaſperation, ſhould chuſe to bring the two captive Kings (with whom they had upbraided him) in Triumph to theſe two Places, and then reſent the Affront, which was done to God, as well as himſelf, by making a ſevere Example of ſome of the chief Offenders.

His Ephod *explain'd.*

It is ſuggeſted indeed by ſome, that *Gideon* was as great an Offender as any in his making an *Ephod* for the Purpoſe of Idolatry; but before we admit of ſo raſh a Cenſure,

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(*b*) Judges vi. 37. (*c*) Deut. xxxii. 30. (*d*) *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† This was the Manner of threſhing their Corn in the *Eaſtern* Countries.

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a Cenſure, we ſhould enquire a little into the Nature of this *Ephod*, and for what poſſible Purpoſe it was at firſt made.

(*e*) AN *Ephod*, we know, is a common Veſtment belonging to Prieſts in general; but that of the High-Prieſt was of very great Value. This Veſtment however was not ſo peculiar to the Prieſts, but that ſometimes we find the Laity (as in the Caſe of *David* bringing Home the Ark of God) allow'd to wear it; and therefore ſome have imagin'd, that the *Ephod*, which *Gideon* made, was only a rich and coſtly *Robe of State*, which, on certain Occaſions, he might wear to denote the Station, he held in the *Jewiſh* Republick. But if his Intent was only to diſtinguiſh himſelf from others by ſuch a particular Veſtment, how this could give Occaſion to the People's falling into Idolatry, or any Way *become a Snare to* Gideon *and his Houſe*, we cannot conceive.

OTHERS therefore ſuppoſe, that the Word *Ephod* is a ſhort Expreſſion to denote the High-Prieſt's Breaſt-Plate, together with the *Urim* and *Thummim*; and hence, by an eaſy Figure, they are led to think, that *to make an Ephod* is to eſtabliſh a Prieſthood; and thereupon conclude, that *Gideon*'s Crime, in *making this Ephod*, was not to eſtabliſh Idolatry, but only to inſtitute another Prieſthood, beſides that, which God had appointed in *Aaron* and his Poſterity: And, to this Purpoſe, they ſuppoſe, that he erected a private Tabernacle, an Altar, a Mercy-Seat, with Cherubims, &c. that, being now made the ſupreme Governor, he might conſult God at his own Houſe, in ſuch difficult Points, as occurr'd in his Adminiſtration.

BUT, beſides that it is not eaſy to imagine, that a Man, familiar with God, and choſen by him, as *Gideon* was, ſhould after ſo ſignal a Victory as he had obtain'd, immediately *apoſtatize*, as he muſt have done, had he ſet up an Oracle in his own Houſe; there ſeems to have been no Manner of Neceſſity for it, becauſe *Shiloh* (where the Tabernacle ſtood) was in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, which adjoin'd to that of *Manaſſeh*, whereunto *Gideon* belong'd. (*f*) Nor ſhould it be forgotten, that this *Ephod* was (*g*) *ſet up in Ophrah*, which Place *Gideon* (*h*) quitted, as ſoon as he had reſign'd his publick Employ, and retiring to a Country-Houſe of his own in all Probability left this *Ephod* behind him: There is Reaſon therefore to believe, that the Deſign of ſetting it up, was merely to be a Monument of his remarkable Victory over the *Midianites*, in like Manner as other Conquerors had done before him; only, as the common Cuſtom was, to erect a Pillar, or hang up Trophies upon the like Occaſion, he choſe rather to make an *Ephod*, or Prieſt's Habit, (perhaps all of ſolid Gold) as a Token, that he aſcrib'd this Victory only to God, and triumph'd in nothing ſo much, as in the Reformation of the true Religion by that Means. This was an Action of no bad Intent in *Gideon*, tho', in After-Times, when the People began to return to *Idolatry*, and had this Fancy, among others, that God would anſwer them at *Ophrah*, where this *Ephod* was, as well as at his Tabernacle in *Shiloh*, it was perverted to a bad Purpoſe. But, as this Abuſe aroſe from the mad Caprice of the People, and not from any ill Intent in *Gideon*, he is no more chargeable therewith, than *Moſes* was with the idolatrous Worſhip, which the *Iſraelites*, in future Ages, paid to the *Brazen-Serpent*, which he, for very beneficial Purpoſes at firſt ſet up.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

IT is generally ſuppos'd, (*i*) that the ſacred Hiſtory has not furniſh'd us with a compleat Catalogue of the ſeveral *Judges*, that govern'd *Iſrael*, from the Death of *Joſhua* to the Reign of *Saul*; and that even of thoſe, whom it takes Notice of, it relates nothing, but what was moſt remarkable in their Lives and Actions: And yet, notwithſtanding this Conciſeneſs, it is far more exact and inſtructive, than the Hiſtory of *Joſephus*, to which (*k*) *Scaliger*

Joſephus's *Hiſtory cenſur'd.*

(*e*) *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries. *Pool*'s Annotations, &c. (*f*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*g*) Judg. viii. 27. (*h*) Ver. 29. (*i*) *Saurin*'s Diſſert. ſur *Heglon* tué par *Ehud*. (*k*) Proleg. de Emend. Temp.

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seems to give a Preference above all others. The Fault of *Josephus* (as any one may perceive it) is this:——That he omits the Account of several Miracles, which the holy Scripture relates, for fear that other Nations, to whom he writes, should think he gives too much into the *Marvellous*, tho', at the same Time, he makes no Scruple of sacrificing the Glory of God to his own private Character.

For this Reason it is, that (*l*) he says nothing of the Angel's touching with the End of his Rod the Sacrifice, which *Gideon* had prepar'd, and so causing Fire to flame out of the Rock, and consume it; nothing of the two *Signs*, which God was pleas'd to grant him, for the Confirmation of his and his Confederates Faith, exhibited in the Fleece's being at one Time wet, and, at another, dry; nothing, of his Zeal in demolishing the Altar and Grove of *Baal*, for which he drew upon himself the Indignation of all the Abettors of Idolatry; and here, in the Matter of *Shamgar*, he suppresses the Circumstances of his slaying an hundred *Philistines* with an *Ox-Goad*, tho' this be the only remarkable Action recorded of him, and what may, not improbably, be thus accounted for.

Shamgar's Valour with the Ox-goad.

In not many Ages after this, we read, that these very *Philistines*, with whom he had *here* to do, had disarm'd the *Israelites* to that Degree, that (*m*) none in their whole Army, when they came to Action, had either Sword or Spear, but only *Saul* and *Jonathan* his Son; nay, that they would not so much as suffer a Smith to live among them, for fear of their providing themselves with *military* Weapons, but oblig'd them to repair to them, whenever they wanted to sharpen, or repair their Instruments of Husbandry.

Now it must be allow'd, that the Scriptures say nothing of any such Reduction as this, in the Days of *Shamgar*: But if such was the Policy of the *Philistines* in the Beginning of *Saul's* Reign, why may we not suppose that it commenc'd some Time sooner? This certainly the Scripture tells us expressly, that, (*n*) *in the Days of* Shamgar, *the Highways were unoccupied, and the Inhabitants of Villages ceased*, by Reason of the *Philistines*, who came and plunder'd the Country, and carry'd off what Booty they pleas'd without Molestation; and therefore it is not unlikely, that, for Want of some regular Arms, (whereof the *Philistines* had stripp'd the *Israelites*) *Shamgar* might make himself a *Goad*, so well contriv'd, that with it he could kill any Man, without any Manner of Suspicion, that it was made for that Purpose, but only for common Use; that with this Instrument he usually went to plow; and when, at any Time, the *Philistines* made their Inroads into his Lands, he, with the Assistance of his Servants, (who perhaps were arm'd in the like Manner) fell upon them, and, at several Times, kill'd to the Number of six hundred of them in the Space of about twenty Years. This is a fair *Analysis* of the Sense of the Words; and where is the great Incongruity of this? Or what indeed is there in the whole, that an ordinary Master of a Family, with his *Domesticks* about him, might not do, even tho' we should not call in any supernatural Strength to his Assistance?

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

And Samson's, with the Ass's Jaw-Bone, accounted for.

There is more Reason however, why we should have recourse to the supernatural Aid of God, in *Samson's* slaying a thousand of these *Philistines*, at one Heat as it were, with no other Weapon, than the *Jaw-Bone of an Ass*. (*o*) For tho' Asses in *Syria* (as the Learned affirm) are both stronger, and larger, than what we have with us, and their Bones consequently better fitted for such hard Service as this; yet it must be own'd, that it was by the wonderful Strength, that God infus'd into him, and not any Aptitude of the *Instrument*, he made use of, that he was enabled to do all this Execution, which is only incredible to those, (*p*) that do not consider the Power

(*l*) Antiq. lib. v. c. 8. (*m*) 1 Sam. xiii. 20, &c. (*n*) Judg. v. 6, 7. (*o*) *Poole's* Annotations. (*p*) *Patrick's* Commentary.

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Power of God, who can raiſe our natural Strength to what Degree he pleaſes, and, at the ſame Time, infeeble the Spirits of thoſe, who oppoſe his Deſigns, in ſuch a Manner, that they ſhall have no Power to help themſelves.

IT muſt be own'd however, that there are ſome Circumſtances in this Tranſaction, which might poſſibly intimidate the *Philiſtines*, and thereby contribute to facilitate the Slaughter, which *Samſon* made among them. The People of *Judah* had now prevail'd with him to ſuffer himſelf to be bound, and conducted to the *Philiſtines* Camp: The *Philiſtines*, as ſoon as they ſaw him coming, ran out with Joy to receive him, and very likely forgot to take their Arms with them, as knowing for certainty, that he was ſafe enough now, and bound, as we ſay, to his good Behaviour. But when, contrary to their Expectation, they ſaw him firſt break the Cords ſo eaſily and ſuddenly, and then coming upon them with ſuch Fury and Vengeance, (*q*) 'tis not unlikely, that this might put them in no ſmall Confuſion, and, as they ſtraggled about in their Flight, give him the Opportunity of ſlaying them one by one, as he came up with them.

THIS, we muſt allow, is the higheſt Inſtance of perſonal *Proweſs*, that we any where read of; and yet *profane Hiſtorians* inform us of other Men, who, by their mere natural Courage, unaſſiſted by any divine Power, (as the Scripture informs us *Samſon* was) have made great Havock among their Enemies: For *Flavius Vopiſcus* reports, that in the *Sarmatick* War, *Aurelian* ſlew forty eight Men in one Day, and in ſeveral Days * 950, which diminiſhes the Wonder of this Atchievement of *Samſon*'s not a little; eſpecially conſidering, that the *Philiſtines*, in their Surprize, might think that this was all a Trick and Management of his *Conductors* to get ſo many unarmed Men into their Power, and that they too were ready to fall upon them, and aſſiſt him, in caſe they ſhould make any Oppoſition againſt their *Champion*.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

THAT *Samſon*, after ſo long a Fatigue, ſhould be almoſt ready to * die with Thirſt, is no ſtrange Thing at all; but the Queſtion is, how, in a Place where no Water was, he came to have his Thirſt allay'd? The *Hebrew* Word, *Mactes*, does properly ſignify the *Socket*, in which the great Teeth in the Jaw are faſten'd; and, from hence *Bochart*, among many others, endeavours to maintain by Arguments, that God made one of theſe Teeth drop out of the Jaw, wherewith *Samſon* had done all this Execution, and immediately a Stream of Water guſh'd out from thence: But, with all due Deference to the Learning of ſo great a Man, (*r*) 'tis ſomewhat ſtrange, that he ſhould not obſerve, (when he had this Paſſage under Conſideration) that ſuch a Miracle as this would be inconſiſtent with the Words which follow, (*s*) *wherefore he called the Name thereof*, i. e. of the Fountain of Water, which guſh'd out, *En-hakkor*, or *the Well of him that cried* to God, *which is in* Lehi *even unto this Day*. *Lehi* is here therefore the proper Name of a Place. This

The Water from the Jaw-Bone, how.

(*q*) *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* Upon this Occaſion the Boys made a Song, (not much unlike that, which *Samſon* made of himſelf, Judg. xv. 16.) which, after a military Manner, they ſhouted in their Dances. Mille, mille, mille, mille, mille, mille, decollavimus unus homo; Mille, mille, mille, mille, decollavimus; Mille, mille, mille: Vivat, qui mille, mille occidit: tantum vini habet nemo, quantum effudit Sanguinis. Vid. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* *Joſephus* gives us a ſtrange Account of the Reaſon of *Samſon*'s Thirſt, and what there is no Manner of Foundation for in the Scripture. "*Samſon* (*ſays he*) was ſo tranſported with the Thoughts of this Victory, that he had the "Vanity to aſſume the Honour of the Action to himſelf, without aſcribing the Glory of it to God's Power and Pro-"vidence, as he ought to have done: But while this arrogant and over-weening Humour was yet upon him, he found "himſelf ſeized with a violent parching Thirſt, which gave him to underſtand, that, after all his Succeſſes, he was "but Fleſh and Blood ſtill, and liable to human Infirmities. The Senſe of this Diſorder brought him to the Know-"ledge of himſelf, and to a penitent Confeſſion, that the Victory was God's, and that he was able to do nothing of "himſelf, without the Divine Aſſiſtance. He begg'd Pardon for his paſt Vanity and Preſumption. His Prayers "were not in vain; for immediately there guſh'd out of a Rock, that was hard by, a Stream of delicious Water to "relieve him in his raging Drought." Antiq. lib. v. c. 1.

(*r*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*s*) Judg. xv. 19.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

This Place had doubtleſs its Appellation from this Adventure of *Samſon*'s with the Jaw-Bone, and from this Place God caus'd a Spring to ariſe, that he might allay his Hero's Thirſt. For it is incongruous to think, that the Jaw of an Aſs, or any other Creature could have ſubſiſted to the Time, when the Author of this Book of *Judges* liv'd; or, (if, all this while, none ſhould have had the Curioſity to take away this wonderful Bone) that God ſhould, out of the Socket of one of its Teeth, cauſe a Stream of Water to flow, by one continual, uſeleſs Miracle.

IT muſt then be a Miſtake in our Verſion, to render the Words, *God clave an hollow Place, which was in the Jaw*, when (according to the * Senſe of the Antients upon this Place) they ſhould be tranſlated, *which was in* Lehi. For the Truth of the Matter is, that tho' this Jaw be long extinct and gone, yet thoſe, who have travell'd through this Part of *Paleſtine*, do inform us, that, in the Suburbs of *Eleutheropolis*, where *Lehi* very likely ſtood, the Fountain, which aroſe upon this Occaſion, is ſtill remaining, and called *the Fountain of the Jaw*, to this Day.

BUT be that as it will, whether the Water, which refreſh'd *Samſon* in this his Diſtreſs, came from the Jaw-Bone, or (as others think) from a Cliff in a Rock, or an Hollow in the Earth, the Miracle is the ſame, tho' it may not be improper (whenever we can by an eaſier Interpretation) to take away Occaſion from thoſe that ſeek Occaſion to diſparage the Oracles of God.

Samſon *in all Points not to be vindicated.*

WE are not however concern'd to vindicate *Samſon* in all his extravagant and outragious Actions; ſuch as his marrying an Idolatreſs, and then leaving her; his loving lewd Women, and diſcovering the great *Secret*, whereon his *All* depended, to a common *Proſtitute*; his killing ſome, and maiming others, who perhaps had never done him any perſonal Injury; and ſetting the whole Country on Fire, to burn their Corn-Fields and Vineyards, with many other Things, that might be alledg'd againſt him. All that we have to ſay is, that God rais'd him up to be a *Scourge* to the *Philiſtines*, and that, had there not been ſome *Peculiarities* in his Temper, he had not been ſo proper an Inſtrument in his Hand; or that had he not run himſelf ſo often into *Præmunires*, he would not have had ſo frequent Occaſion to employ the Strength, which God had given him, in extricating himſelf from thence by the Death and Deſtruction of his Enemies. Tho' therefore there was no *Fatality* in making him of this unruly Diſpoſition, (for that he contracted himſelf) yet there was a wiſe Direction of God's Providence in making his rugged Temper ſubſervient to his Purpoſes, and even out of his Faults and Enormities, extracting the Plagues and Puniſhment of his Foes; for (*t*) *ſurely the Wrath of Man ſhall praiſe thee*, ſays the *Pſalmiſt*, and *the Remainder of his Wrath ſhalt thou reſtrain.* This we may lay down, as a general Reaſon for God's making uſe of ſo furious an Inſtrument as *Samſon* was, in the Execution of his Will: And now let us examine a little into the other Inconſiſtencies, which ſome pretend to eſpy in the Sequel of this Story.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

Samſon's *Foxes accounted for.*

A CERTAIN *anonymous* Author, † in a Diſſertation upon *Samſon*'s *Foxes*, has ſolv'd

* To this Purpoſe we may obſerve, that the *Seventy Interpreters*, the *Chaldee Paraphraſt*, and *Joſephus* in his Hiſtory, make it to be a proper Name of a Place, whence the Waters guſh'd out. The Words in the *Septuagint* are Καὶ ἔρρηξεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἐν Σιαγόνι, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὕδωρ, *God clave an hollow Place* in the Ground, which was afterwards called *Lehi*, or *Siagon*, and out of it iſſu'd Water. *Joſephus* is quoted before, only he had theſe Words farther, Ὅθεν ὁ Σαμψὼν ἐκάλει τὸ χαρίον, Σαγόνα, *which Rock*, (ſays our Tranſlator of *Joſephus*) *from the Exploit of* Samſon, *bears the Name of a* Jaw, *unto this very Day.* And the Words of the *Paraphraſt* are directly to the ſame Purpoſe: So that it is much to be wonder'd at, how ſo learned and acute a Man as *Bochart*, ſhould overlook theſe Sentiments of the Antients. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

(*t*) Pſal. lxxvi. 10.

† Mr *Bernard*, in his *Repub. des Lettres*, *Oct.* 1707. Pag. 407. makes mention of a ſmall Treatiſe in 12mo, intituled, *Diſſertation ſur l'Aneſſe de* Balaam, *les Renards de* Samſon, *la Machoire d'* âne, &c. from whom I have extracted the Author's Sentiment, as Mr *Bernard* has repreſented it, but could, by no Means, meet with the Book itſelf, and cannot therefore properly enter into an Examination of the Author's Opinion: However, I thought convenient to make mention of it, becauſe there ſeems to be ſomething ingenious, as well as ſingular in it.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

ſolv'd the whole Difficulty of that Piece of Hiſtory, if we will but admit of his Suppoſitions. He ſuppoſes, that the Word *Schualim*, which we render *Foxes*, ſhould, with a little Variation, be written *Schoalim*, which denotes *Sheaves*, or rather *Shocks of Corn*; and that the Word *Zanab*, which, in our Tranſlation, is a *Tail*, equally ſignifies the *extream*, or *outermoſt Part* of any Thing. Thus, in an Orchard planted in the Form of a *Quincunx*, the farthermoſt Tree is called *Zanab*; and, in like Manner, the *extream* or *outſide* Shocks in a Field may be *ſo* called here; and then the Senſe of the Words will be, "That "*Samſon*, at different Places, ſet fire to "three hundred Shocks of Corn, which "ſtood in the Out-Parts of the Fields, "belonging to the *Philiſtines*, and ſo, by "the Fire's ſpreading from Shock to "Shock, deſtroy'd, in a Manner, all their "Crop."

BUT without entertaining any novel Interpretation, and which upon Examination perhaps will hardly bear the Teſt, we may adventure to ſay, that theſe three hundred Foxes, which *Samſon* is ſaid to have caught, are not, even in a *literal* Senſe, ſo incredible a Thing, nor ſo liable to Ridicule, as ſome may imagine. For we are to conſider, (as the learned (*u*) *Bochart*, from the Account of ſeveral Travellers, evinces) that the whole Country, eſpecially that Part of it, which belong'd to the Tribe of *Gad*, ſo abounded with Foxes, that from them (*x*) ſeveral Places took their Names: That, under the Name of Foxes, may not improperly be comprehended a Creature, very much like them, called *Thoës*, which go in ſuch Herds, that two hundred of them have been ſeen together at once; that the Manner of catching them was not (as we may imagine) by hunting only, but by Snares and Nets, as the abovemention'd Author plainly demonſtrates; and that *Samſon* did not do this alone by himſelf, in a Day and Night's Time, but that, being aſſiſted by his Servants and Neighbours, (as he was a Man of conſiderable Eminence in his Country) he might poſſibly be ſome Weeks in accompliſhing his Deſign.

HIS Deſign however will not appear ſo *romantick*, if we conſider what *Collections* have been made of Creatures, much wilder, and rarer, than Foxes; that (*y*) *Lucius Sylla*, when he was *Prætor*, order'd to be ſhewn, on the Amphitheatre, an hundred Lions; *Julius Cæſar*, when he was *Dictator*, four hundred; and that (*z*) the Emperor *Probus*, at one Spectacle, exhibited a thouſand Oſtriches, a thouſand Stags, an hundred *Lybian*, and a hundred *Syrian* Leopards, and an infinite Number of other ſtrange Creatures: And why then ſhould it be thought to be a Thing ſo incredible, as to need the Intervention of a Miracle (as ſome contend) for *Samſon*, with the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, who might be let into his Deſign, to get together, in ſome Time, three hundred *Foxes*, in a Country, that every where abounded with them?

FOXES, (we are none of us ignorant) are very apt to do a great deal of Miſchief, wherever they *abound*, and (*a*) therefore *Samſon* might have this farther Aim in collecting ſo many, *viz.* that thereby he might clear his own Country of ſuch noxious Animals, and at the ſame Time, that he very well knew, no Creature could be more convenient for his Purpoſe of annoying, and detrimenting his Enemies. For, as theſe Creatures are very ſwift of Foot, and have a natural Dread of Fire, they could not well fail (when once they were turn'd into it) of ſetting the ſtanding Corn in a Blaze, and then, as they were ty'd in Couples, Tail to Tail, *this* would make them draw one againſt the other, and ſo being retarded in their Flight, and ſtaying longer in a Place, they would give the Fire more Time to ſpread itſelf, and make a Conflagration univerſal.

UPON the whole therefore we may conclude, that the muſtering up ſuch a

(*u*) *Hieroz.* i. 3. c. 10. (*x*) Judg. i. 35. (*y*) *Pliny*, lib. viii. c. 16. (*z*) Apud Vopiſ. in Probo. (*a*) *Calmet*'s Commentary in Judg. xxv.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Christ. 1443, &c.

Number of *Foxes*, in order to burn up the *Philistines* Corn, was neither a foolish nor impracticable Thing, supposing *Samson* was at Liberty to prosecute his Revenge in this Manner. But for his Righteousness in this, and many of his other Proceedings we are (as we said before) no ways accountable, unless his being consider'd as a *Chief* among the *Israelites* (whom God had rais'd up to annoy the *Philistines*, and in such Methods as this, rather than *open War*, to weaken them by his personal Valour and Strength) may be admitted in Justification of what he did. But to proceed.

Wherein lay Samson's great Strength.

(*b*) WHETHER *Samson*'s Hair was the *physical*, or only *moral* Cause of his Strength, needs not, I think, be made any Question. For, tho' Plenty of Hair may be some Indication of bodily Strength, yet since he, that is naturally strong, becomes not less *so*, by having his Hair cut off, (tho' this was certainly the Case of *Samson*) it must necessarily follow, that his Hair was no *natural* Cause of his Strength, but that it was a supernatural and miraculous Gift, not (*c*) perhaps always inherent in him, but only dispens'd at certain Times, when the *Spirit of God came upon him*. (*d*) It depended indeed on the Covenant made between God and him, the Sign of which Covenant was his *Hair*; and therefore when, in Compliance to his Harlot, he suffer'd his Hair to be cut off, he broke the Covenant with God, and forfeiting the *Spirit* of Strength and Courage, was left to his own natural Weakness, and so became an easy Prey to his Enemies. But having been now a considerable Time in Prison, wherein he was cruelly us'd, he began to repent (no doubt) of his Folly; and therefore making fervent Supplications to God for Pardon of the Violation of his *Nazaritism*, he renew'd his Vow, and so, being restor'd to the Condition he was in before he lost the Favour of God, his Strength began to grow and increase, in Proportion as his Hair did.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

WHEN his Hair was thus grown, and his Strength return'd, it is made a Question, whether the *House*, (as it is called in Scripture) which he pulled down, was the Temple of *Dagon*, for whose Honour this *Festival* was appointed, or some other Edifice?

THAT it was not a common House, is evident from the Multitude of the People, which it contain'd; and tho' the Temples of the *Philistines* are suppos'd (*e*) by some to have been of the same Figure and Make, with those in *Egypt*, i. e. a Kind of a *Rotunda*, flat-roof'd, with a large Portico without, and Pillars within to sustain the Building; yet this seems to be no more than a Fiction, devoid of all Authority, and accommodated to the Purpose of solving this Difficulty. 'Tis not certain, that the *Egyptian* Temples were built in this Manner, and much more probable it is, that this *House* of their famous God *Dagon* was made of Stone; and tho' it wanted no proper Supports, yet it is scarce supposable, that in a Structure of this Kind its whole Weight should be supported by two Pillars only, and these so very contiguous, that *Samson* could lay hold on them both at one Time.

The Form of the House, which Samson pull'd down.

THE most general Opinion therefore is, that this was a Structure, which the *Philistines* made use of, (upon such Occasions as this) built all of Wood, and supported by wooden Pillars, in the Form of the *Theatres*, which, in After-Times, were in great Request among the *Romans*. Towards the Middle of this Building, we may suppose that there were two large Beams, upon which the Weight of the whole Structure lay; and that these Beams were supported by two Pillars, which stood in a Manner contiguous to each other. So that, as soon as *Samson* had mov'd and unsettled *these*, down must the *Principals*, and, with them, the whole Building, come. The only remaining Difficulty is, how a Building, made of Wood, and supported by two Pillars only, should be able

(*b*) *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Samson*. (*c*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*d*) *Collier*'s Introduction. (*e*) *Calmet*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

able to contain ſuch a Multitude of Men and Women? But whoever reads * *Pliny's Natural Hiſtory*, will therein find a Deſcription of two *Theatres*, built by *Curio*, capable of containing a much greater Number of People, than the *Philiſtines* are here ſaid to be, and yet (what was a Wonder much greater, than the two Pillars here) whenever they were turn'd round, (as they frequently were) to meet and make one *Amphitheatre*, they both reſted upon one *Hinge* only, which, had it happen'd to ſlip, muſt have occaſion'd (as our Author tells us) a much greater Slaughter, than what was at the Battle of *Cannæ*; as, by the actual Fall of an Amphitheatre, built by *Atilius*, no fewer than fifty Thouſand Perſons (as * *Tacitus* relates the Story) were kill'd, wounded, and maim'd: Which is enough, one would think, to ſilence the Cavils of thoſe, who are apt to fancy that a Building of ſuch a Capacity could not be ſo contriv'd, as to rely only on two *Supporters*.

Other Exceptions concerning Samſon.

AND indeed all the other Exceptions, which are uſually made to *Samſon's* Character and Conduct, are, in Effect, no more, than mere *Cavils*, which ariſe, in a great Meaſure, from an Unacquaintedneſs with the *Idiom* of the *Hebrew* Tongue. For as, when in *Jotham's* Parable, *Wine* is ſaid *(f) to cheer both God and Man*; the Words *Elohim*, and *Anaſhim*, may ſignify as well *high* and *low*, *Princes* and *Peaſants*, i. e. all Conditions of Men do find themſelves cheer'd and refreſh'd with Wine; ſo, when it is ſaid, that (*g*) *the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon Samſon*, we are not to underſtand thereby, that he had any *Grace* extraordinary, or ſanctifying Influences of the bleſſed Spirit communicated to him, but only, that he was endu'd with wonderful Courage and Fortitude, an undaunted Mind, and a *ſupernatural* Strength of the Body at ſuch and ſuch Times, which enabled him to do *great Acts*, but made no Alteration in his *Manners*. And, in like Manner, when he is ſaid to (*h*) have *judged Iſrael twenty Years*, we need not infer, that he was the ſupreme *Magiſtrate* in the *Republick*, (for that very probably was *Eli*) but only, that he was the *chief* Man of War, whoſe Valour was renown'd, and who did many great and ſignal Exploits, in order to reſcue his Countrymen from the Oppreſſion of their Enemies, and to reſtore them to their former Liberty. I ſay, *in order to* this, for he did not *perfect* their Deliverance; only, by the ſeveral Defeats which he gave them, and the great Damages he did them, he infus'd into the *Iſraelites* ſuch a Spirit and Reſolution, that, not many Years after, they took up Arms, and appearing in the Field againſt them, defeated, and ſubdu'd them; ſo that, in all the Days of *Samuel*, we hear of no farther Moleſtation from that *Quarter*.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

Why the Judges did not aboliſh Idolatry.

THE Scripture however furniſhes us with a Reaſon why *Idolatry* was not aboliſh'd, and a thorough *Reformation* of Religion eſtabliſh'd, during this Period: For

* The Words of *Pliny*, upon this Occaſion, are ſo very remarkable, that I thought it not improper to quote them. "Theatra duo juxta fecit ampliſſimâ è ligno, Cardinum ſingulorum verſatili ſuſpenſa Libramento; in quibus utriſque "Antemeridiano Ludorum Spectaculo edito inter ſeſe averſis, ne invicem obſtreperent Scenæ; & repentè circumactis, "ut contra ſtarent; poſtremo jam die, diſcendentibus Tabulis, & cornibus inter ſe cocuntibus, faciebat Amphithea-"trum, & Gladiatorum Spectacula edebat, ipſum magis auctoratum populum Romanum circumferens. Quid enim "miretur quiſque in hoc primum? Inventorem, an Inventum? Artificem, an Auctorem? Auſum aliquem hoc excogitare, an ſuſcipere? parere, an jubere? Super omnia erat populi furor, ſedere auſi tum infidâ inſtabilique Sede—— "perituri momento aliquo, laxatis Machinis. Lib. xxxvi. c. 15.

* The Fall of this Amphitheatre *Tacitus* relates in theſe Words: "M. Licinio, L. Calpurnio Coſſ. ingentium "Bellorum Cladem æquavit malum improviſum. Ejus Initium ſimul & Finis exſtitit. Nam, cœpto apud Fidenas "Amphitheatro, Atilius, quidam libertini generis, quo ſpectaculum Gladiatorum celebraret, neque Fundamenta per "ſolidum ſubdidit, neque firmis nexibus Ligneam compagem ſuperſtruxit, ut qui non abundantiâ Pecuniæ, nec mu-"nicipali ambitione, ſed in ſordidâ mercede id negotium quæſiviſſet. Adfluxere avidi talium, Imperitante Tiberio, "procul Voluptatibus habiti, virilis & muliebris ſexûs omnis Ætas, ob propinquitatem loci effuſiùs, unde gravior "peſtis fuit, confertâ mole, dein convulsâ, dum ruit intus, atque in exteriora effunditur, immenſamque vim mor-"talium, ſpectaculo intentos, aut qui circum adſtabant, in præceps trahit, atque operit—— Quinquaginta ho-minum millia eo Caſu debilitata, vel obruta ſunt." Annal. lib. vi. c. 62.

(*f*) Jud. ix. 13. (*g*) Ibid. xiv. 6. (*h*) Ibid. xvi. 31.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Christ. 1443, &c.

For it tells us, that (*i*) *in those Days*, viz. between the Death of *Joshua*, and the first Institution of the *Judges*, *there was no King* i. e. no chief Ruler or Magistrate (for the *regal* Authority did not as yet begin) in *Israel*, *but every one did that which was right in his own Eyes*; so that considering the natural Propensity of the People to Idolatry, and the Want of a supreme Power lodg'd in some one's Hand to controul them, we need not wonder, that, before the Institution of *Judges*, they fell into the like Practices, with the Nations among whom they liv'd.

THE *Judges* indeed were invested with Authority to suppress these Practices; but then we are to consider, that few or none of them had a Jurisdiction over the whole Land of *Israel*, but were only Rulers of some particular *Cantons*, which they undertook to deliver from imminent Danger; and therefore how zealous soever they might be for a Reformation, yet since their Authority was not of sufficient Extension, the Wonder is not great, that (*k*) Idolatry should still be practis'd in some dark Corners of the Land, and that in the Tribe of *Dan* (which was so far distant) *there should be set up* Micah's *graven Images*, *which he made*, *all the Time that the Ark of the Lord was at* Shiloh.

SHILOH indeed was so far distant from several Parts of the Land of *Canaan*, that People began to account it too much Trouble to go up thither, to pay their Vows and Oblations, and therefore bethought themselves of setting up private *Chapels*, wherein (as they suppos'd,) they might serve God as well; and, in the Institution of these, being left to their own Fancies, they generally intermix'd some idolatrous Practices, and, partly in Imitation of the *Cherubims* at *Shiloh*, and the *Teraphims* among their heathen Neighbours, chose to worship God through some visible Representation, which, by one Means or other, was carry'd on in Time to direct Idolatry.

THE *Moabites*, we know, even when the *Israelites* were in a State of Independency, and had Reason sufficient to have a jealous Eye over them, by their Arts and Contrivances drew them into the Worship of their God *Baal-peor*; and much more might the Nations, to whom they were now in Subjection, succeed in their Attempts, either of recommending, or (if Need requir'd it) of forcing their Religion upon them: So that it was not to be wonder'd at, if Things ran into such Disorder when there was (if not a total Dissolution) at least a grievous Relaxation of Government; when some of the Governors themselves were far from being the best of Men; and, through Inclination, Intreaty, or Compulsion, the People were so liable, upon many Occasions, to relapse into Idolatry.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

WHAT *Micah*'s Intention might be in setting up a *Teraphim*, and other Kind of *Images* in his *House*, *Commentators* are not so well agreed. Those that are willing to apologize for the Thing, are ready to say, (*l*) that, as he liv'd in a Time of great Trouble and Confusion, wherein the *publick* Worship of God was much neglected, if not totally disus'd, his Design was to erect a Kind of *domestick Tabernacle*, wherein he might serve God in *private*, since he could not, without much Difficulty, do it in *publick*; and that the sacred Habiliments he made, his Ephod, his Teraphim, *&c.* were no more, than what he had seen at *Shiloh*: But since the Laws of God condemn (*m*) the making Images of any Kind, as Objects of Adoration; the setting up any religious Worship, different from what he had establish'd; the offering Sacrifices, or (*n*) performing any publick Service any where, but in the Tabernacle; and the employing any Priests in his Worship but such, as were of the Race of *Aaron*; 'tis certain that *Micah* was guilty of a Violation of all these Prohibitions, and, in the Matter of these *graven* and *molten* Images, cannot be excus'd from the Crime of Idolatry.

Micah's *Teraphim*, *and his Intent in setting it up.*

AND

(*i*) Judg. xvii. 6. (*k*) Ibid. xviii. 3. (*l*) *Calmet*'s Commentary. (*m*) Exod. xx. 4. and xxxiv. 17. Deut. iv. 15, 16. (*n*) Lev. xvii. 8. and Deut. xii. 14.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

AND indeed, unleſs he intended to patronize *that*, what Reaſon could he have to make any Innovations in Religion, ſince (according as we date this Action) either *Phineas*, or *Eli* were then in the High-Prieſt's Office, at *Shiloh*, where the publick Worſhip was preſerv'd in all its *Formality*, and from whence *Micah*, who liv'd in the Mountains of *Ephraim*, was not ſo very diſtant, but that he might have gone thither, upon all ſolemn Occaſions?

The Anſwer to the Danites *fictitious.*

THE Spirit of God therefore, in repeating the Admonition, that *in thoſe Days, there was no King in* Iſrael, *&c.* before it begins to relate this Story of *Micah*, ſeems to inſinuate, that this was a wicked and enormous Practice of his; that the Worſhip, he inſtituted, was *idolatrous*, and the Prieſt, he had procur'd to officiate, a *Renegado*: And if ſo, the Anſwer, this Prieſt receiv'd in Behalf of the *Danites*, and wherein he promis'd them the Succeſs they met with, muſt have proceeded from no good *Principle*, unleſs we ſuppoſe, (what ſeems indeed moſt reaſonable) that the *Levite* promis'd them Succeſs, (becauſe he was minded to pleaſe them) merely out of his own Head, tho', to give it a better Sanction, he might pretend to receive it from this fictitious Oracle. In this Caſe, there was no Occaſion of having Recourſe to any Oracle whatever; becauſe any Man of a moderate Foreſight, conſidering the undaunted Courage and Valour of the *Danites*, and the ſupine Negligence and Cowardice of the People of *Laiſh*, (if once they came to Action) might, without the *Spirit of Prophecy*, foretel the Event.

THE Directions, which God gave *Moſes* concerning *Joſhua*'s conſulting the divine Oracle, are conceiv'd in theſe Words; —— (*o*) *He ſhall ſtand before* Eleazer, *the Prieſt, who ſhall aſk Counſel for him, after the Judgment of* Urim, *before the Lord; at his Word ſhall they go out, and at his Word ſhall they come in, both he and all the Children of* Iſrael *with him, even all the Congregation.* In all the Book of *Joſhua* indeed we do not find, that he had this conſtant Recourſe to the Oracle, (*p*) and from hence, ſome *Jewiſh* Doctors conclude, that he was bound to do this only at the firſt Entrance upon his Office, to demonſtrate to the People that he was *Moſes*'s Succeſſor; but that afterwards the Spirit of *Propheſy* reſted upon him, ſo that he knew how to conduct all publick Affairs without having Occaſion for this oracular Advice. *Moſes* we know made no Uſe of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, to conſult God by the Mediation of the High-Prieſt; he went immediately and directly to God himſelf: But we do not read that *Joſhua* was admitted to ſuch Familiarity, nor had he ſuch frequent Revelations from God, as his Predeceſſor had. And therefore, as God was pleas'd, in Supply of that Defect, to remit him to this Method of conſulting him; we cannot but think, that upon every momentous Occaſion, eſpecially in the weighty Affairs of War, he was always careful to purſue it: And therefore the Words, in the Beginning of *Judges*, *Now, after the Death of* Joſhua, *the Children of* Iſrael *aſked of the Lord, ſaying, who ſhall go up for us againſt the* Canaanites? do not import, that they never conſulted God by Way of *Urim* and *Thummim*, during the Life of *Joſhua*, but rather, that after the Death of ſo great a Commander, they were at a Stand what to do, nor would they adventure to proceed in the War of *Canaan*, without following the ſame Directions, which were given to *Joſhua*, and which he had ſo long purſu'd with ſo good Succeſs.

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NAY, the conſulting of the divine Oracle, eſpecially in Matters of War, was accounted ſo very neceſſary, in order to obtain Succeſs, that ſome Commentators have eſteem'd this the only Reaſon, why the *Iſraelites*, in ſo juſt a Cauſe as puniſhing the *Benjamites*, for their *unheard-of* Wickedneſſes, were, in two ſeveral Battles, defeated; even becauſe they did not previouſly apply to God, as they ſhould have done. (*q*) *They ſent up* indeed *to the Houſe*

(*o*) Numb. xxvii. 21. (*p*) Vid. *Patrick's* Commentary in Locum. (*q*) Judg. xx. 18.

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of the Lord, and aſked Counſel of him, and ſaid, which of us ſhall go up firſt to the Battle againſt the Children of Benjamin? *i. e.* which of their Tribes ſhould have the the Honour or Hazard of making the firſt Attack: (*r*) But it is obſervable, that they had come to a full Reſolution of making War againſt the *Benjamites*, and, to that Purpoſe, had made *Draughts* of the Men that were to be employ'd in it, without ever conſulting God, whether an Enterpriſe of this Nature, wherein there was likely to be ſuch an Effuſion of the Blood of their Brethren, would be pleaſing to him, or no. (*s*) The Truth is, they never queſtion'd his Approbation of what they accounted ſo laudable: They preſum'd upon his Protection and Aſſiſtance; and the vaſt Superiority of their Forces made them confident of Succeſs. But now, in a Matter of ſuch Moment as this, to overlook the divine Oracle, and be determin'd by their own Counſels only, and to march againſt one of their own Tribes, with a full Purpoſe of deſtroying them utterly, before they knew any Thing whether God had decreed their Deſtruction, or no, was not only an Inſtance of their Raſhneſs and Preſumption, but an Act likewiſe of *Rebellion* againſt the Majeſty of God, who was the King of *Iſrael*, and, upon that Account alone, had Right to declare, whether they were to wage War againſt their Brethren the *Benjamites*, or no.

Why the Iſraelites *were ſo ſevere upon the* Benjamites.

BUT, ſuppoſing, that the Grounds of the War were juſtifiable, and God conſenting to it, yet, why might not he take the Opportunity of puniſhing the *Iſraelites*, by Means of the *Benjamites*, for their tame Permiſſion of Crimes more enormous, than what they had now taken into their Heads to chaſtize; (*t*) for ſuffering *ſpiritual* Adultery among them, even while they were ſo hot upon puniſhing *carnal*?

THE Laws, which God gave the *Iſraelites* againſt the Sin of Idolatry, were ſo very ſevere, that, whoever did but ſo much as entice another to the Commiſſion of it, was to loſe all Title to Pity and Compaſſion, tho' he was never ſo dear a Friend, never ſo near a Relation: (*u*) *Thine Eye ſhall not pity him, neither ſhalt thou ſpare, neither ſhalt thou conceal him, but thou ſhalt ſurely kill him; thy Hand ſhall be firſt upon him to put him to Death, and afterwards the Hands of all the People.* But now, in the Caſe of *Micah*, and the whole Tribe of *Dan*, who had notoriouſly fallen into Idolatry, the Rulers of *Iſrael* were ſo far from putting this Law in Execution, that they conniv'd at their Apoſtacy: And therefore God took Occaſion, from this Quarrel between the other Tribes and that of *Benjamin*, to make uſe of the *latter*, as Scourges to puniſh this baſe Connivance of the former; and, after he had twice employ'd them to this Purpoſe, he inverted the Fate of the War, and, in ſo doing, made the confederate Army of *Iſrael* the Inſtruments of that terrible Vengeance, which he took upon the *Benjamites*, in the Puniſhment of their execrable Lewdneſs. For this is the wonderful Wiſdom of God's Providence, to employ the Paſſions of Men to his Purpoſes, and to make one wicked Set of People the Inſtruments of his puniſhing another, even as he expreſſes himſelf in another Caſe, that, in ſome Meaſure, is not incongruous to this: —— (*x*) *Woe unto the* Aſſyrian, *the Rod of mine Anger, and the Staff in their Hand, is mine Indignation.* —— *Againſt the People of my Wrath will I give him Charge to take the Spoil, and to take the Prey, and to tread them down like the Mire in the Streets.* ——*Howbeit he meaneth not ſo, neither doth his Heart think ſo; but it is in his Heart to deſtroy, and to cut off Nations not a few.* —— *Wherefore it ſhall come to paſs, that when the Lord hath performed his whole Work upon Mount* Sion, *and on* Jeruſalem, *I will puniſh the Fruit of the ſtout Heart of the King of* Aſſyria, *and the Glory of his high Looks*; and, in like Manner here, when, by the Hand of the *Benjamites*, he had chaſtiz'd the reſt of the

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

(*r*) *Calmet*'s Commentary ſur Juges, c. xx. Commentary on Judg. xx. (*s*) *Saurin*'s Diſſ. Vol. IV. Diſſert. 18. (*u*) Deut. xiii. 8, 9. (*x*) Iſaiah x. 5, &c. (*t*) *Patrick*'s

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

the *Iſraelites*, by the Hand of the *Iſraelites*, he puniſh'd the *Benjamites* for their groſs Impieties, making uſe of their reſpective Paſſions, and furious Reſentments, to accompliſh his Will; albeit *they meant it not ſo, neither did their Heart think ſo; but it was* only *in their Hearts to deſtroy, and cut off* one another.

WHEN the Heat of their Fury however was abated, and the *Iſraelites* began to look back with a little Coolneſs upon what they had done; how they had almoſt totally deſtroy'd one Tribe of their Brethren, and bound themſelves by an Oath never to marry their Daughters to any of the poor Remains of it, (which could not but prove the Extirpation of the whole) the Joy and Triumph of their late Victory was turn'd into Mourning and bitter Lamentation.

The Unlawfulneſs of their Oath.

WHETHER this Oath, againſt contracting any Affinity with the *Benjamites*, was in itſelf lawful, and obligatory, or no, (*y*) ſome Interpreters, without any Manner of Reaſon, as I think, have diſputed. For, whatever was attended with ſuch pernicious Conſequences, as to oblige their Brethren, either to live unmarry'd, which would prove the Extinction of their Tribe, or to marry the Daughters of *Heathens*, which was contrary to their divine Law, or to take to themſelves Wives wherever they could find them by Force and Violence, which was contrary to the univerſal Law of Nations: Whatever, I ſay, was attended with ſuch evil Conſequences as theſe, could not be lawful in itſelf, nor of any Obligation to the Conſciences of thoſe that made it; and therefore it is ſomewhat wonderful, how the *Iſraelites*, when they found themſelves involv'd in ſuch Difficulties, (as (*z*) they themſelves teſtify) that, for the Preſervation of this their Oath, they were forc'd to have Recourſe to Acts of the utmoſt Cruelty and Violence, did not perceive the Illegality of it, and themſelves, conſequently, abſolv'd from its Obſervation.

The Murder of the Jabeſhites.

IT is not the Intent of the ſacred Hiſtorian to relate Matters otherwiſe, than they happen'd; nor is it any Part of our Buſineſs, to apologize for Actions, that in themſelves are abominable, and will admit of no Excuſe. The Maſſacre of the People of *Jabeſh-gilead*, without ever ſending to know the Reaſon of their abſenting themſelves from the War, was a cruel Expedient to extricate the *Iſraelites* from a Difficulty, in which their ſuperſtitious Obſervance of an unlawful Oath had involv'd them; and a ſad Inſtance it is of the Iniquity and Barbarity of theſe Times: For, how ſevere ſoever the Laws of military Diſcipline may be, or with (*a*) what Juſtice ſoever *Recuſants*, as well as *Diſſerters* in War may be deem'd guilty, and the *Jabeſhites* be call'd publick Enemies, becauſe they did not obey the Order of the *whole Congregation*, and by refuſing to join with them againſt the *Benjamites*, made themſelves Partakers of their Crimes; yet, certainly, to ſlay the Innocent with the Guilty, and to put Women and Children to Death, who were never made to bear Arms, was the very Height of Injuſtice and Barbarity. If it be ſaid, that the *Cherem*, or the Sentence of utter Execration was paſs'd upon them, I do not ſee, with what Juſtice the Virgins could be ſpar'd, (as we find they were by a publick Decree) unleſs we ſuppoſe, that God, from the Tabernacle at *Shiloh*, (before which the *Iſraelites* were now aſſembled) ſignify'd his Intentions of *diſpenſing* with the full Execution of the Sentence by Reaſon of the publick Neceſſity.

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The Rape of the Virgins at Shiloh, *not to be defended.*

AND indeed the publick Neceſſity is the only good Reaſon, that can be given for that other Act of Violence, the Rape of the Virgins at *Shiloh*. For, whatever may be ſaid in Vindication of the *Benjamites*, viz. that, what they put in Execution was by Order and Advice of their Superiors, and that their Intent in doing it was juſt and honeſt, and devoid of that brutal Luſt, which is incident to common *Raviſhers*; whatever may be ſaid in Excuſe of theſe, the Elders of *Iſrael*, who gave

(*y*) Vide *Calmet's* Commentary. (*z*) Judg. xxi. 6, &c. (*a*) *Calmet's* and *Patrick's* Commentaries.

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gave them this Counſel and Authority, had certainly no Right to diſpoſe of other People's Children without their Parents Conſent and Approbation.

* THE Rape of the *Sabine Virgins* is uſually produc'd as a Piece of Hiſtory parallel to this; (*b*) but *Romulus*, in whoſe Reign it happen'd, was one of thoſe Princes, who accounted every Point, that contributed to the Eſtabliſhment of his Dominion, not only lawful, but glorious, and that every Thing ceas'd to be a Crime, when once it became neceſſary for *Reaſons of State*: But the Rulers of *Iſrael* either had, or ſhould have had different Notions. They were govern'd by God, *whoſe Throne is eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs*, and ſhould therefore, one would think, have contriv'd ſome other Means of re-eſtabliſhing a diminiſh'd Tribe, than thoſe violent Ways of Rapes and forc'd Marriages. But the ſacred Hiſtorian has aſſign'd a Reaſon for theſe unrighteous Proceedings, when (in (*c*) four different Places in the Book of *Judges*) he tells us, that *in thoſe Days there was no King in Iſrael*; and, (*d*) for Want of ſuch a ſupreme Authority, every Tribe, and every City, nay, which is more, every private Man committed many horrid Things, which were not publickly allow'd. This (*e*) was the Cauſe of *Micah*'s Idolatry, as we noted before; of the *Benjamites* Filthineſs and abominable Luſts; and of all the enormous Things done by the main Body of the *Iſraelites*; their killing all the *Benjamites* without Diſtinction; their binding themſelves by raſh and unlawful Oaths; their killing all the Women of *Jabeſh-gilead*, who were not Virgins; and here, their permitting, nay, their ordering this Rape for the Preſervation of a raſh and unjuſtifiable Oath: And this ſhould teach us, to be very thankful for the Authority, that is ſet over us, in order to preſerve us from the Commiſſions of ſuch like Enormities; for which End, the Cuſtom was, among the antient *Perſians*, (as our learned *Uſher* obſerves) to let the People looſe to do even what they liſted, for five Days after their King died; that, by the Diſorders, which were then committed, they might ſee the Neceſſity of having a King to govern them, and, when one was ſettled in the Throne, the great Reaſon of being obedient to him.

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THUS we have endeavour'd to clear up moſt of the Paſſages, in the Book of *Judges*, which ſeem to imply any Inconſiſtency, or Incredibility, during this Period: And, if any *Heathen* Teſtimonies may be thought a farther Confirmation of their Truth, we may ſay, that the ſeeming Incongruity of *Shamgar*'s ſlaying ſo many *Philiſtines* with an Ox-Goad is mightily abated, by what is

Heathen *Teſtimonies, to corroborate this Part of the Hiſtory.*

* This Piece of Hiſtory we find thus related: "*Romulus*, perceiving that his new City was ſurrounded by ſeveral "very powerful and warlike Nations, who bore them no Good-Will, form'd a Deſign to make them his Friends, "by contracting Marriages with them: But conſidering with himſelf, that theſe neighbouring Nations would hardly "enter into that *Affinity* with a People, as yet famous neither for their Riches, nor great Exploits, without being in "ſome Meaſure compell'd into it; he was reſolv'd to put in Practice the *Stratagem* of his Uncle *Numitor*, and to "enter into this Alliance with them by carrying off their Daughters. This Deſign he communicated to the Senate; "and, having obtain'd their Approbation of it, he proclaim'd a publick *Feaſt* to be celebrated in Honour of *Neptune*, "and invited all the *neighbouring* Cities to the many Diverſions and *Spectacles*, which he then intended to exhibit. "Crowds of People, with their Wives and Children, flock'd to the Feaſt; but, on the laſt Day, when it began to "draw to a Concluſion, *Romulus* order'd all the young Men, that upon a Signal given, they ſhould ſeize and carry "off every one a Virgin, keep them all Night, without offering any Rudeneſs to them, and bring them, the next "Morning, before him. The young Men took care to execute his Orders: For, diſperſing themſelves into ſmall "Companies, as ſoon as they ſaw the Sign, they ſeiz'd on the Damſels, who, upon this Occaſion, made a hideous "Outcry, as expecting much worſe Uſage than they met with. The next Day, when they were brought before *Ro*"*mulus*, he ſpoke very courteouſly to them, and told them, That it was to do them no *Diſhonour*, but merely to pro"cure them Huſbands, that he order'd that *Rape*, which was an ancient Cuſtom deriv'd from the *Greeks*, and the "moſt noble and gallant Manner of contracting Marriage. He therefore intreated them to be well affected towards "thoſe Huſbands, which Fortune had given them; and ſo, diſtributing the young Women, which were ſix hundred "and eighty three, among an equal Number of unmarry'd Men, he diſmiſs'd them." *Dionyſ. Halicarn.* Antiq. Lib. ii. c. 21.

(*b*) *Saurin*'s Diſſert. 18, Vol. IV. (*c*) Chap. xvii. 6. xviii. 1. xix. 1, and xxi. 25. (*d*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*e*) Ibid.

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is told of *Lycurgus*, viz. that he overthrew the Forces of *Bacchus* with the ſelf-ſame Weapon; that, from *Deborah*'s being a Propheteſs, a Governeſs, and dwelling upon a Mount, the Story of the *Thebean Sphinx* (as ſome learned Men imagine) was invented by the *Greeks*; that their *Hercules* was certainly the *Samſon* of ſacred Writ, his *Omphale* and *Dalilah* the ſame, and that his Pillars at *Cales* were of near Affinity with thoſe of *Gaza*; * that his fatal Locks gave Riſe to the Fable of *Niſus* King of *Megara*, upon whoſe Hair the Fortune of his Kingdom depended; that his Foxes were commemorated at *Rome*, every Return of their Harveſt, * by a ſimilar Ceremony of tying them Tail to Tail, and ſo letting them go; and, (to name no more) that *Jephthah*'s ſacrificing his Daughter to God is partly adumbrated by *Agamemnon*'s offering his *Iphigenia* to *Diana*, and partly by *Idomeneus*'s promiſing to make a Victim to *Neptune* of the firſt Thing he ſhould meet on Shore, (if he eſcap'd the preſent Storm) which happen'd to be his own Son. So happily do many Fictions of the Poets concur to confirm the Truth and Authority of Holy Writ.

* The Story is thus told by *Ovid*. *Niſus* was beſieg'd by *Minos* in his capital City *Megara*. The Fate of that City, which was the Strength of his Kingdom, depended upon a certain Lock of red Hair, which was conceal'd under the reſt. The Siege had now been continu'd for ſix Months, when the Daughter of *Niſus*, who had frequent Opportunities of beholding her Father's Enemy *Minos*, from a Tower, that look'd into his Camp, was ſo taken with his goodly Mein and Deportment, that ſhe fell deſperately in Love with him. Her Love, and the Occaſion of it, the Poet has thus related.

——————— Hac judice Minos,
Seu Caput abdiderat criſtatâ Caſſide pennis,
In Galea firmoſus erat; ſeu ſumſerat auro
Fulgentem Clypeum, Clypeum ſumſiſſe decebat, &c.
Cùm verò Faciem dempto nudaverat ære,
Purpureuſque albi ſtratis inſignia pictis
Terga premebat Equi, ſpumantiaque ora regebat;
Vix ſua, Vix ſanæ virgo Niſeïa compos
Mentis erat: Felix jaculum, quod tangeret ille,
Quæque manu premeret, felicia fræna vocabat. Metamor. Lib. viii.

The Reſult of this Paſſion was, that this perfidious Daughter ſtole into the Chamber, while her Father was faſt aſleep, cut off the Lock, whereon the Fate of his Kingdom depended, and carry'd it to *Minos*, as an undoubted Pledge of her Love. But if this Fable and *Samſon*'s Hiſtory have a near Reſemblance in ſome of their firſt Circumſtances, they are very different in the Concluſion: For *Minos* rejected the Preſent with Scorn, and ſlighted the Woman, becauſe of her Perfidy; whereas the Princes of the *Philiſtines* took the Advantage againſt *Samſon*, which *Dalilah*'s Treachery gave them. *Saurin*, Vol. IV. Diſſert. 17.

* There was anciently a *Feaſt* in *Rome*, called *Vulpinalia*, or the *Feaſt of the Foxes*, which *Ovid* makes mention of. For, enquiring into the Cuſtom of tying lighted Torches to their Tails,

Cur igitur miſſæ vinctis ardentia tædis
Terga ferant vulpes, cauſa docenda mihi.

he reſolves the Matter, by telling us, that a certain Youth, having caught a Fox, which had deſtroy'd much Poultry, was going to burn it. His Words are theſe:

Captivam ſtipulâ Fœnoque involvit, & ignes
Admovet: urentes effugit illa manus.
Quâ fugit, incendit veſtitos meſſibus agros,
Damnoſis vires ignibus Aura dabat.
Factum abiit: monumenta manent: nam vivere captam
Nunc quoque Lex vulpem Carſeolana vetat.
Utque luat pœnas Gens hæc, Cerealibus ardet,
Quoque modo Segetes perdidit, ipſa perit. Faſtorum, Lib. iv.

But *Bochart* has confuted this Notion of *Ovid*'s, concerning the Origin of this Cuſtom, and endeavours to refer it to this Piece of Hiſtory in *Samſon*'s Life. *Saurin*, Vol. IV. Diſſert. 17.

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DISSERTATION II.

JEPHTHAH'S *Rash Vow.*

The State of the Question.

THIS Vow of *Jephthah*'s, which has employ'd the Thoughts and Pens of so many learned Men, is conceiv'd in these Words: —— *And* Jephthah *vowed a Vow unto the Lord, and said, if thou shalt without fail, deliver the Children of* Ammon *into my Hands, then it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth out of the Door of my House to meet me, when I return in Peace from the Children of* Ammon, *shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a Burnt-Offering.* And the Result of this Vow was, —— *That* Jephthah *passed over unto the Children of* Ammon *to fight against them, and the Lord delivered them into his Hands*; whereupon *he came to* Mizpeth *unto his House, and behold, his Daughter came out to meet him, with Timbrels, and Dances, and she was his only Child, besides her he had neither Son nor Daughter. And it came to pass, when he saw her, that he rent his Cloaths, and said, Alas! thou hast brought me very low, and thou art one of them, that trouble me; for I have opened my Mouth to the Lord, and I cannot go back. And she said unto him, My Father, if thou hast opened thy Mouth unto the Lord, do to me according to that, which proceeded out of thy Mouth, forasmuch as the Lord has taken Vengeance for thee of thine Enemies, even of the Children of* Ammon: *Only let me alone two Months, that I may go up and down upon the Mountains, and bewail my Virginity, I, and my Fellows. And he said, go; and he sent her away for two Months, and she went with her Companions, and bewailed her Virginity upon the Mountains. And it came to pass, at the End of two Months, that she returned to her Father, who did with her according to his Vow, which he had vowed, and she knew no Man: And it was a Custom in* Israel, *that the Daughters of* Israel *went yearly to lament the Daughter of* Jephthah, *four Days in a Year.* I set the whole Passage before the Reader, that he may the better judge of the depending Controversy; for a great Controversy there is among *Commentators*, whether this Daughter of *Jephthah*'s was really sacrific'd, or no: And for his farther Satisfaction in this Point, I will fairly state the Arguments on both Sides; consider a little on which Side they preponderate; and then enquire, in Case he did sacrifice his Daughter, or (as others will have it) devote her only to God's Service in a single Life, whether the Thing was *lawful* for him to do, and what might possibly be the *Motive* of his doing it.

Arguments for the Negative.

THOSE, *(f)* who maintain the *Negative*, or more merciful Side of the Question, argue in this Manner: —— That *Jephthah* was certainly a very good Man, because we find him rank'd among the *Worthies* of old, that are commemorated with Honour by the Author of the *Hebrews*; That he was an *Israelite*, and, as such, liv'd under the Law, which prohibited *human* Sacrifices by the severest Penalties; That had the Vow been intended in this Sense, God would never have vouchsaf'd *Jephthah* so signal a Victory, as he did, which must have terminated in the Violation of his own Laws; and therefore they conclude, that so kind and tender a Father, as *Jephthah* is represented, would never have sacrific'd an innocent, dutiful, and obedient Child, as her whole Carriage seems to denote her, in Discharge of a rash and inconsiderate Vow; especially, when, according to the Prescription of the Law, he might have redeem'd his Daughter at a Price so inconsiderable, *(g) as ten Shekels of Silver.*

IT must be something else therefore, *say they*, that *Jephthah* did unto his Daughter,

(f) *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries. *Jenkins*'s Reasonableness, Vol. II. c. 18. *Selden*, de Jure Nat. & Gent. lib. iv. c. 11. *Howell*'s History, &c. *(g)* Lev. xxvii. 5.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

ter, and that (according to the Import of the Text) was, to devote her to a State of *Celibacy*, or that ſhe might live in the Manner of a religious *Nun* all the Days of her Life: For the Particle *Vah*, which we render AND (*it ſhall ſurely be the Lord's*, AND *I will offer it up*) is a *Disjunctive* in this Place, (as it is elſewhere) and ſignifies OR; ſo that the true Verſion of the Paſſage ſhould be, *whatever cometh forth to meet me ſhall ſurely be the Lord's*, OR *I will offer it up for a Burnt-Offering*, i. e. if it be an human Creature, I will dedicate it to the Service of God; if a Beaſt, of any Kind proper for Sacrifice, I will inſtantly offer it up: For that in this Senſe the Vow is to be underſtood, is evident, from her going into the Mountains *to bewail her Virginity*, which, had ſhe been doom'd to be ſacrific'd, had not been near ſo proper, as to bewail her *untimely End*. Nor can we think that *Jephthah* would have ever ſuffer'd her to have made a Circuit of two Months among her Companions, for fear of making her Eſcape, or procuring ſome of her Friends and Acquaintance either to reſcue her, or intercede for her, had ſhe been deſtin'd to ſuffer Death upon her Return.

ON the contrary, when ſhe return'd to her Father, and *he had done to her according to his Vow*, it immediately follows, that *ſhe knew not Man*, which ſhews that the Purpoſe of his Vow was anſwer'd by obliging her to a State of perpetual Virginity, in ſome retir'd Place, where ſhe was ſecluded from all Society, except that the *Daughters of Iſrael* (thoſe eſpecially of her Acquaintance) went up, either to talk and converſe with her, or to celebrate her Praiſe, or to comfort her concerning her ſolitary Condition, (for to all theſe Senſes may the Word *Letannoth* be apply'd) *four Days in the Year*, i. e. one Day every Quarter.

UPON the whole therefore they infer, that *Jephthah*'s Daughter did not fall a Sacrifice, but was conſecrated to God and his Service, *i. e.* devoted to a ſingle Life, and to remain a *Recluſe* all her Days; which could not but occaſion *Jephthah* no ſmall Grief and Trouble, becauſe by this Means his Family became extinct, and himſelf deſtitute of Iſſue to inherit his Eſtate, and perpetuate his Name.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

THESE are ſome of the moſt plauſible Arguments, that are generally employ'd to prove, not the Sacrifice of *Jephthah*'s Daughter, but only her Obligation to a perpetual Virginity in the Worſhip and Service of God.

And for the Affirmative.

THOSE, (*h*) that maintain the *Affirmative*, or harſher Side of the Queſtion, *viz.* that *Jephthah*, in Purſuance to his Vow, did actually ſacrifice his Daughter, form their Arguments in this Manner: —— (*i*) That the Times, wherein *Jephthah* liv'd, were ſo ſadly addicted to Idolatry, that (*k*) *to burn their Sons and Daughters in the Fire to their Gods* was a common Practice among the *Iſraelites*, as well as other Nations; and that the Manner, (*l*) in which he liv'd, (before he was call'd to the Aſſiſtance of his Country) which was chiefly by Plunder and Rapine, and Bloodſhed, might make him not incapable of vowing to ſacrifice the firſt of his *Domeſticks*, that ſhould meet him upon his victorious Return: That this Vow is deliver'd in *general* and *indefinite* Terms, *viz.* that *whatſoever ſhould come forth of the Doors of his Houſe to meet him*, That ſhould *ſurely be the Lord's*, and it ſhould be the Lord's, *by being offered up for a Burnt-Offering*: That, tho' the Particle *Vah* be ſometimes us'd in a *disjunctive* Senſe, yet it can only be ſo, where Things are really diſtinct and different from each other, but cannot be admitted, where the one manifeſtly includes the other, as it is in the Paſſage before us; that therefore it is much more congruous to all the Rules of good Senſe to underſtand the Words of *Jephthah* ſo, as that, by promiſing *whatſoever he met ſhould be the Lord's*, he oblig'd himſelf in general to conſecrate it to God, and that, by promiſing farther, that *he would offer it up for a Burnt-Offering*,

(*h*) *Edwards*'s Enquiry into ſome remarkable Texts. (*i*) Deut. xii. 31. (*k*) *Saurin*, Vol. III. Diſſert. 15. (*l*) *Grotius* in Locum, *Calmet*'s Diſſert. ſur le Vœu de Japhet, & *Saurin*, de eodem, &c.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443. &c.

Offering, he ſpecify'd the Manner, in which he intended to make his Conſecration.

Vows of perpetual Virginity, *ſay they*, are Inſtitutions of a modern Date: The Word of God knows nothing of them; nor has this pretended Celibacy of *Jephthah*'s Daughter any Manner of Foundation in Scripture; and therefore, when this Circumſtance is inſerted, that *ſhe knew no Man*, it is not to ſignify, that ſhe liv'd a perpetual Virgin, but only, that ſhe was ſo unhappy, as to leave the World in her Youth, and before ſhe had the Knowledge of a Man.

Had *Jephthah* meant no more, *ſay they*, by performing his Vow, than conſecrating his Daughter, as a perpetual Virgin, to the Service of God, what Cauſe was there for *renting his Cloaths*, and bemoaning himſelf, as we find he did? Had *Jephthah* made only a Vow of *Celibacy* for his Daughter, whereby ſhe was bound to nothing more painful, than to lead a ſingle Life, what Reaſon was there for bewailing *this*, as a grievous Calamity, which ſome Men account a Thing ſo eminently glorious and honourable? Is the being ſhut up as a *Recluſe*, and enter'd into the Liſt of perpetual Virgins, a Matter of ſuch bitter Complaint and Lamentation? Was this ſo ſore an Evil, an Affliction ſo extraordinary, that, not only before ſhe underwent it, ſhe and her Companions, ſhould, for two Months together, be allow'd to bewail it; but that, after ſhe had undergone it, the *Daughters of* Iſrael ſhould be requir'd to *lament it four Times a Year*? (*m*) If ſhe was *actually* put to Death, in Execution of her Father's Vow, it is eaſy then to underſtand, why the particular Circumſtance of her dying without Iſſue (when *ſhe was the only Daughter of her Father*, and had no other Proſpect of Poſterity to keep up his Family) ſhould be repreſented as a ſore Aggravation of her violent and untimely Death: But it ſeems very difficult to account for that bitter Lamentation, made by her Father, by herſelf, by her Companions, and by all the Daughters of *Iſrael* in ſucceeding Times, if ſhe ſuffer'd no other, no ſeverer Puniſhment, than that of being devoted to *a ſingle Life*. From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

These are ſome of the moſt prevailing Arguments on the *affirmative* Side; and, for the Confirmation of them, it is farther alledg'd, that both *Joſephus*, and the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt teſtify the ſame Thing; that the Ancient Doctors, both of the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Church, were of the ſame Opinion; and that, as to the Subſtance of the Fact, the Compilers of the *Homilies* of our Church do perfectly agree with theſe ancient Writers: So that, how deſirous ſoever we may be to clear *Jephthah* from the Imputation of ſo cruel, ſo impious, ſo unnatural an Act, as that of murthering his own Daughter; yet, if we will adhere to the more eaſy and obvious Conſtruction of the Words, and as they appear to us at firſt View; or if we retain any juſt Eſteem and Veneration for the Senſe of Antiquity, we muſt neceſſarily conclude, that, when it is ſaid of him, that *he did with his Daughter according to the Vow, which he had vowed*, the Meaning can be no leſs, than that he did really put her to Death: But whether he acted well or ill in ſo doing, is another Enquiry we are now to purſue.

Jephthah's *ſacrificing his Daughter, a great Crime.*

The Law of *Cherem*, (as the *Hebrews* call it) which is a Law of a peculiar Nature, is deliver'd in theſe Words; (*n*) *No devoted Thing, which a Man ſhall devote to the Lord, of all that he hath, both of Man and Beaſt, and of the Field of his Poſſeſſion, ſhall be ſold, or redeemed; every devoted Thing is moſt holy to the Lord. None devoted, which ſhall be devoted by Men, ſhall be redeemed, but ſhall ſurely be put to Death.* Of this Sort a very learned (*o*) *Commentator* ſuppoſes this Vow of *Jephthah*'s to have been, and that therefore he could not *redeem* his Daughter, but was neceſſitated to put her to Death. It is to be obſerv'd however, that (*p*) *Cherem* (which is the Term

(*m*) Biſhop *Smalridge*'s Sermons. (*n*) Levit. xxvii. 28, 29. (*o*) Lud. Cappel. Diatr. de Voto Jepthæ. (*p*) *Edwards*'s Enquiry into ſeveral Texts.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443. &c.

Term here made uſe of) ſignifies either Perſons devoted to Slaughter for their execrable Impieties, (as were the *Amalekites*, and other Nations, whom God commanded the *Iſraelites* to extirpate) or Things deſtin'd to Deſtruction (as were *Jericho* and *Ai*) for the Wickedneſs of thoſe to whom they appertain'd: So that the Law of *Cherem* related only to ſuch Perſons or Things, as, by an irrevocable Vow, were deſtin'd to utter Deſtruction for their horrid Crimes, and becauſe indeed there was particular Command from God, both for the making, or putting ſuch a Vow in Execution: But it can by no Means be pretended, either that *Jephthah*'s Daughter merited ſuch a Puniſhment, or that her Father had any Order or Commiſſion from God to inflict it. On the contrary, all human Sacrifices are expreſſly forbidden, as odious and deteſtable to God: (*q*) *Thou ſhalt not do ſo to the Lord thy God; thou ſhalt not burn thy Sons, and thy Daughters in the Fire*, as the Heathens us'd to do to their Gods; *for every Abomination to the Lord, which he hateth, have they done.*

THERE is one Law indeed, which ſeems to be of ſome Moment in the Caſe before us, and that is this: —— (*r*) *If a Man vow a Vow unto the Lord, or ſwear an Oath to bind his Soul with a Bond, he ſhall not break his Word, he ſhall do, according to all that proceedeth out of his Mouth.* But then all ſober *Caſuiſts* are agreed, that a Vow has only a *conſtructive*, not a *deſtructive* Force, *i. e.* that it can only lay a *new* Obligation, where there is none, or where there is one, *ſtrengthen* it; but that it cannot cancel a former Obligation, or ſuperinduce one, that is repugnant to it. Now all our Obligations to Obedience proceed from God. (*s*) He has an uncontroulable Right to give Laws to his Creatures: But if Men, by entering into Vows, could free themſelves from the Obligation of his Laws, they might then, whenever they pleas'd, by their own Act defeat his Authority. Whatever therefore is in itſelf forbidden by God, and for that Reaſon unlawful; whatever is againſt any Precept of *natural* or *reveal'd* Religion; whatever is inconſiſtent with thoſe *relative* Duties, which Men owe to one another; whatever, in ſhort, is, in any Reſpect, ſinful, cannot, by being made the Matter of a Vow, become juſtifiable. So that he, who hath vowed to do what cannot be done without Sin, is ſo far from being oblig'd to perform his Vow, that he is, notwithſtanding his Vow, oblig'd not to perform it; becauſe there is not only great Obliquity in making ſuch an unlawful Vow, but this Obliquity is ſo far from being leſſen'd, that it is aggravated by keeping it.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

(*t*) SINCE therefore the Thing vow'd by *Jephthah* ſeems to have been in itſelf unlawful; ſince his Daughter was innocent, and had done nothing to deſerve Death; ſince the running out to meet her Father, with Joy and Congratulation, was an Act of Piety, which ſeem'd to entitle her to his Love and Favour; ſince the natural Affection of a Father towards his Child muſt be ſtifled, before he could give Way to the Execution of the Sentence of Death upon her; ſince the ſacrificing of Children to their Gods was a Crime, for which the *heathen* Nations were juſtly deteſted, and puniſh'd by God; ſince *Jephthah*'s offering his Daughter as a Victim to the Lord, might reflect a Diſhonour upon the true God, as if he alſo delighted in ſuch Sacrifices; ſince theſe, I ſay, and ſeveral other Things, might be urg'd in Aggravation of this Action, we may ſafely and confidently aver, (*u*) with the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian, *that the Sacrifice, which* Jephthah *offered, was neither lawful, nor acceptable to God*, but, on the contrary, a very impious Act, and an abominable Crime, tho' it might poſſibly proceed from a miſtaken Principle of Religion.

THE religious Obſervation of Oaths and Vows has, at all Times, been eſteem'd a Duty

But from what Motives *he might think himſelf oblig'd to do it.*

(*q*) Deut. xii. 31. (*r*) Numb. xxx. 2. (*s*) Biſhop *Samlridge*'s Sermons. (*t*) Ibid. (*u*) *Joſephus*'s Antiq. lib. v. c. 9.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

Duty incumbent on thoſe that made them; inſomuch that, even when they have been procur'd by *Guile*, they have not been thought deſtitute of their Obligation. The *Gibeonites* certainly impos'd upon the Children of *Iſrael*, when they obtain'd from them a League of Amity and Friendſhip; and yet we may obſerve what Notions the *Iſraelites* had of this Kind of Obligation, when, in their publick Conſultations, they ſay, (x) *We have ſworn unto them by the Lord God of* Iſrael; *now therefore we may not touch them.* This was a remarkable Inſtance before *Jephthah*'s Days, and 'tis not improbable that he might have it in his Remembrance, and imprudently make uſe of it, as a *Precedent* of the Irreverſibleneſs of Oaths, and of the inviolable Tye he was under by Reaſon of his Vow: But, in ſucceeding Times, there is a Paſſage in Scripture, which comes nearer to the Caſe now before us. *Saul*, in the Day of Battle, perceiving his Enemies to give Ground, out of the Abundance of his Zeal made a Vow to God, that whoever ſhould taſte any Food before the Purſuit was over, ſhould certainly die; and, upon this Occaſion, his own Son *Jonathan* had like to have been made a Sacrifice, merely becauſe the Father would have been thought religious and auſtere in the Obſervation of his Oath; notwithſtanding he was plainly excus'd from the Obligation of it as to his Son, who was both in another Place, and ignorant of his Father's Will, and under a Neceſſity of taking ſome ſmall Refreſhment, when he was ſo faint and hungry. What Wonder then if *Jephthah*, who, we have Reaſon to believe, was a Perſon much more religiouſly inclin'd than *Saul*, ſhould think himſelf under an Obligation to obſerve his Vow, even tho' it was to the Deſtruction of his own and only Daughter?

What the Acceptableneſs of *Abraham*'s offering his Son *Iſaac* was, he had read in the Book of *Moſes*; and this might poſſibly leſſen the Horror of the Fact he was going to commit. For, tho' *Abraham* had the poſitive Command of God for what he did, which *Jephthah* could not pretend to, ſo that there was a great Diſparity between their two Caſes; yet it was plain, from the Acceptableneſs of *Abraham*'s Offering, and the great Reward beſtow'd on him for his intended Oblation, that the ſacrificing a beloved Child was not, in all Caſes, and under all Circumſtances, ſinful, but might be ſo *circumſtantiated*, as to be an Act of Piety, and approv'd in the Sight of God: And, when this Example prov'd ſuch an Action, (as to the Matter and Subſtance of it) not only lawful, but commendable, *Jephthah* might from hence be led into an Opinion, that the Difference between his Caſe, and that of *Abraham*, was not ſo great, as that what was laudable and almoſt *meritorious* in the one, ſhould be imputed as an unpardonable Crime to the other.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

He had read likewiſe in the Law, that (y) *when thou ſhalt vow a Vow unto the Lord, thou ſhalt not be ſlack to pay it*; and was ſenſible, that a wilful Neglect of this was an heinous Crime, (z) a Mocking of God, a Diſſembling with Heaven, and an Act of Injuſtice and Unfaithfulneſs towards him, who is a ſevere *Exactor* of Vows, and is wont to avenge the Breach of them by the Infliction of the ſoreſt Puniſhments; and upon theſe *Premiſes* he might poſſibly argue with himſelf in this Manner. "Tho' I know that the Performance of "my Vow will be accompany'd with "Murther, yet I conſider likewiſe, that "my not performing it will be attended "with downright *Perjury*. Seeing then "there is a Neceſſity of ſinning one Way "or other, I am reſolv'd to chuſe the "former; for tho' that be an Injury to "my Daughter, yet the other is an Affront "to God. My Child is dear to me indeed, "but my God, my Father, is much "more ſo. 'Tis better therefore to be "cruel, than *impious*; to be guilty of "Bloodſhed, than to be perjur'd, and "falſe to the Lord of Heaven and Earth.

"*I have*

(x) Joſh. ix. 19. (y) Deut. xxiii. 21. (z) *Edwards*'s Enquiry into ſeveral Texts.

A. M. 2561, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1443, &c.

" *I have opened my Mouth unto the Lord,* " *and I cannot go back.* I muſt not re- " verſe, I dare not revoke the ſacred " Promiſe, which I have made to the " Almighty; but my firm and unſhaken " Purpoſe is to perform it." Thus the miſtaken Senſe of the indiſſoluble Obligation, which his Vow had laid upon him, blinded his Eyes, and ran him upon this fatal Rock.

HE could not but know, (had he conſider'd at all) that no Vow is *obligatory*, where the Matter of it is unlawful; or that, what is unlawful in itſelf, cannot poſſibly be made otherwiſe by the Interpoſition of a Vow. Nay, he could not but know, that to Act unlawfully, in Virtue of a Vow, was a *double Sin*, ſince not only the Vow itſelf was ſinful, but the Act, conſequent thereupon, was ſinful likewiſe; and yet ſo blind ſometimes is the Zeal of an *erroneous* Conſcience, that it will not ſuffer Men to perceive, at leaſt to be govern'd by the moſt rational and ſelf-evident Principles.

UPON the whole therefore we may conclude, that, how great ſoever this Sin of *Jephthah*'s was, yet (properly ſpeaking) it was the Sin of *Ignorance*, and the Effect of a miſguided Conſcience. By the bitter Complaint, which he utter'd upon the firſt Sight of his Daughter coming out to meet him, it is evident, that he was under great Trouble and Perplexity; and, as ſhe had done nothing to alienate his Affections from her, but, in this very Act of meeting him, had done ſomething to engage his Affections more ſtrongly towards her, the Bowels of a Father muſt neceſſarily yearn to ſave the Life of a loving and a beloved Child. The generous Offer, which ſhe made him, that he might do to her whatever he pleas'd, *according to his Vow*, tho' it made the doing of it leſs *unjuſt*, could not but add a freſh Sting to his Grief, and, if he had any Generoſity in his Breaſt, make him do it with more Reluctancy. No one, who is a Parent; no one, who has felt the Workings of Nature towards his own Iſſue; no one, who hath ſuffer'd, or who hath fear'd the Loſs of an only Child, but muſt be ſenſible, what Pangs of Sorrow, what Meltings of Compaſſion, what Agonies of Grief muſt pierce the Soul of *Jephthah*, when he imagin'd himſelf under the ſad Neceſſity of ſacrificing his own, his only, his Virgin-Daughter, whom he could not offer up for a Burnt-Offering, without ſacrificing at the ſame Time, all the Propenſions of Nature, all the Eaſe and Pleaſure of his Life, all the Proſpect of keeping up his Family. Nothing leſs than a miſtaken Opinion of the indiſpenſible Obligation of his Vow could prevail with him, thus to over-rule the ſtrong Motives of Intereſt and Inclination; and a Miſtake, which took its Riſe from ſo good a Principle, muſt, without Queſtion, at leaſt extenuate the Guilt, in the Judgment both of good-natur'd Men, and of an All-merciful God.

From Judges i. to the End of Ruth.

WE cannot however part with this remarkable Piece of Hiſtory, without making one Inference; *viz.* that we ſhould be ſtrictly careful how we engage ourſelves in any raſh and indeliberate Vows; becauſe, as a Vow is confeſſedly an Act of Religion, when once *we have opened our Mouths unto the Lord*, we cannot, without manifeſt Prevarication and Contempt of God's Authority, *go back*. And therefore, (to conclude in the Words of a great (*a*) Divine already quoted upon this Subject) " as in *civil* Life, Men of the beſt " Character for Integrity, and ſuch as are " moſt punctual in keeping their Words, " are obſerv'd to be very ſparing in making " Promiſes; ſo in Religion, the beſt Way " we can take to obſerve the Precept " given us by *Solomon*, (*b*) *that when we* " *vow a Vow unto God, we ſhould not* " *defer to pay it*, will be in the firſt Place " to obſerve another Precept, which he " lays down before this, *viz.* that (*c*) " *we ſhould not be raſh with our Mouths,* " *nor let our Hearts be haſty to utter any* " *Thing before God.*"

(*a*) *Smalridge*'s Sermons. (*b*) Eccleſ. v. 4. (*c*) Ibid. ver. 2.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Christ. 1116, &c.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End

CHAP. III.

From the Birth of SAMUEL, *to the Death of* SAUL.

The HISTORY.

Samuel's *Birth and Parentage.*

DURING the Time of *Samson*'s great Exploits, both the *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical* Adminiſtration ſeems to have been in the Hands of *Eli* the High-Prieſt, in the Beginning of whoſe Government *Samuel* was born. He was the Son of *Elkanah*, a *Levite* who dwelt in *Ramah* †, a City belonging to the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and (as the Cuſtom of thoſe Times was) had two Wives, whoſe Names were *Hannah*, and *Peninnah*. * Thrice every Year he us'd to go to *Shiloh*, there to offer up his uſual Sacrifice, and, as he was a pious and religious Man, he generally took his two Wives with him, that they in like Manner might make their Oblations. Now *Hannah*, tho' ſhe had no Children, was his favourite Wife, and therefore, at † every Feaſt upon the *Peace-Offering*, he uſually ſent her a ſeparate Meſs, and of the choiceſt of the Meat; which the other perceiving, was wont to † upbraid her with her *Sterility*, or Want of Children. *Hannah* took this ſo ſore to Heart, that all the kind Things, which her Huſband ſaid to her, could not aſſuage or comfort her; but, as ſoon as ſhe roſe from Table, away ſhe haſtens to the Tabernacle, and there *pours out her Soul before God*, deſiring of him to bleſs her with a Son, which Favour

† *Ramah* ſignifies an *Eminence*, or high Situation, and is therefore an Appellation given to ſeveral Places, that are built in this Manner. This is ſaid to have ſtood upon Mount *Ephraim*, thereby to diſtinguiſh it from other Towns, in different Tribes, of the ſame Denomination; and the Reaſon why it is here called *Ramathaim*, in the *Dual* Number, is, (as ſome imagine) becauſe it was built upon two Hills, which made it appear as a double City, and, becauſe it was ſituated on high, and had a Watch-Tower built in it, it therefore had the Title of *Zophim* added to it. It ſtood upon the Road, that led from *Samaria* to *Jeruſalem*; and, for this Reaſon, as well as its advantageous Situation, *Baaſha*, King of *Iſrael*, caus'd it to be fortify'd, that there might be no Paſſage out of the Land of *Judah* into that of *Iſrael*, (1 Kings xv. 17. and 2 Chron. xvi. 1.) but in St *Jerom*'s Days, it was no more than a ſmall Village. Here it was that *Samuel* paſs'd a great Part of his Time; for his Mother's Dedication of him to the Service of God did not confine him to *Shiloh*, after that God had called him out to a publick Employ, and appointed him his Reſidence in a Place, more convenient for the Execution of it. The Truth is, after the Captivity of the Ark, and the Death of *Eli*, all religious Ceremonies ſeem to have ceas'd at *Shiloh*; for which Reaſon it is ſaid, that *Samuel* built an Altar at *Ramah*, the Place of his Reſidence, to the Intent that the People might reſort to him, either to receive Judgment, or to offer Sacrifices, which, tho' it was contrary to the Law of *Moſes*, ſeem'd to be a *Caſe of Neceſſity*; becauſe the *Ark* being at one Place, and the *Tabernacle* at another, neither of them could properly be reſorted to, either for ſacrificing, or any other Part of publick Worſhip. *Patrick*'s, *Le Clerc*'s, and *Calmet*'s Commentaries, and Univerſal Hiſtory.

* The Precept is exactly thus, —— *Three Times in the Year all thy Males ſhall appear before the Lord thy God*, (Exod. xxiii. 17.) which were at the Feaſt of the Paſſover, the Pentecoſt, and that of the Tabernacles; but Women were exempted from this Attendance, and therefore it was an extraordinary Act of Piety for *Elkanah* to take his two Wives with him.

† The Blood of this Peace-Offering was ſhed at the Foot of the Altar, the Fat was burnt, the Breaſt and right Shoulder was the Prieſt's *Perquiſite*, and all the reſt belong'd to the Perſon, who brought the Victim. With this he made a *Feaſt of Charity*, to which he called his Friends and Relations, and, in ſeveral Places of Scripture, God reminds him to invite the *Levite*, the Poor, the Fatherleſs, and the Widow. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† Sterility was look'd upon among the *Jews* as one of the greateſt Misfortunes, that could befal any Woman; inſomuch that to have a Child, tho' the Mother immediately died thereupon, was accounted a leſs Affliction, than to have none at all. And to this Purpoſe we may obſerve, that the Midwife comforts *Rachel* in her Labour, even tho' ſhe knew her to lie at the Point of Death, in theſe Terms, *Fear not, for thou ſhalt have this Son alſo*, Gen. xxxv. 17.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

Favour if he would grant her, ſhe promis'd to make him a *Nazarite*, and, all the Days of his Life, devote him to his Service.

HER Prayers were heard, and, in a proper Time ſhe conceiv'd, and brought forth a Son, whom ſhe call'd *Samuel*, even becauſe ſhe had *aſked him of the Lord*, (for ſo his Name imports) and, after he was grown to a competent Age, ſhe brought him to *Shiloh*, and, in a very joyful and thankful Manner, preſented him to *Eli*, who gladly receiv'd him, and immediately cloath'd him with a proper Habit, even with a Linnen * *Ephod*, that he might attend on the Service of the *Tabernacle*.

Eli's *remiſs Government. The Death of his two Sons, Himſelf, and Daughter-in-Law.*

ELI himſelf was a very good Man, but by much too indulgent to his Children. He had two Sons *Hophni* and *Phineas*, who were mere *Libertines*. They domineer'd over the Men, and debauch'd the Women at their Devotions; and ſo far were they from being content with the Portion, which God had allotted them as Prieſts, that they forc'd from the People (even before they had made their *Oblations*) what Part of the Sacrifice they pleas'd; which gave ſo general a Diſguſt, that Religion grew into Contempt, and the Worſhip of God came to be diſus'd.

ELI was not unacquainted with his Sons ill Conduct; but, inſtead of chaſtizing them as his Authority requir'd, he contented himſelf with reproving them now and then, but that, in ſuch gentle and mild Terms, as rather encourag'd than deterr'd them from proceeding in their wicked Practices; till at length, God, being provok'd with this his *Remiſſneſs*, † ſent a Prophet to threaten him, and his Family with utter Deſtruction; to upbraid him with his Ingratitude, in ſlighting the *ſacerdotal* Honour, which he had conferr'd on him; to foretel the Death of his two Sons both in one Day, † the Removal of his Prieſthood into another and better Family, and the extreme Poverty, which his Poſterity would fall into, upon their Ejection from the *ſacerdotal* Office: Nor was it long before God diſcover'd the ſame heavy Judgments to *Samuel*, which was the firſt Revelation he made to this young Prophet, and which *Eli* (when he was told it) receiv'd with a Mind fully reſign'd to the divine Pleaſure; (*a*) *It is the Lord, let him do what ſeemeth him good.*

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

IN theſe Days † there were but few *Prophets*, and *Revelations* were very ſcarce; and therefore, when the *Iſraelites* perceiv'd by the Truth of his Predictions, that God had appointed *Samuel* to the *prophetick* Office, they were not a little rejoic'd: And it was from the great Expectations, they

* The Ephod which the High Prieſt wore (as we have deſcrib'd it elſewhere, page 474.) was a very rich Habit indeed, Exod. xxviii. 6. but there were other Kinds of Ephods, which not only Prieſts and *Levites*, but even Laymen, upon ſome Occaſions, wore, as we find in the Inſtance of *David*, 2 Sam. vi. 14. which was not a *ſacred*, but an *honorary* Garment, (as we may call it) and ſuch as the High-Prieſt might order *Samuel* to wear, to diſtinguiſh him from ſome other inferior Officers belonging to the Tabernacle. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Who this Prophet was, Commentators are at a Loſs to know. Some imagine, that it was *Phineas*, the Son of *Eleazar*; but *Phineas* very probably was dead long before this Time. Others therefore will needs have it to have been *Elkanah*, *Samuel*'s Father; and ſome *Samuel* himſelf: But we no where read, that the Father was endu'd with the Spirit of Prophecy, and the Son was certainly then too young, and unacquainted with the Voice of God. The ſafeſt Way therefore is, to own our Ignorance of what the ſacred Hiſtorian hath not thought proper to diſcover to us. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† The High-Prieſthood was originally ſettled upon *Eleazar*, the Son of *Aaron*, by a Divine Decree; but that Decree being conditional only, 'tis reaſonable to preſume, that there was ſome great Offence or other in *Eleazar*'s Family, (tho' not recorded in Scripture) which provok'd God to remove it into the Family of *Ithamar*, who was *Aaron*'s youngeſt Son, and from whom *Eli* deſcended; and here, for the abominable Practices of his Sons, which he was too negligent to reſtrain, God threatens to tranſlate the Prieſthood back again, from the Family of *Ithamar*, to that of *Eleazar*, which accordingly happen'd in the Reign of King *Solomon*, who depos'd *Abiathar*, the laſt of *Eli*'s Line from the *Pontificate*, and ſet up *Zadock* in his Stead. *Pool*'s Annotations.

(*a*) 1 Sam. iii. 18.

† Whatever Revelations God might impart to ſome pious Perſons privately, there was at this Time none publickly acknowledg'd for a Prophet, unto whom the People might reſort to know the Mind of God; nay, ſo little acquainted were theſe Ages with the prophetick Spirit, that we read of no more than two Prophets, *Judg.* iv. 4. and vi. 8. in all the Days of the Judges. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

they had of God's Favour in renewing this Order of Men among them, that they took up Arms, in order to reſcue themſelves from the *Philiſtines* Yoke. The Army of the *Iſraelites* encamp'd at a Place, which was afterwards called * *Eben-ezer*, and that of the *Philiſtines* at *Aphek*, a City of *Judah*; but when they came to join Battle, the *Iſraelites* were defeated with the Loſs of four Thouſand Men.

The Reaſon of this Defeat was imputed by ſome to their Want of the Ark in the Army, which, as the *Symbol* of God's Preſence, would be a ſure Means of Succeſs; and therefore they ſent to *Hophni* and *Phineas* to bring it with them, and, when it arriv'd in the Camp, receiv'd it with many a joyful Acclamation. The *Philiſtines*, at firſt, were diſpirited at the News, as much as their Enemies were animated: But, at length taking Heart, and exhorting one another to act courageouſly, they repuls'd the *Iſraelites*, when they came to attack them; and, having ſlain thirty Thouſand of their Foot, (among whom were *Hophni* and *Phineas*) they routed the reſt, and put them all to Flight, ſo that the *Ark of the Lord* fell into their Hands.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

The Captivity of the Ark, *and the Wonders it did until it was ſent home.*

This ill News a Soldier of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, eſcaping from the Field of Battle, brought to *Shiloh* that very Day, with the uſual Emblems of extreme Sorrow, * his Clothes rent, and Earth upon his Head; and then there was no ſmall Outcry and Lamentation in the City. *Eli*, enquiring the Cauſe of it, had the Soldier brought before him, who gave him an Account, * that the *Iſraelites* were routed, his two Sons ſlain, and the Ark taken. *Eli* heard the Defeat of the Army, and the Death of his Sons with Courage and Unconcern enough; but, when he came to underſtand, that the Ark of the Lord was fallen into the Enemy's Hand, his Spirits forſook him, and, being both heavy and aged he fell from his Seat, and broke his Neck and died, after he had been the ſupreme

* This Place is here mention'd *prophetically*; for it had not this Name till about twenty Years after, 1 Sam. iv. 1. when *Samuel* fought with the *Philiſtines*, and gave them a total Overthrow, and ſet up a Monument of his Victory (for the proper Name ſignifies *the Stone of Help*) in the Field of Battle, which lay on the North Border of *Judah*, not far from *Mizpeh*; and *Aphek*, where the *Philiſtines* encamp'd, muſt not be far diſtant from it. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III.

* If we conſult Joſh. vii. 6. Job ii. 12. and Ezek. xxvii. 30. we ſhall find, that this was the Manner of Mens expreſſing their deep Sorrow for any great Calamity that had befallen them. And, accordingly, we find *Virgil* repreſenting *Latinus* rending his Clothes, and throwing Duſt upon his grey Hairs, when he laments his private and publick Calamities:

——————— It ſciſsâ veſte Latinus
Canitiem immundo infuſam pulvere turpans. Æneid 12.

* Who this *Benjamite* was, that brought the ill News to *Shiloh* of the Loſs of the Battle, the Hiſtory is ſilent, and the Conjecture of ſome *Jews*, that it probably was *Saul*, is very uncertain and precarious: But there is ſomething very remarkable in the Account which he gives of the Action. The Words are theſe: ——— *And* Eli *ſaid to the* Benjamite, *What is there done in the Battle, my Son? And the Meſſenger anſwer'd and ſaid,* Iſrael *is fled before the* Philiſtines, *and there hath been alſo a great Slaughter among the People, and thy two Sons,* Hophni *and* Phineas, *are dead, and the Ark of God is taken,* 1 Sam. iv. 16, 17. Madam *Dacier* highly commends the Manner, wherein the ſacred Hiſtorian makes this Meſſenger ſpeak, and compares theſe Words, Hophni *and* Phineas *are dead, and the Ark of the Lord is taken,* with thoſe of *Antilocus* to *Achilles*, when he tells him the ſad News, ———

Κεῖται Πάτροκλος νέκυος δὲ δὴ ἀμφιμάχονται
Γυμνὸς· ἄπαὶ τὰ γε τεύχε' ἔχει κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ. Iliad. 18.

Whereupon ſhe quotes the Gloſſary, which *Euſtathius* has upon this Paſſage in *Homer*. *This Speech of* Antilocus (ſays that excellent Critick) *affords us a Pattern, with what Brevity ſuch melancholy News ſhould be related: For, in two Verſes, it compriſes every Thing that happen'd, the Death of* Patroclus, *the Perſon who ſlew him, the Encounter about his Body, and his Arms in the Poſſeſſion of his Enemy. The* Greek *Tragick Poets have not been ſo wiſe as to imitate this; and, of all others,* Euripides, *who, upon the moſt doleful Occaſion, is ſo apt to make long Recitals, is moſt egregiouſly defective herein.* Homer *is the only Author, that deſerves to be follow'd. Nothing is more ridiculous, than to hear a Meſſenger, when he is to report ſome very bad News, running into tedious Circumſtances, and pathetick Expreſſions. All he talks is not minded: For he, to whom he addreſſes himſelf, cannot attend to what he ſays; the firſt Word that acquaints him with the Misfortune, makes him deaf to every Thing elſe. Saurin,* Vol. IV. Diſſert. 23.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

ſupreme Magiſtrate in *Iſrael* * for the Space of forty Years: And (what was a farther Family-Misfortune) his Son *Phineas* had a Wife, then big with Child and near her Time, who, hearing of her Father's and Huſband's Death, and (what was the worſt of all) of the Captivity of the Ark, fell in Labour at the News, and being deliver'd of a Son, had juſt Strength to name him *Jchabod*, (i. e. no Glory) before ſhe died; becauſe *the Ark*, which was the *Glory of* Iſrael, (as ſhe aſſigns the Reaſon) *was departed from them.*

THE *Philiſtines*, having thus got Poſſeſſion of the Ark, * carry'd it in Triumph to one of their *principal* Cities, nam'd *Aſhdod*, and there plac'd it in the Temple of their God *Dagon* hard by his Image. The next Morning the People of * *Aſhdod*, going into the Temple, found *Dagon* fallen down upon his Face before the Ark; but, ſuppoſing this to be an Accident, they ſet him up again, and again, next Morning, found him not only fallen down, but his Head and the Palms of his Hands broken off, and lying upon the Threſhold; whence there aroſe a ſuperſtitious Uſe among the *Philiſtines*, that neither Prieſt nor People would ever † tread upon a Threſhold.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

BY

* The *Septuagint*, and ſome antient Manuſcripts, make the Term of *Eli*'s Magiſtracy to be no more than twenty Years; and, to reconcile this with the *Hebrew* Text, ſome ſuppoſe, either that he had *Samſon* join'd in the Government with him for the firſt twenty Years of his Adminiſtration, or his Sons, for the laſt; but there is no Reaſon for the Solution of a Difficulty, which ariſes from nothing elſe, but a Fault in the Text of the *Septuagint*. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

* It was a Cuſtom among the *Heathens*, to carry in Triumph the Images of the Gods of ſuch Nations, as they had vanquiſh'd. *Iſaiah* prophefies of *Cyrus*, that in this Manner he would treat the Gods of *Babylon:* —— Bel *boweth down*, Nebo *ſtoopeth*; *their Idols were upon the Beaſts, and upon the Cattel,* —— *and themſelves are gone into Captivity*, Iſaiah xlvi. 1, 2. *Daniel* foretels of *Ptolomy Euergetes*, that he would *carry captive into* Egypt *the Gods of the* Syrians, *with their Princes*, Dan. xi. 8. And the like Predictions are to be met with in *Jeremiah*, xlviii. 7. and in *Amos* i. 15. We need leſs wonder therefore, that we find *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Marcellus*, telling us, that he took away, out of the Temples of *Syracuſe*, the moſt beautiful Pictures and Statues of their Gods; and, that, afterwards, it became a Reproach to *Marcellus*, and rais'd the Indignation of other Nations againſt *Rome*, "That he carry'd "along with him, not *Men* only, but the very *Gods* captive, and in Triumph." *Saurin*, Vol. IV. Diſſert. 24.

* The *Philiſtines* were Deſcendants from *Mizraim*, the Father of the *Egyptians*, and ſo, in all Probability, having their firſt Settlement in *Egypt*, or the Parts adjoining, lay to the South-Weſt of the Land of *Canaan*. In Proceſs of Time however, they made Inroads upon *Canaan*, and, in *Abraham*'s Days, had got Poſſeſſion of a good Part of the Territories, which lay along the *weſtern Coaſts* of the *Mediterranean-Sea*. This Tract of Ground was divided into five Principalities, or little Kingdoms, *viz. Gaza*, *Aſkelon*, *Aſhdod*, *Gath*, and *Akron*; which, for the better underſtanding of ſome Particulars related of the Ark, during its Stay in this Country, it will not be improper to deſcribe all together. The City of *Gaza* (from which the Territory took its Name) ſtood, as it were, on the very *South-Weſt* Angle, or Corner of the Land of *Canaan*; but of this Place we have ſpoken before. To the *North* of *Gaza* lay next the City of *Aſkelon*, called by the *Greeks*, *Aſcalon*, and of great Note among the *Gentiles* for a Temple dedicated to *Dirceto*, the Mother of *Semiramis*, who was here worſhipp'd in the Form of a *Mermaid*. To the *North* of *Aſcalon* lay *Aſhdod*, called by the *Greeks*, *Azotus*, and famous for the Temple of the God *Dagon*, whereof we have taken Notice before. Still more to the *North* lay *Gath*, memorable for being the Birth-Place of the Giant *Goliah*, whom *David* ſlew, and of ſeveral others of the ſame gigantick Race. It was diſmantled by *Ozias*, King of *Judah*, and finally laid waſte by *Hazael*, King of *Syria*: However it recover'd itſelf, and retain'd its old Name, in the Days of *Euſebius*, and St *Jerom*, who place it about four Miles from *Eleutheropolis*, in the Way to *Lidda*. The moſt *Northern* of theſe Cities, ſtill upon the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean Sea*, was *Ekron*, called by the *Greeks*, *Accaron*, a Place of great Wealth and Power, and famous for the idolatrous Worſhip of *Beelzebub*, who had here a celebrated Temple and Oracle. But of this Idol we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more, when we come to the Reign of *Ahaziah*, King of *Judah*, who ſent in his Illneſs to conſult him. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

† It is ſomwhat ſtrange, that when the *Philiſtines* ſaw their *Dagon* caſt down before the Ark of God, with his Head and Hands broken off, they ſhould not thence infer, that he was no more than a vain Idol: But inſtead of that, we find them honouring the very Threſhold, whereby he receiv'd theſe *Maims*, as if they had been conſecrated, or ſome Divinity infus'd into them, from the mere Touch of this Idol. This is a ſore Inſtance of Blindneſs and Infatuation; but it is no more, than what other Heathen Nations fell into. For, whether the Cuſtom took its firſt Riſe from this Practice of the *Philiſtines*, or no, 'tis certain, that among the *Romans* the Threſhold was conſecrated to the Goddeſs *Veſta*, and thoſe, which belong'd to Temples, were always held in the higheſt Veneration, as appears from *Juvenal*. ——

——————Tarpeïum Limen adora. Sat. 6.

and that other Paſſage in *Tibullus*, ——

Non ego, ſi merui, dubitem procumbere Templis,
Et dare Sacratis Oſcula Liminibus. Lib. i. Eleg. 5.

Nay,

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

By this Means the People of *Aſhdod* could not but perceive, that their *Dagon* was far inferior to the God of *Iſrael*, who, to make them ſtill more ſenſible of this, ſmote them, and the Inhabitants of the Places adjacent, with *Emerods*, and deſtroy'd the Fruits of their Grounds with Swarms of *Mice*; ſo that (to redreſs their Complaints) the Princes of the *Philiſtines* order'd the Ark to be remov'd to *Gath*, where the ſame Judgments befel the People of that Place; and, when from thence it was carry'd to *Ekron*, not only the † Plague of the *Emerods*, but a waſting Peſtilence likewiſe, went along with it; ſo that the People were reſolv'd to ſend it away, and to that Purpoſe, call'd their Prieſts together to adviſe with them in what Manner they might beſt do it.

The Prieſts advis'd them to provide a new Cart, and to yoke to it two milch Kine, that had never drawn before, but to keep up their Calves confin'd. In this Cart they order'd them to place the *Ark*, and (becauſe it was proper to make ſome *Treſpaſs-Offering* to the God of *Iſrael*) to have five * golden *Emerods*, and as many golden *Mice* (according to the Number of the principal Cities of the *Philiſtines*) made, and put in a Coffer by the Side of the Ark. But, above all, they caution'd them to take Notice, which Way the * Kine went; for, if they took towards *Judea*, they might conclude that theſe Judgments were of the God of *Iſrael*'s Infliction, if any other Way, they might look upon them only as common *Accidents*.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

When all Things were thus got ready, the Kine were let go; and, taking the Road which led to *Bethſhemeth*, in the Way to *Judea*, they went lowing along until

Nay, at this very Day, there are ſome *Moſques* in *Perſia*, whoſe Threſholds are cover'd over with Plates of Silver, and which the People are not allow'd to tread on; for that is a Crime, which cannot be expiated without undergoing very ſevere Pains and Penalties. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† The Word *Apholim*, which only occurs here, and in the xxviiith Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, is, by different Interpreters, ſuppos'd to ſignify different Things. Some take it for a *Dyſentery*, others for what they call *Procidentia Ani*; ſome for a *Cancer*, and others for ſomething *Venereal* in that Part. The Scriptnre tells us expreſsly, that *God ſmote his Enemies in the hinder Parts*, Pſal. lxxviii. 66. And therefore our Tranſlation is not amiſs, which ſuppoſes their Malady to have been ſuch painful Tumours in the Fundament, as very frequently turn into *Ulcers*. *Patrick*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

* It was a prevailing Opinion among the *Heathens*, that the only Way to appeaſe their Gods, when offended at them, was to offer them Preſents; ——

Munera, crede mihi, capiunt homineſque Deoſque,
Placatur Donis *Jupiter* ipſe datis. Ovid, de Arte, Lib. iii.

and therefore no Wonder that the *Philiſtines* Prieſts hit upon this Thought: And why they ſent, along with the Ark, the Images of the Parts, which were afflicted with this ſore Diſeaſe, might proceed from a common Cuſtom likewiſe among the *Heathens*, of conſecrating to their Gods ſuch Monuments of their Deliverance, as repreſented the Evils from whence they had eſcaped, or the Members, which had been diſorder'd. Thus the People of *Athens*, having been afflicted with a ſhameful Diſeaſe for not receiving the Myſteries of *Bacchus* with a proper Reverence, and conſulting the Oracle what they were to do, in order to have it remov'd, were directed to make Figures of the Part affected, and preſent them to the God, which gave them this Counſel: And accordingly the *Philiſtines*, hoping ſhortly to be deliver'd from the *Emerods* and *Mice*, wherewith they were ſorely infeſted, took the ſame Method to get quit of them. Nor is the Practice ceas'd among the *Indians* (as *Tavernier* relates in his Travels, Page 92.) when any Pilgrim goes to a Pagod for the Cure of any Diſeaſe, for him to bring the Figure of the Member afflicted, either in Gold, Silver, or Copper, according to his Quality, and to offer it to the Idol in a moſt ſubmiſſive Manner. *Calmet*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

* It was no bad Policy in the *Philiſtines* to take milch-Kine, that had never been yok'd before, to draw the Cart, in order to know, whether there was the Hand of God in what had befallen them. As theſe Creatures were unacquainted with the Yoke, it would be a Wonder if they ſhould go jointly together, and not thwart, or draw counter to each other; it would be a Wonder if their natural Affection would not incline them to return to their Calves, which were left behind; and it would be ſtill a greater Wonder, if, when there were ſo many different Ways to take, they ſhould go directly forward to *Judea*, without any Manner of Deviation. It was therefore a Matter of no ſmall Sagacity, for them to make this Experiment: To ſay nothing, that it was a receiv'd Opinion among the Heathens, that, in the Motions of an Heifer, or Cow that was never yok'd, there was ſomething *ominous*, and declarative of the Divine Will.

Bos tibi, Phœbus ait, ſolis occurret in Arvis,
Nullum paſſa jugum, curvique immunis Aratri;
Hac Duce carpe vias. Ovid. Metam. lib. iii.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

until they came to the Field of one *Joſhua*, and there ſtood ſtill by a great Stone. *Bethſhemeth* was one of the Cities belonging to the *Levites*, and therefore, when Word was brought them of the Arrival of the Ark, they went and took it down, and the Coffer with it; and, cleaving the Wood of the Cart for a Fire, ſacrific'd the two Kine for a *Burnt-Offering* to the Lord. But, whether out of Joy or Curioſity, ſo it was, that ſome of the *Bethſhemites* adventuring to look into the Ark (which was expreſſly againſt the divine Command) were immediately ſlain to the Number of *ſeventy*, which ſo terrify'd the reſt, that they ſent to the People of *Kirjath-jearim*, acquainting them that the *Philiſtines* had brought back the Ark, and deſiring them to come and fetch it, which accordingly they did, and plac'd it in the Houſe of one *Abinadab*, (whoſe Son was conſecrated to keep it) and there it continu'd for the Space of twenty Years.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

Samuel's *Government, and his Sons Male-Adminiſtration.*

UPON the Death of *Eli*, *Samuel* ſucceeded to the Government; and having called the People together, very probably upon the Occaſion of removing the Ark from *Bethſhemeth* to *Kirjath-jearim*, * he exhorted them very earneſtly to renounce their *idolatrous* Practices, and to devote themſelves entirely to the Worſhip of God, and then they need not doubt but that he would deliver them from all their Enemies. This the People promis'd him faithfully to do; ſo that *Samuel* diſmiſs'd them for the preſent, but order'd them to meet him again, within a certain Time, at † *Mizpeh*.

HERE they held a ſolemn Faſt and Humiliation to the Lord. They wept, and pray'd, confeſs'd their Sins, offer'd Sacrifices, and ‡ made Libations; and *Samuel*

* The Speech, which, according to *Joſephus*, *Samuel* makes to the People, upon this Occaſion, is to this Effect: ——— "Ye Men of *Iſrael*, ſince ye find by Experience, that the Malice of your Enemies is implacable, and that "your earneſt Supplications to God for Relief are graciouſly receiv'd; you ſhould do well to conſider, that your "Wiſhing for the Freedom you want will never do the Buſineſs, without exerting your Power to the uttermoſt, upon "the proper Means of procuring it: For to do otherwiſe, is but praying one Way and acting another. Wherefore, "in the firſt Place, be careful not to bring Scandal upon your Profeſſion by ill Manners, but turn yourſelves to the "Love and Practice of Juſtice, without Partiality, or Corruption. Purge your Minds of all groſs Affections. Turn "to God, call upon him, adore him, and honour him in your Lives and Converſations, as well as with your Lips. "Do good Things, and Good will come on it, *i. e.* Liberty and Victory; for theſe are Bleſſings not to be obtain'd "by Force of Men, Strength of Body, or Bands of Soldiers, but God, who is Truth itſelf, has promis'd them, as "the Rewards of Probity and Righteouſneſs, and you may depend upon it, he will never diſappoint you." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vi. c. 2.

† The *Mizpeh* here mention'd (as appears from the Circumſtances of the Story) muſt be different from that which is remark'd in the Hiſtory of *Jephthah*. There is indeed another *Mizpeh* mention'd among the Cities of *Judah* (Joſh. xv. 38.) and a third, among thoſe of *Benjamin* (Joſh. xviii. 26.) Some are of Opinion, that theſe two Cities are one and the ſame, and are only ſuppos'd to be two, becauſe they lie in the Confines of each *Tribe*; but, if they are not the ſame, it ſeems moſt probable, that the *Mizpeh* in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, was the City, which is here ſpoken of. And we may obſerve farther, that, as *Mizpeh* is ſaid to be ſituated not far from *Eben-ezer*, and probably on the *Eaſt*, or *North* Side; ſo *Shen* (if it be the Name of a Place, and not rather of ſome *ſharp Rock* thereabouts) was ſituated not far from it, on the oppoſite, *i. e.* on the *Weſt*, or *South-weſt* Side, to which *Bethcar* muſt needs be contiguous. *Wells's* Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III. c. 1.

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation run thus: ——— *And they gathered to* Mizpeh, *and drew Water, and poured it out before the Lord*, 1 Sam. vii. 6; But what we are to underſtand by this Water, the Conjectures of Commentators have been very various. Some take theſe Words in a *metaphorical* Senſe, to denote thoſe *Tears of Contrition*, which were drawn, as it were, from the Bottom of their Hearts, and fell from their Eyes *before the Lord*. Others think, that with this Water they waſh'd their Bodies, (as they are ſuppos'd to have done upon another Occaſion, *Exod.* xix. 10.) to ſignify the Purification of their Souls from the Pollution of Sin. Others, that they made uſe of it to cleanſe the Ground where *Samuel* was to erect an Altar, that it might not ſtand upon an impure Place. Some ſuppoſe that it was employ'd as an Emblem of Humiliation, of Prayer, of Expiation, of Execration, and I know not what beſides. But the moſt probable Opinion is, that this Water was, upon this Occaſion, *poured out*, by Way of *Libation, before God:* And, for the Support of this, it is commonly alledg'd, that Libations of this Kind were very cuſtomary in antient Times; that *Theophraſtus*, as he is cited by *Porphyry*, (de Abſtin. lib. ii.) tells us, that the earlieſt Libations were of Water, though afterwards Honey and Wine came into Requeſt; that *Virgil* (Æneid iv.) mentions the Practice of ſprinkling the Water of the Lake *Avernus*; and that *Homer* (Odyſſ. 12.) remarks, that, for Want of Wine, the Companions of *Ulyſſes* pour'd out Water in a Sacrifice, which they offer'd to the Gods. 'Tis certain, that *David poured out unto the Lord* the Water, which the three gallant Men in his Army brought him *from the Well of* Bethlehem,

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Samuel took this Opportunity to adminiſter Juſtice among them. The *Philiſtines* hearing of this their Aſſembly, took the Alarm, and, coming upon them unawares, put them into no ſmall Conſternation. Upon *Samuel*'s Sacrifice and Interceſſion however, God declar'd himſelf manifeſtly in Favour of the *Iſraelites:* For, as ſoon as the Fight began, there was heard * ſuch a dreadful Peal of Thunder, as ſtruck Terror and Amazement into the Enemy, ſo that they betook themſelves inſtantly to Flight, and were purſu'd by the *Iſraelites* as far as *Bethcar*. The Truth is, this was ſo ſignal a Victory, that, for a long Time the *Philiſtines* durſt not appear upon the Frontiers of *Iſrael*, but were forc'd to reſtore the Cities, which they had taken from them; ſo that *Samuel* had good Reaſon to ſet up a Monument (which he did between *Mizpeh* and *Shen*, calling it *Ebenezer*. i. e. *the Stone of Help*) in Memory of ſo great a Deliverance.

After this Action, the moſt Part of *Samuel*'s Government was employ'd in a peaceable Adminiſtration of Juſtice. For which Purpoſe he took a Circuit every Year round a great Tract of the Country: But, as he grew in Years, he appointed his two Sons, *Joel* and *Abiah* to the Execution of that Office, who, degenerating * from their Father's Example, became ſuch mercenary and corrupt *Judges*, that the Elders of *Iſrael* came in a Body to *Samuel*, complain'd of the Grievances they lay under, by Reaſon of his Infirmity, and his Sons Male-Adminiſtration, and thereupon demanded to have the Form of their Government chang'd, and a King inſtituted among them, as there was in other Nations. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

This Demand was far from being agreeable to *Samuel*; however he conſulted God upon it, who gave him Anſwer, that he ſhould comply with the People in what they deſir'd, notwithſtanding the Affront did terminate not ſo much upon *Samuel*, as himſelf: But, before they proceeded to the Choice of a King, he order'd him to acquaint them with what his Prerogatives were, and what Rights they might expect that he would demand from them; and withal, to inform them, † that Slavery to them and their Children, Subjection to the meaneſt Offices, Loſs of Liberty, heavy Taxes, conſtant War, and many other Inconveniencies, would be the Conſequence of a kingly Power. But † all

hem, at the Hazard of their Lives, 2 Sam. xxiii. 16. and therefore, though the Law does not enjoin any ſuch Libations of Water; yet, ſince there is no poſitive Prohibition of them, why may we not ſuppoſe, that, upon this extraordinary Occaſion, ſomething ſingular and extraordinary might have been done? *Patrick*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

* *Joſephus* gives us this Account of the whole Tranſaction: —— "In ſome Places God ſhook the Foundations of the Earth under the Feet of the *Philiſtines*, ſo that they could not ſtand without ſtaggering: In others, "it open'd, and ſwallow'd them up alive, before they knew where they were; while the Claps of Thunder, and "Flaſhes of Fire were ſo violent, that their very Eyes and Limbs were ſcorch'd to ſuch a Degree, that they could "neither ſee their Way before them, nor handle their Arms." Jewiſh Antiq. lib. vi. c. 2.

* It may poſſibly be made a Queſtion, why God did not puniſh *Samuel*, as he did *Eli*, for the Wickedneſs of his Sons? But to this it may be anſwer'd, That *Samuel*'s Sons were not ſo bad as thoſe of *Eli*; ſince taking Bribes privately was not like openly profaning the *Tabernacle*, and making the Worſhip of God contemptible. And, beſides this, it is poſſible, that *Samuel* might be ignorant of the Corruption of his Sons; ſince he liv'd at *Ramah*, and they at *Beerſheba*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The Rules of Conduct, which God preſcribes to the Perſon, that ſhould at any Time be conſtituted King over *Iſrael*, are of a quite different Sort to theſe Practices. *He ſhall not multiply Horſes to himſelf, neither ſhall he multiply Wives to himſelf, neither ſhall he greatly multiply to himſelf Silver or Gold.* He ſhall *write him a Copy of the Law in a Book, and he ſhall read therein all the Days of his Life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the Words of this Law, and theſe Statutes, to do them, that his Heart be not lifted up above his Brethren, and that he turn not aſide from the Commandments, to the Right-Hand, or to the Left,* Deut. xvii. 16, &c. So that *Samuel* does not, in the Words before us, define what are the juſt Rights of Kings, but deſcribes only ſuch Practices, as the Kings of the *Eaſt*, who were *deſpotick* Princes, and look'd upon their Subjects as ſo many Slaves, were generally accuſtom'd to: And the Prophet had ſome Reaſon to draw a King in thoſe black Colours, becauſe the *Iſraelites* deſir'd ſuch a one as their Neighbours had, who were all under the abſolute Dominion of their Princes. *Le Clerc*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

† It is generally ſuppos'd, that what made the *Iſraelites* ſo urgent at this Time for a King, was a preſent Streight, they thought themſelves in, for Want of an able Leader: For *Nahaſh*, the King of the *Amorites* coming up to *Jabeſh-Gilead*,

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all theſe Remonſtrances avail'd nothing: The People perſiſt in their Deſire of a King, and God tells *Samuel*, that he will not fail to give them one.

Saul *is appointed King over* Iſrael.

THE Appearance of Providence in the Election of their King was indeed very remarkable. *Saul*, the Son of *Kiſh*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, was a very tall, handſome Youth; and it ſo happening at this Time, that ſome of his Father's Aſſes being gone aſtray, he, and a Servant along with him, were ſent to look for them. They wander'd about a great Way without gaining any Intelligence, till coming to *Ramah*, the Place of *Samuel*'s Reſidence, at his Servant's Inſtigation, he went to adviſe with him concerning the Aſſes. God had appriz'd *Samuel* with the Coming of the Perſon that Day, who was to be appointed King; and therefore *Samuel*, when he ſaw him, ſhew'd him all the Reſpect, that was due to his future Character. He took him with him † to the *High-Place*, where he was going to ſacrifice; he invited him to feaſt with him upon the Sacrifices, that were to be offer'd; and had invited thirty Gueſts more to bear him Company. He ſeated him in the higheſt Place, and diſtinguiſh'd him likewiſe by ordering the choiceſt Diſhes to be ſerv'd up to him. That Evening he had a long *Conference* with him in private, and the next Morning, as he was waiting on him out of Town, he order'd † the Servant to be ſent before, that he might acquaint him with God's Purpoſe of exalting him to the *regal* Dignity; and, having † anointed him to be King of *Iſrael*, he foretold him ſeveral † Events, which ſhould befal him, in his Return home,

Gilead, and encamping before it, had put the Inhabitants into ſuch a Fright, that, without more to do, they offer'd to ſurrender upon Terms, telling him, that *they would become Subjects to him, if he would make a League with them*, 1 Sam. xi. 1. But the haughty *Amorite*, in Contempt of *Iſrael*, let them know, that, if he made a League with them, the Condition thereof ſhould be, *that they ſhould come out to him, and let him thruſt out all their right Eyes, and lay it for a Reproach upon all* Iſrael. The Elders of *Jabeſh*, in this ſad Circumſtance, demanded ſeven Days Reſpite, that they might ſend Meſſengers into all the Coaſts of *Iſrael*, and if in that Time no Succours arriv'd, they would ſubmit. This, it is thought, was the Reaſon for their preſſing ſo hard upon *Samuel* at this Time for a King; whereas their Duty was, to have enquir'd of the Lord (as they had done at other Times) who it was, that he would be pleas'd to conſtitute the *General* in this Exigence, to lead out their Forces againſt their Enemies. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, in the Notes.

† In ſeveral Places of Scripture, the *Canaanites* are ſaid to have had their High-Places, whereon they worſhipp'd their *Idols*, but this is the firſt Inſtance of any belonging to the People of God; and 'tis the Opinion of ſome learned Men, that this Appointment of a *private* or *inferior* Place of Worſhip (even while the Ark and Tabernacle were in Being) by ſo great an Authority, as that of *Samuel*, gave Riſe to the Inſtitution of *Synagogues*, and *Proſeuchas* in ſo many Places of the Kingdom afterwards. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† This was with Deſign to let *Saul* underſtand, that what he was going to do was by the Divine Order and Appointment; and that, when it ſhould come to the caſting of Lots, (as it did afterwards, 1 *Sam.* x. 20.) he might perceive, that he was choſen King by Chance of a Lot. There might be likewiſe this further Reaſon for *Samuel*'s bidding *Saul* to ſend away his Servant, *viz.* leſt the People, ſuſpecting *Samuel* to do this by his own Will, more than by God's Appointment, might be inclinable to mutiny. Since this royal Unction then was only deſign'd for *Saul*'s private Satisfaction, it was neceſſary not to have it publiſh'd, before the People had proceeded to a publick Election of their King. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, in the Notes.

† We read of no expreſs Command for the anointing of Kings, and yet it is plain, from the Parable of *Jotham*, Judg. ix. 8. that this was a Cuſtom two hundred Years before this Time. Why Oil, rather than any other Liquid, was the Symbol of conveying a regal Authority, we are no where inform'd. 'Tis true, that God directed *Moſes* to conſecrate *Aaron* to the High-Prieſt's Office, by anointing his Head with Oil, *Exod.* xxix. 7. But the anointing of Kings, we may preſume, was of a *prior* Date. *Unction* indeed, in the Days of *Jacob*, was the common Method of ſetting apart from common Uſe even Things inanimate, *Gen.* xxviii. 18. and therefore it may well be ſuppos'd, that Perſons of ſuch Deſignation, as Kings were, were all along admitted by the ſame Ceremony, which might be of Divine Appointment, perhaps at the firſt Inſtitution of Government, in the *Antediluvian* World, and thence handed down, by a long *Tradition*, to future Generations. This Rite of Unction, in ſhort, was ſo much the Divine Care, that we find God giving *Moſes* a Preſcription how to make the conſecrating Oil, *Exod.* xxx. 23. But tho' *Solomon* was anointed with Oil taken from the *Tabernacle*, yet ſince *Samuel* was no Prieſt, and could not therefore have Acceſs to the Tabernacle, which at this Time was at ſome Diſtance from him, it is more reaſonable to think (tho' ſome *Jewiſh* Doctors will have it otherwiſe) that what he made uſe of, upon this Occaſion, was no more than common Oil. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The Events, which *Samuel* told *Saul* he ſhould meet with in his Return home, were theſe: —— That, near *Rachel*'s Tomb, he ſhould meet two Men, who ſhould inform him, that his Father's Aſſes were found again; that,

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home, in Token of the Truth of his Deſignation to that Office.

THUS *Saul* was appointed King, but then it was only between *Samuel* and himſelf. To make his Choice and Inauguration therefore more publick, *Samuel* called an Aſſembly of the People together at *Mizpeh*, to which Place the Ark of the Lord was brought, that they might with more Solemnity proceed to the Election of a King. The Method of their electing was this: —— Firſt, the Lot was caſt for every Tribe ſeparately, to know out of which the King was to be choſen, and the Lot fell upon that of *Benjamin*: Next, it was caſt for all the Families of this Tribe, and fell upon that of *Mitri*: And laſtly, it was caſt for all the Perſons of this Family, and fell upon *Saul*, the Son of *Kiſh*, who, when he came into the Aſſembly, (for he choſe to be abſent at the Time of the Election) and had been recommended by *Samuel* in a ſhort Speech upon that Occaſion, appear'd ſo portly, and with ſo much Majeſty, that he gain'd the Affections and good Wiſhes of all, except ſome few diſorderly Perſons, who diſapprov'd of the Choice, and (in pure Contempt) refus'd to † make him the uſual Preſents; which *Saul* could not but perceive, tho', in Point of Prudence, he thought proper, at that Time, † to overlook it. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

SAUL had not been many Days upon the Throne, before there happen'd a fit Occaſion for him to exert himſelf. *Nahaſh*, King of the *Ammonites*, laid Siege to † *Jabeſh-Gilead* on the other Side of *Jordan*, and had ſo cloſely begirt it, that the People offer'd to capitulate; but on no better Conditions would he permit them, than that each Man ſhould have † *his Right Eye* *And conquers the cruel King of the* Ammonites.

departing thence, he would meet three Men going to *Bethel*, one of them carrying three Kids, another three Cakes of Bread, and the third a Bottle of Wine, and that they ſhould give him two Parts thereof; and that, when he came to *Geba*, (which was commonly called *the Hill of God*) where there was a Garriſon of the *Philiſtines*, he ſhould meet a Company of Prophets going into the City, where the Spirit of God ſhould fall upon him, and he (to the Wonder of all, that ſhould hear him) ſhould begin to propheſy among them: All which Signs happen'd exactly as *Samuel* had foretold them, 1 *Sam.* x. 2, *&c.*

† It was a conſtant Cuſtom among the *eaſtern* Nations, and is even to this Day, whenever they approach'd the Prince, to preſent him with ſomething: But here, in the Caſe of *Saul*, at his firſt Acceſſion to the Throne, it was the proper Method of recognizing him. The *Chaldee* Paraphraſe ſays, that *they did not come to ſalute him, or wiſh him an happy Reign:* But this is the ſame Thing, becauſe the firſt Salutation offer'd to a King, was always attended with Preſents, which carry'd with them a Sign of Peace and Friendſhip, of Congratulation and Joy, and of Subjection and Obedience. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† In this *Saul* acted a very wiſe and politick Part, as being unwilling to begin his Reign with any Diſorder or Tumult, which his juſt Reſentment of ſuch an Affront might perhaps have occaſion'd. Theſe *Sons of Belial* (as they are term'd) were, very likely, Perſons of ſome Rank and Quality, and therefore they deſpis'd *Saul*, for his having been related to a ſmall Tribe, and ſprung from an obſcure Family. If then he had taken Notice of this Affront, and not reveng'd it, he had ſhewn himſelf *mean-ſpirited*; and if he had reſented it as it deſerv'd, he might both have provok'd a Party againſt him, and, at his firſt ſetting out, incurr'd the Cenſure of Raſhneſs and Cruelty: A Prejudice, which, in the future Courſe of his Reign, would have been far from doing him any good. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, in the Notes.

† This Town lay on the Eaſt-Side of *Jordan*, and not far diſtant from the *Ammonites*, who beſieg'd it. It was in Being in the Times of *Euſebius* and St *Jerom*, and was ſituate upon a Hill about ſix Miles diſtant from *Pella*, as one goes to *Geraſa*. It is ſometimes in Scripture ſimply called *Jabeſh*, and what the Inhabitants thereof are farther remarkable for, is ——— their grateful Remembrance of the Benefits, they had receiv'd from *Saul*, when, after his Death, having heard, that the *Philiſtines had faſtened his Body to the Wall of* Bethſhan, *they went all Night, and took the Body of* Saul, *and the Bodies of his Sons from the Wall, and came to* Jabeſh, *and burnt them there, and took their Bones, and buried them under a Tree at* Jabeſh, *and faſted ſeven Days*; for which they were highly commended by *David*, 2 Sam. ii. 5. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III.

† The Reaſon why *Nahaſh* was for having their right Eyes put out, was not only to bring a *Reproach upon* Iſrael, as himſelf declares, but to diſable them likewiſe from ſerving in War; for, as the Manner of fighting in thoſe Days was chiefly with Bow and Arrow, Sword and Shield, the Loſs of the Right-Eye made them incapable of either; becauſe, in Combat, the left Eye is cover'd with the Shield, and in ſhooting with the Bow, 'tis uſual to wink with it, ſo that depriving them of their Right-Eye made them uſeleſs in War: And yet this barbarous King thought it not proper to put out both their Eyes; for then he would have made them utterly incapable of doing him the Service, or acquiring the Tribute for him, which he expected from them. *Calmet*'s Commentary. 1

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Eye put out. Hereupon they ſent to *Gibeah* to demand Aid of King *Saul* † in the Space of ſeven Days, (for that was all the Time allow'd them) and he, having ſummon'd all *Iſrael* to come to their Aſſiſtance upon Pain of Death, in a very ſhort Time had an Army of three hundred Thouſand *Iſraelites*, beſides thirty Thouſand of the Tribe of *Judah*, and with theſe he promis'd to relieve the *Beſieg'd* the very next Day. Nor was he worſe than his Word: For, dividing his Army into three Parts, and falling upon the *Beſiegers* about Break of Day, he ſo totally routed and diſpers'd them, that ſcarce two of them were left together.

THIS Victory, † and the Deliverance which it procur'd from a barbarous and inſulting Enemy, rais'd their new King's Fame to ſuch a Degree, that ſome, remembring the Indignities that were put upon him at his *Coronation*, were (in the Height of their Zeal) for having them *now* puniſh'd with Death; but *Saul* very prudently oppos'd the Motion, and expreſs'd his Averſion to have the Glories of that Day ſully'd with the Blood of any of his Subjects.

FROM this Victory however *Samuel* took Occaſion to give thoſe, who had hitherto refus'd their Allegiance, an Opportunity of coming in, and *recognizing* the King; and for that Purpoſe order'd a general Meeting at *Gilgal* to confirm *Saul*'s Election; which accordingly was celebrated with Mirth and Joy between both King and People, as well as with Sacrifices and Thankſgivings to God, as the Author of all their Succeſſes.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

SAMUEL was, at this Time, to reſign the Government entirely into the Hands of *Saul*; and therefore in the Speech, which he made upon this Occaſion, he inſiſted not a little upon the Vindication of his own Adminiſtration. He reminded them of the great Tranſgreſſions, which they and their Forefathers had committed; he ſet before them the Bleſſings conſequent upon their Obedience, and the Judgments, which would certainly attend their Diſobedience to the Laws of God; he gave them to underſtand, that they had been * far from doing an acceptable Thing to God, in rejecting his Government, and deſiring a King; and (that they might not think, that he mention'd this out of any Prejudice, or indeed without a divine Direction) he gave them this Sign: —— That

Samuel's *Speech upon the Reſignation of the Government.*

† It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that this barbarous Prince ſhould be willing to allow the *Jabeſhites* the Reſpite of ſeven Days, but *Joſephus* aſſigns this Reaſon for it, *viz.* that he had ſo mean an Opinion of the People, that he made no Difficulty to comply with their Requeſt. *Saul* indeed had been appointed King, but having not as yet taken upon him the Government, he liv'd, juſt as he did before, in a private Condition, 1 *Sam.* xi. 5. So that had he, upon this Notice, endeavour'd to levy an Army, he could ſcarce think it poſſible to be done, in ſo ſhort a Space as ſeven Days; and therefore he thought he might grant them theſe Conditions without any Danger, and without driving them to Deſparation, as he might have done, had he denied them their Requeſt. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† *Joſephus* acquaints us, that *Saul* did not content himſelf with barely relieving *Jabeſh*, but carry'd on a War againſt the *Ammonites*, ſlew their King, laid waſte their Country, enrich'd his Army with Spoils, and brought the People ſafe and victorious to their Homes again. *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vi. c. 6.

* That Part of the Speech, which *Joſephus* introduces *Samuel*, as making to the People, and complaining of their Importunity for a Change of Government, is conceiv'd in theſe Terms: —— "What ſhould you chuſe another "King for, after the Experience of ſo many ſignal Mercies, and miraculous Deliverances, while you were under "God's Protection, and own'd him for your Governor? You have forgotten the Story of your Forefather *Jacob*'s "coming into *Egypt* with only ſeventy Men in his Train, and purely for Want of Bread; how God provided for "them, and, by his Bleſſing, how they increas'd and multiply'd. You have forgotten the Slavery and Oppreſſion, "they groan'd under, till, upon their Cries and Supplications for Relief, God reſcu'd them himſelf, without the "Help of Kings, by the Hands of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, who brought them out of *Egypt* into the Land you are now "poſſeſs'd of. How can you then be ſo ungrateful now, after ſo many Bleſſings and Benefits receiv'd, as to depart "from the Reverence and Allegiance, you owe to ſo powerful and ſo merciful a Protector? How often have you been "deliver'd up into the Hands of your Enemies for your Apoſtacy and Diſobedience, and as often afterward reſtor'd "to God's Favour, and your Liberty, upon your Humiliation and Repentance? Who was it but God, that gave you "Victory firſt over the *Aſſyrians*, then over the *Ammonites*, and then over the *Moabites*, and laſt of all over "the *Philiſtines*, not by the Influence and Direction of Kings, but under the Conduct of *Jephthah* and *Gideon*? "What Madneſs has poſſeſs'd you then, to abandon an *heavenly* Governor for an *earthly*, &c." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vi. c. 6.

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That God would immediately ſend a Storm of Thunder and Rain, which, in the † Time of *Wheat Harveſt* (as it was then) was a Thing very unuſual; and this coming to paſs according to his Prediction, ſo terrify'd the People, that they acknowledg'd their Offence, and intreated *Samuel* to intercede for them; which he not only promis'd them to do, but to aſſiſt them likewiſe with his beſt Inſtructions, ſo long as they adher'd to the Obſervation of God's Laws; but if they deſpis'd them, they were to expect to be deſtroy'd, *both they and their King*.

Saul's *Victory over the* Philiſtines.

After this Victory over the *Ammonites*, *Saul*, in the ſecond Year of his Reign, diſbanded all his Army, except three Thouſand Men, two of which he kept for his Body-Guard, and the other Thouſand were to attend his Son *Jonathan*; who, being a Prince of great Bravery, had taken an Opportunity, and cut off a Garriſon of the *Philiſtines* in † *Geba*, which in Effect was a Declaration of War. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

The *Philiſtines*, upon this Occaſion, rais'd a very powerful Army, which conſiſted of ‡ three Thouſand Chariots, ſix Thouſand Horſe, and a Multitude of Foot almoſt innumerable, and came and encamp'd at ‡ *Michmaſh*. The *Iſraelitiſh* Army, which was to *rendevouz* at *Gilgal*, came in but very ſlowly, and of thoſe that did, ſeveral were ſo faint-hearted, as to hide themſelves in the Rocks and Caves; and others, thinking themſelves never ſafe enough, retir'd even beyond the *Jordan*. The Truth is, that both Prince and People were ſadly intimidated, becauſe *Samuel*, whoſe Company at this Juncture was impatiently expected, was not yet come; ſo that the King, fearing that the Enemy would fall upon him before he had made his Addreſſes to God for Succeſs, order'd Sacrifices to be made; and the Burnt-Offering

† It is an Obſervation of St *Jerom*, that this Harveſt in *Judea* began about the End of *June*, or the Beginning of *July*, in which Seaſon Thunder and Rain was never known, but only in the Spring and Autumn, the one called *the former*, and the other *the latter Rain*; and therefore *Samuel* by this Preamble, *Is it not Wheat Harveſt to Day?* Chap. xii. 17. meant to ſignify the Greatneſs of the Miracle, God was going to work; that he could in an Inſtant, and in a Time, when they leaſt of all expected it, deprive them of all the Comforts of Life, as they juſtly deſerv'd, for their rejecting him, and his Prophet, who was ſo powerful with him, as, by his Prayers to produce ſuch Wonders. *Patrick*'s, *Calmet*'s, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† Among the Cities of *Benjamin*, mention'd in *Joſhua* xviii. 24, &c. we read of *Gaba*, *Gibeah*, and *Gibeon*; and in *Joſhua* xxi. 17. we read, that the two Cities, given to the Children of *Aaron*, out of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, were *Gibeon* and *Geba*; whence it is not to be doubted, but that *Gaba*, mention'd in the xviiith Chapter, was the ſame with *Geba*, that we read of in Chap. xxi. But then it will no ways follow, that this *Geba*, or *Gaba*, is the ſame with *Gibeah*, becauſe this *Gibeah* was the royal City, where *Saul* dwelt, and is therefore expreſsly called *Gibeah of* Saul; and for that Reaſon it cannot be ſuppos'd, that the *Philiſtines*, at this Time, had a Garriſon there. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III.

‡ The Words in the Original, and in our Tranſlation, are *thirty Thouſand*; but the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Verſions (which we have thought proper to follow) make them no more than *three Thouſand*: And indeed whoever conſiders, that *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt*, when he had muſter'd all his Forces together, could bring no more than ſix hundred of theſe Chariots into the Field, and all the other Princes, whoſe Equipages are related in Scripture, much ſewer, muſt needs think it a Thing incredible, that the *Philiſtines*, out of their ſmall Territories, which extended no farther, than the two Tribes of *Simeon* and *Dan*, along the Coaſts of the *Mediterranean-Sea*, could ever be able to raiſe ſo vaſt an Armament; no, nor all the Nations, that they could poſſibly call in to their Aſſiſtance. For beſides that, in the Account of all Armies, the *Cavalry* is always more numerous than the Chariots of War, (which is different here) the largeſt Armies, that we ever read of, were able to compaſs a very few of theſe Chariots, in Compariſon of the Number here ſpecify'd. *Mithridates*, in his vaſt Army, had but a *hundred*; *Darius* but *two*; and *Antiochus Epiphanes* (2 Mac. xiii. 2.) but *three*. So that we muſt either ſay, that the Tranſcribers made a Miſtake in the *Hebrew* Copy, or (with ſome other Commentators) ſuppoſe, that this *thirty Thouſand Chariots*, were not *Chariots of War*, but moſt of them Carriages only, for the Conveyance of the Baggage belonging to ſuch a vaſt Multitude of Men, or for the Deportation of the Plunder, they hop'd to be Maſters of by having conquer'd the Country. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and Univerſal Hiſtory.

‡ *Euſebius* and St *Jerom* inform us, that in their Time, there was a large Town of this Name, lying about nine Miles from *Jeruſalem*, near *Ramah*; and the Text tells us, that it was *eaſtward from* Beth-aven. Now *Beth-aven*, which ſignifies *the Houſe of Iniquity*, is ſuppos'd to be the ſame with *Bethel*, and was ſo called, after that *Jeroboam*, the Son of *Nebat*, had ſet up his golden Calves to be worſhipp'd here: But, as *Bethel* lay to the Eaſt of *Michmaſh*, and not *Michmaſh* to the Eaſt of *Bethel*, as the Text ſeems to ſay, the Tranſlation ſhould be, that they encamp'd at *Michmaſh*, *having Beth-aven on the Eaſt*, i. e. they ſeiz'd on that Poſt, which *Saul* had before in *Michmaſh*, *on Mount* Bethel, Ver. 2. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

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fering was juſt finiſh'd, when News was brought him, that *Samuel* was arriv'd,

SAMUEL had told him beforehand, that, by the Expiration of ſeven Days, he would not fail to meet him at *Gilgal*; and therefore, being offended at his Diffidence and Impatience, he not only ſharply rebuk'd him, but declar'd likewiſe that God, by this Way of Proceeding, would in Time be provok'd to remove the Kingdom from him and his Poſterity, and give it to another, that better deſerv'd it; and ſo, having left *Gilgal*, he went to *Gibeah*, whither *Saul* and his Son *Jonathan* follow'd him, with a ſmall Army of about ſix Thouſand, and theſe ſo badly provided for Action, that they had no Manner of Weapons, but what they could make out of their *working Tools*, becauſe the *Philiſtines* would not, at that Time, * permit ſo much as a Smith to live among them.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

WHILE the *Philiſtine* Army lay at *Michmaſh*, they ſent out Parties ſeveral Ways to ravage the Country, and met with no Manner of Oppoſition; till *Jonathan*, accompany'd with † his Armour-Bearer only, found Means to aſcend a ſteep Rock, where the Enemy leaſt of all expected an Invaſion, and ſo falling upon them unawares, in a ſhort Time, killed about twenty of them; which put the reſt † into ſuch a Conſternation, that, miſtruſting Friends for Foes, they began to ſlaughter and deſtroy one another. *Saul* had ſoon Intelligence of this Diſorder in the Enemy's Camp,

* The Precaution which the *Philiſtines* took to hinder the *Iſraelites* from providing themſelves with Weapons, is no more than what other Conquerors have done to the Nations they have vanquiſh'd. *Porſenna*, when he made Peace with the *Romans*, reſtrain'd them from the Uſe of all Iron, but what was neceſſary in the Tillage of their Ground. *Cyrus*, when he ſubdu'd the *Lydians*, for Fear of a Revolt, took from them the Uſe of Arms, and, inſtead of a laborious Life ſpent in War, ſuffer'd them to ſink into Softneſs and Luxury, ſo that they ſoon loſt their antient Valour: And (to inſtance in one Prince more) *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he had made himſelf Maſter of *Judea*, took along with him into *Babylon*, *all the Craftſmen and Smiths*, that the *pooreſt of the People*, *which he left* behind, might be in no Condition to rebel, 2 *Kings* xxiv. 14. The only Wonder is, why the *Iſraelites*, after they had regain'd their Liberty, under the Government of *Samuel*, and given the *Philiſtines* ſo total an Overthrow at *Eben-ezer*, did not reſtore theſe Artificers, and ſo provide themſelves with proper Arms againſt the next Occaſion? But, beſides the extream Sloth and Negligence, which appears in the *Iſraelites* whole Conduct during this Period, it was not ſo eaſy a Matter, in ſo ſhort a Time, to recover a Trade that was loſt; eſpecially among a People, that had no *Iron Mines*, and were ſo wholly addicted to the Feeding of Cattle, that they made no Account of any *mechanical* Arts. In the famous Victory, which they gain'd over *Siſera*, we are told, that *there was not a Shield or Spear ſeen among fifty Thouſand Men of* Iſrael, *Judg.* v. 8. but, notwithſtanding this, they had Bows, and Arrows, and Slings, which the Men of *Gibeah* could manage to a wonderful Advantage, *Judg.* xx. 16. And beſides theſe, the *Iſraelites*, upon this Occaſion, might convert their Inſtruments of Huſbandry, their Hatchets, their Spades, their Forks, their Mattocks, *&c.* into Inſtruments of War; a much better Shift than what we read of ſome, who, in antient Times, had no other Arms than Clubs, and ſharpen'd Stakes, harden'd in the Fire.

——Non jam certamine agreſti
Stipitibus duris agitur, Sudibuſque præuſtis. VIRGIL, *Æneid* 7.

† This Action of *Jonathan*'s, conſider'd in itſelf, was doubtleſs a very raſh Attempt, and contrary to the Laws of War, which prohibit all under Command (as he was) from engaging the Enemy, or entring upon any Enterprize without the *General*'s Order; but what may very juſtly be ſaid in Excuſe of it is,——That he had a Divine Incitation to it, which he might probably feel, upon the Sight of the *Philiſtines* appearing as if they intended to aſſault *Gibeah*, and upon the Information, which he might receive, of the great Spoil which the *three Parties* made of the poor People in the Country. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† How two Men could put the whole Army into ſuch a Conſternation, may ſeem ſomewhat extraordinary; but it ſhould be conſider'd, that *Jonathan* and his Armour-bearer, climbing up a Way, that was never attempted before, might come upon them unawares, and ſurprize them; that this Action might happen (as *Joſephus* thinks) early in the Morning, when a great Part of the *Philiſtines* Army was aſleep; that even, had they been all awake, *Jonathan* might have ſo poſted himſelf, (as *Horatius Cocles* did on a Bridge) as to be able to maintain his Paſs againſt all the Force of the Enemy; that thoſe, who made at him, (as only one perhaps could come at a Time) he with one Stroke might lay flat on the Ground, and his Armour-bearer immediately diſpatch them; that the reſt, ſeeing them act thus intrepidly, might take them for two Scouts, or *Vancurriers* only of a great Army, that was coming up, and ready to fall upon them; that the Army of the *Philiſtines*, being made up of different Nations, might be in the greater Confuſion, as either not underſtanding, or elſe ſuſpecting one another; and (what might compleat their Conſternation) that God, at this Time, might ſend a *panick Fear* upon them, which, whenever he does it, (even in the Opinion of *Heathens* themſelves) is enough to make the Stouteſt tremble, and the moſt heroick Spirits betake themſelves to Flight.

Ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοισι φόβοις
Φεύγονται καὶ παῖδες θεῶν. PIND. Nemea 9.

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Camp, and therefore, willing to make the moſt of ſuch an Opportunity, he got together what Forces he could, and fell upon the *Philiſtines* with ſuch Fury, that he totally routed and defeated them.

In the Heat of the Chaſe, he caus'd Proclamation to be made, that (upon Pain of Death) none ſhould dare to eat any Thing until it was Night, that the Slaughter of the Enemy might not be retarded. But herein he defeated his own Purpoſe; for the People, for Want of Refreſhment, grew faint in the Purſuit, ſo that the Enemy eſcap'd into their own Country: And (what was another grievous Conſequence of this *Interdict*) his Son *Jonathan*, who had been abſent, when the Proclamation was made, had like to have fallen a Sacrifice to his Father's *raſh Vow*, * merely for eating a little Honey, when he was ready to die with Hunger, had not the People interpos'd, and pleaded the Merit of that young Prince to whom the Honour of the Day was chiefly owing.

After this Victory, *Saul* rul'd the Kingdom with an higher Hand, and repuls'd his Enemies wherever they aſſail'd him. He had indeed a very large and flouriſhing Family. *Ahinoam*, the Daughter of *Ahimaaz*, was his Wife; *Jonathan*, *Iſhui*, and *Melchiſhua* were his Sons; *Michal* and *Merab* his Daughters; *Abner*, his Couſin-german, was *General* of his Forces; and, as himſelf was a warlike Prince, God made choice of him to put in Execution a Sentence, (*b*) which, many Years before, he had decreed againſt the *Amalekites*, for their oppoſing the *Iſraelites* in their Paſſage out of the Land of *Egypt*. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

His Commiſſion was utterly to deſtroy the *Amalekites*, Men, Women, and Children, and to leave not ſo much as one Creature of any Kind alive: But, inſtead of executing this according to the *Letter* of the Precept, * he ſav'd *Agag* their King, and the beſt of the Cattle alive; and when *Samuel* came to expoſtulate the Matter with him, his Pretence was, that what he had ſpar'd was in pure Reſpect to God, in order to have them offer'd to him in Sacrifice. But *Samuel*, who knew very well, that this *Reſerve* was made out of a Principle of *Avarice*, more than *Devotion*, firſt laid before him the Iniquity of his Conduct, and then declar'd to him God's immoveable Purpoſe of alienating the Kingdom from his Family; which made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon him, that he acknowledg'd his Fault, intreated the Prophet (who was going abruptly to leave him) to ſtay, and make Interceſſion for him, and ſo far to honour him *before the People*, (from whom he apprehended a *Revolt*) as to join with him in Worſhip to God, which *Samuel* conſented to do: But, before he departed, he order'd *Agag* (who by this Time began to hope for Mercy) to be brought forth to him, and himſelf, with his own Hands, fell upon him, and ſlew him. *And over the* Amalekites; *but his Diſobedience, in not deſtroying them all.*

This was the laſt Interview, which *Samuel* had with *Saul*; for, after this Action, David *is anointed King in his Stead.*

* When *Saul* told his Son *Jonathan*, that, for eating this Honey, contrary to his Interdict, he ſhould ſurely die, *becauſe the Reverence, which he had for his Vow, was more to him than all the Kindred and Tenderneſs of Nature*, *Joſephus* introduces the Son making his Father an Anſwer, not unlike that which *Jephthah*'s Daughter, upon a like Occaſion, return'd to him: "That Death, *ſays he*, ſhall be welcome to me, which acquits my Father of the Obligation of a "religious Vow, and only befals me, in Conſequence of ſo glorious a Victory to him, that gave me Being. I have "liv'd long enough, ſince I have liv'd to ſee the Pride and Inſolence of the *Philiſtines* brought down by the *He-*"*brews*, which will ſerve me for a Conſolation in all my other Sufferings." And the Hiſtorian tells us farther, that the whole Multitude was ſo charm'd with the Piety and Bravery of the young Man, that, in an Extaſy of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, they took him away out of the Hands of his incens'd Father, with an Oath, *that they would not ſuffer an Hair of that Perſon's Head to be touched, who had been ſo inſtrumental in a Victory, that tended to the Preſervation of them all.* Antiq. lib. vi. c. 7.

(*b*) Vid. Exod. xvii. 8, &c. and Deut. xxv. 17, &c.

* *Joſephus* ſeems to hint, that *Saul* ſav'd this *Amalekite* King alive, becauſe he was taken with the Comelineſs and Majeſty of his Perſon; but others rather think, that he intended him to decorate his Triumph. For when it is ſaid of *Saul*, that he came to *Carmel* after this Victory, and *ſet him up a Place*, 1 Sam. xv. 12. the Word *Jad*, they ſay, will ſignify an *Arch*, as well as any Thing elſe; and thence they conclude, that *Saul*'s Purpoſe was to erect a triumphal Arch, in Memory of his Defeat of the *Amalekites*; and that he kept their King alive, to be led captive in that magnificent Proceſſion, wherein he was to make a Diſplay of his Victory. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

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Action, he retir'd to his Houſe at *Ramah*, where (tho' he viſited *Saul* no more) he ceas'd not to lament the ſad Condition, into which he was fallen. It was not long however before God awoke him out of his *penſive* Mood, and ſent him to *Bethlehem*, under Colour of ſacrificing there, to anoint *David*, the Son of *Jeſſe*, King and Succeſſor to *Saul*. *Jeſſe* had eight Sons, and, when *Samuel* came to his Houſe, ſeven of them were brought before him. *Eliab*, the eldeſt, was a goodly Perſonage, and him the Prophet ſuppos'd at firſt Sight to have been the Perſon, whom God had pitch'd upon to ſucceed *Saul*; but being inſtructed otherwiſe, and, upon Enquiry, finding that *Jeſſe* had another Son, who, at that Time, was in the Fields keeping the Sheep, he order'd him to be ſent for; and, as he was a very fair and beautiful Youth, immediately upon his entering the Room, he perceiv'd, that he was the Perſon, whom God had made Choice of; and, accordingly, he took an Opportunity, and ‡ ſingling him out from the reſt of his Brethren, pour'd Oil on his Head, and anointed him King. Nor was the Ceremony uſeleſs; for, from that Time forward, *David* found himſelf inwardly poſſeſs'd with a Spirit of Wiſdom, and Prudence, and Courage, and other Qualifications both of Body and Mind, that are requiſite in a Prince *.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

Saul *grows Melancholy, and ſends for* David *to play to him.*

SAUL, in the mean Time, declin'd more and more in the Favour of God; and as he was naturally of a timorous and ſuſpicious Temper, an unhappy Turn of Mind grew upon him, and ſettled at laſt in a confirm'd *Melancholy*, but ſuch an one, as was frequently attended with violent Perturbations, and ſometimes with direct Frenzy. In this Condition, ſome of his Courtiers adviſ'd him to *Muſick*, which would be of ſome Uſe to lull his diſturb'd Mind to Reſt; and accordingly recommended *David*, not only as an excellent Maſter this Way, but a Man of other rare Qualifications, both *internal* and *external*, enough to engage his Favour.

UPON this Recommendation he was ſent for to Court, where *Saul* was greatly taken with the Beauty of his Perſon; but, when he heard him exerciſe his Skill upon the *Harp*, he was pleas'd above meaſure, and quite tranſported from all uneaſy and melancholick Thoughts. *Saul*, in ſhort, conceiv'd ſuch a Kindneſs for *David* for having cur'd him of his Malady, that he made him one of his *Armour-bearers*, tho' *David*, when he found the King better, return'd to his Father's Houſe again.

David *ſlays the Champion* Goliah.

THE *Philiſtines* not long before had receiv'd a remarkable Defeat from *Saul*; but, having now recruited their Forces, they came and encamp'd between † *Succoth*

‡ Our Tranſlation ſays, that *Samuel anointed him in the Midſt of his Brethren*, and for this it is pretended, that, as this Unction was a ſolemn Act, and the only Title which *David* had to the Kingdom, it was neceſſary to have it done in the Preſence of ſome Witneſſes, for which Purpoſe none were more proper, than thoſe of his own Family. But it is plain, from his Brother *Eliab*'s treating him after this, (1 *Sam.* xvii. 28.) that he was not privy to his being anointed King *elect* over God's People; and therefore, ſince the Words will equally bear the Senſe of *from* the Midſt, as well as *in* the Midſt of his Brethren, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that, as this was the *Ceremony* of his Deſignation to the Kingdom only, few or none (except his Father perhaps) were admitted to it. And there was the leſs Reaſon for Witneſſes upon this Occaſion, becauſe *David* never laid claim to the Crown till after *Saul*'s Deceaſe, and was then, at two ſeveral Times, 1ſt, When he was made King over the Tribe of *Judah*, and 2d, when made King over all the Tribes of *Iſrael*, anointed publickly. *Calmet*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries, and *Howell*'s Hiſtory, in the Notes.

* They, who credit the Scripture-Hiſtory in this Affair, will eaſily account for theſe extraordinary Accompliſhments and Improvements; for That aſſures us, *that the Spirit of the Lord came upon* David *from that Day forward*, 1 Sam. xvi. 13. and I ſhould be glad to learn from thoſe, who do not credit this Circumſtance of the Hiſtory in the ſtrict Senſe of the Text, how otherwiſe they can account for theſe extraordinary Effects and Endowments, which immediately enſu'd *David*'s Deſignation to the Throne; how a Deſignation to Empire, *I ſay*, which, in its ordinary Courſe, is too apt to corrupt, debaſe, and overſet with Vanity, ſhould raiſe an obſcure Youth, uneducated, and little accounted of even in the Eſteem of a Parent's Partiality, in an obſcure Age and Country, without the Advantage either of Inſtruction or Example, into the greateſt *Muſician*, the nobleſt *Poet*, and the moſt conſummate *Hero* of all Antiquity. The Life of *David*, by the Author of *Revelation examined*.

† *Succoth* and *Azekah* lay to the *South* of *Jeruſalem*, and the *Eaſt* of *Bethlehem*, about four Leagues from the *former*, and five from the *latter*; and the antient Valley of *Elah* muſt conſequently lie not far diſtant from them, though later *Travellers* place it at no more than a League's Diſtance from *Jeruſalem*. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

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coth and *Azekah*, while *Saul*, with his Army, took Ground upon the Hill, that is above the Valley of *Elah*, which ſeparated the two Camps. While the Armies lay thus facing each other, a Champion nam'd *Goliah*, of a prodigious *gigantick* Stature, * being full ten Feet high, with Arms, and Armour proportionable, came out of the Camp of the *Philiſtines* for forty Days ſucceſſively, and challeng'd any one of the *Iſraelites* to a ſingle Combat. * This *ſingle Combat* was to decide the Fate of the War: But none of the *Iſraelites* durſt adventure upon it, until *David*, who happen'd at this Time to come to the Camp, † with Proviſions for his three elder Brethren, that were then in the Service, ſeeing this great gigantick Creature thus vaunt himſelf, and hearing withal what Reward the King had promis'd to the Perſon, that ſhould kill him, *viz.* that he † would give him his Daughter in Marriage and ennoble his Family, was mov'd by a divine Impulſe to accept of the Challenge, which he ſome ways diſcover'd to the Standers-by. His eldeſt Brother *Eliab*, hearing ſuch Words drop from him, took him, and reprov'd him for his Raſhneſs; but, as his Declaration, by this Time, had reach'd the King's Ears, the King ſent for him, and, having ſurvey'd his Youth, told him with Concern, that he fear'd he would never be able to encounter a Man, that was ſo much older,

From 1 Sam. i. to the End

* The Words in the Text are, ——— *Whoſe Height was ſix Cubits and a Span*; ſo that, taking a *Cubit* to be twenty Inches and a half, and a Span to be three Inches, and a little more, the whole will amount to about twelve Feet and an half: A Stature above as tall again as uſual! The loweſt Computation of the Cubit however brings it to near *ten Feet*, which is the Standard that we have ſet it at; though it muſt not be diſſembled, that both the *Septuagint* and *Joſephus* have reduc'd it to little more than *eight Feet*, which but badly comports with the Weight and Vaſtneſs of his Armour, though it might ſuit their Deſign perhaps, in accommodating their Account to the Credibility of their *Heathen* Readers. But be that as it will, ſeveral Authors (to ſhew this vaſt Size of the Man not to be beyond the Bounds of Probability) have written *ex profeſſo de Gigantibus*; among whom *Harmannus Conringius*, in his Book *de antiquo Statu Holmſtadii*, and in another, *de Habitu Corporum Germanorum*, have demonſtrated, that the antient *Germans* were of a vaſt Size, even as *Cæſar*, *de Bello Gall.* teſtifies of them, by calling them, *immani Corporum Magnitudine Homines*, Men of a huge Greatneſs of Body. Nay, even *Joſephus* himſelf, who is quoted for denying the Exiſtence of Giants, furniſhes us with an Argument in their behalf, when he gives us an Account of ſome Bones of a prodigious Size, which were found in *Hebron*; as *Acoſta*, in his Hiſtory of the *Indies*, Lib. i. c. 10. makes mention of Bones of an incredible Bigneſs, and of a Race of Giants of ſuch an Height, that an ordinary Man could ſcarce reach their Knees. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries, *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Goliah*, and Diſſert. of the Giants.

* The Words in which *Goliah*'s Challenge is expreſs'd, are theſe: ——— *Why are you come out to ſet your Battle in Array? Am I not a* Philiſtine, *and you Servants to* Saul? *Chuſe you a Man for you, and let him come down to me: If he be able to fight with me, and to kill me, then will we be your Servants: But if I prevail againſt him, and kill him, then ſhall ye be our Servants, and ſerve us*, 1 Sam. xvii. 8. *Antiquity* furniſhes us with Examples of ſeveral ſuch like Combats, as *Goliah* here propoſes, but with none more remarkable, than that between the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, related by *Livy*, lib. i. c. 23. " In which Caſe, (as *Grotius* expreſſes himſelf, *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, lib. ii. c. 23.) though " the Champions perhaps cannot, with all the Innocence imaginable, engage in the Combat, yet their reſpective " States may, at leaſt, allow of it, as a leſs Evil; as an Expedient, whereby a Deciſion is made (without the Effu- " ſion of much Blood, or any conſiderable Loſs on either Side) which of the two Nations ſhall have the Dominion " over the other. *Strabo*, (*ſays he*) makes mention of this, as an antient Cuſtom among the *Greeks*; and *Æneas* " appeals to the *Latins*, whether it is not highly juſt and equitable, that he and *Turnus* ſhould determine the Con- " troverſy between them in this Manner?" But whether ever there was any Combat, ſtipulated to be deciſive of the Quarrel between two contending Nations, 'tis certain, that this Speech of *Goliah*'s was a mere *Bravado*, proceeding from an high Opinion he had of his own matchleſs Strength, as if he had been the whole Support of the Nation, which was to ſtand or fall together with him. For, that he had no Authority from the Princes of the *Philiſtines*, to make any ſuch Declaration, is evident from the Event; ſince, ſo far were the *Philiſtines* from yielding themſelves Slaves to the *Hebrews* upon the Death of this Champion, that they made the beſt of their Way into their own Country, and there defended themſelves, and fought many Battles with them afterwards. *Saurin*'s Diſſert. Vol. IV. Diſſert. 32. and *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† In thoſe Days it was cuſtomary for Men to ſerve their King and Country in the Wars at their own Expence; and therefore *Jeſſe* ſent a Supply of Proviſions to ſuch of his Sons as were in the Service: But, ſince he had other Sons at Home, while *David* was chiefly in the Field, it ſeems to be a Divine Direction that he ſent him from the Sheep upon this Errand.

† This was no bad *Policy* in *Saul*, to promiſe largely upon ſo important an Occaſion, foraſmuch as *Caleb* won *Kirjath-ſepher*, by offering his Daughter in Marriage to the Perſon that ſhould take it; and *David* himſelf, when he came to the Crown, encourag'd his Soldiers to aſſault the ſtrong Fort of *Sion*, by promiſing to make him *Commander in chief* of all his Forces, who ſhould firſt enter it. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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older, and ſtronger, and a Soldier from his Cradle. * But to this *David* reply'd, that he had already done as great Things, as killing this Giant could poſſibly be; that he had ſlain a Lion and a Bear with his bare Hands, and therefore did not doubt, but that the ſame Almighty Power, which deliver'd him then, would not fail to ſhield and protect him now.

SAUL was not a little pleas'd with this gallant Anſwer; and, to equip him, as well as he could, for the Combat, offer'd him his own Armour; but when *David* had put it on, he found it too large and cumberſome: And therefore taking only his Staff, a Sling, and † five ſmooth Stones, which he pick'd out of the Brook that ran by, he advanc'd towards the *Philiſtine*, who, perceiving him to be but a Youth, and of a fair effeminate Complexion, took the Thing, as done in Contempt and Deriſion of him; and therefore he curs'd him by his Gods, *Dagon* and *Aſhteroth*, and vow'd to cut him in Pieces, the very Moment he came at him. But *David*'s Reply was of another Kind, *viz.* that he came againſt him, not in any Confidence of his own Strength, but in the Name of that God, whoſe Name he had blaſphem'd, and Power defy'd: And with theſe Words he let fly a Stone at him with ſuch Force and Direction, that it hit him on his Forehead, and, † piercing his Brain, ſunk into it; ſo that he fell flat on his Face, and *David* ran up to him, and with the Giant's Sword cut off his Head; at the Sight of which the *Philiſtine* Army fled, and were purſu'd by the *Hebrews* as far as the Gates of *Ekron* with a very great Slaughter.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

WHEN *Saul* ſaw *David* marching againſt the *Philiſtine*, he enquir'd of *Abner*, who he was? Which *Abner* could not reſolve him; but, upon his Return from Victory, introduc'd him to the King, with the Champion's Head in his Hand. The King receiv'd him with the higheſt Applauſes; and, upon his Enquiry, *David* inform'd him, that he was the Son of *Jeſſe the Bethlehemite*. Every one entertain'd indeed an high Conception for the Author of ſo great an Action, but none expreſs'd ſo entire a Satisfaction, as did *Jonathan*; who, being himſelf a Prince of extraordinary Bravery, was ſo taken with his Courage and Conduct in this Engagement, that he * contracted the tendereſt and moſt indearing Friendſhip with

Saul grows jealous of David, and attempts his Life ſeveral Ways.

* *Joſephus* introduces *David* as reaſoning with the King in this Manner: —— "*David*, perceiving, *ſays he*, "that *Saul* took his Meaſures from the common Reaſon of other Encounters, gave the King to underſtand, that *this* "*was not ſo much a Challenge to the Army, as a Defiance to Heaven itſelf; neither was the Combat to be taken, in Truth,* "*for a Trial of Skill between* Goliah *and* David, *but between* Goliah *and the* Lord of Hoſts. *For it is not my Arm,* "ſays he, *that fights the Battle, but the Power of a gracious and invincible God, that many Times brings to paſs, even by* "*the weakeſt Inſtruments, the nobleſt of his Divine Purpoſes, for his greater Glory.*" Jewiſh Antiq. lib. vi. c. 10.

† *Smooth* Stones, one would think, part beſt from the Sling, and, as they meet with the leaſt Obſtruction from the Air, fly with the greateſt Rapidity, and in the moſt direct Line; and yet *Ludovicus de Dieu* is of a quite contrary Opinion, *viz.* that rough and ſharp Stones were properer for *David*'s Purpoſe; whereupon he tranſlates the Words, *five Pieces of Stone*, as the *Hebrew* indeed, without its Punctuation, will bear. But 'tis in vain to be nice and elaborate about Trifles, ſince, of what Form ſoever the Stone, which penetrated *Goliah*'s Forehead, was, 'tis plain, that it had both the *Direction*, and *Rapidity* of its Motion from the Hand of God.

† If it ſhould be aſk'd, how this could poſſibly be, when *Goliah* was arm'd ſo compleatly, and, in particular, is ſaid to have had an *Helmet of Braſs upon his Head?* 'Tis but ſuppoſing, that this arrogant Champion, in Diſdain of his inferior Combatant, might come negligently towards him, with his Helmet turn'd back, and his Forehead bare. 'Tis highly probable, that when he made his menacing Speech to *David*, he might turn back his Helmet, both to ſpeak, and be heard more diſtinctly; and there was no ſuch Terror in *David*'s Appearance, as might induce him to cover his Forehead again. But, admitted he did, 'tis but ſuppoſing, that *David* levell'd his Stone ſo right, as to hit the Place, which was left open for his Adverſary's Eyes, or threw it with ſuch a violent Force, as would penetrate both Helmet and Head together. To make theſe Suppoſitions more probable, we need only remember what we read in *Judges*, Ch. xx. 16. of no leſs, than *ſeven hundred Men* in one Place, who were ſo expert with their Left Hands, that every one could ſling Stones to an Hair's Breadth, and not miſs; or what we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, l. 5. of ſome *Slingers*, who threw Stones with ſuch a Violence, that nothing could reſiſt their Impreſſion; and that, when they made uſe of Lead inſtead of Stone, the very Lead would melt the Air, as it flew, by Reaſon of the Rapidity of the Motion which they gave it. *Patrick* and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

* *Plutarch*, (in his Book περὶ Πολυφιλίας) makes mention of ſeveral great Men, ſuch as *Theſeus* and *Perithous*; *Achilles* and *Patroclus*; *Oreſtes* and *Pylades*; *Pythias* and *Damon*; &c. who were join'd together *in the Yoke of Friendſhip*,

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with him, which laſted as long as they two liv'd together; but in their Return home from this Expedition, one Thing happen'd, which occaſion'd *Saul*'s Jealouſy. Among the Crowds, that came out to meet them, and to grace their Triumph, there was a *Chorus* of Women, who ſung to the muſical Inſtruments, upon which they play'd a certain Song, whoſe chief Burthen was, *Saul has ſlain his Thouſands, and* † *David his ten Thouſands*; which ſo enrag'd *Saul* againſt *David*, that from that Time he never look'd on him with a gracious Eye. For, tho' he thought proper to retain him in his Service, and, for the preſent, conferr'd on him ſome Command in the Army; yet the Reward for his killing *Goliah*, which was to be the Marriage of his *eldeſt* Daughter, † he depriv'd him of by giving her to another.

When *Saul* return'd to his own Houſe, the ſame Spirit of Melancholy came upon him, as before; and, while *David* was touching his Harp before him as uſual, in order to alleviate his Malady, the outrageous King threw a Javelin at him with ſuch Fury, as would certainly have deſtroy'd him, had not Providence turn'd it aſide. Hereupon *David* thought proper to withdraw; yet *Saul* would ſtill continue him in his Service to have the more Opportunities againſt his Life. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

It happen'd too, that, by this Time, his ſecond Daughter (whoſe Name was *Michal*) had entertain'd kind Thoughts of *David*, which her Father was not unconſcious of; and therefore he ſignify'd to him, that, upon Condition he would kill him an hundred *Philiſtines*, (but not without ſome Hopes of himſelf falling in the Attempt) he ſhould have the Honour to become the King's *Son-in-Law*. *David* accepted the Condition, tho' he could not but perceive the latent Malice of it; and, taking ſome Choice Men along with him, invaded the *Philiſtines*, ſlew double the Number of them, and, for a Teſtimony thereof, † *ſent their Foreſkins* (according to Covenant) to the King; ſo that, all Things being thus gallantly accompliſh'd, and in ſo publick a Manner, the King could not refuſe him his Daughter, but, at the ſame Time, laid many other Schemes to take away his Life.

David *makes his Eſcape, and while* Saul *is among the Prophets, viſits his Friend* Jonathan.

Nay to ſuch deſperate Lengths did his Jealouſy run him, that he, caſting off all Diſguiſe, † commanded his Son *Jonathan*, and

as he calls it: But none of theſe were comparable to what we read of *Jonathan* and *David*, who enter'd into the moſt ſacred Bonds of mutual Aſſiſtance and Defence, to their very Death, and of Kindneſs to their Poſterity, even after either of them ſhould be dead. *Jonathan*, in particular, through the whole Story, ſhows towards *David* ſuch a Greatneſs of Soul, ſuch a Conſtancy of Mind, and Diſintereſtedneſs of Heart, as few *Romances* can produce Examples of. *Calmet*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

† *Viz.* in his killing *Goliah*; for all the Conqueſt gain'd afterwards was no more than the Conſequence of his Death.

† This was an high Affront to *David*, and one of the greateſt Injuries, that could be done him; however, for the preſent, he thought proper to diſſemble it. How *Jonathan* reſented this Uſage, we are no where told. It is likely, that his Duty to his Father made him prevail with *David* to take it patiently, as coming from a Man, who was ſometimes beſides himſelf, and knew not well what he did; and that *David* might be the more inclinable to do this, as having ſome Intimations given him of the good Eſteem, which the ſecond Daughter began to entertain of him. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The Reaſon, why *Saul* exacted the *Foreſkins of David* was to prevent all Cheat or Colluſion in the Matter, and that he might be ſure they were *Philiſtines* only, whom he kill'd. Had he demanded the Heads only of ſo many Men, *David*, (he might think) might perhaps cut off thoſe of his own Subjects, and bring them inſtead of the *Philiſtines*: But now, the *Philiſtines* being the only neighbouring People, who were uncircumcis'd, (for the *Arabians*, as deſcended from *Iſhmael*, and all the other Nations, which ſprung from *Eſau*, were circumcis'd, as well as the *Hebrews*) in producing their Foreſkins, there could be no Deception. Beſides that, this would be a groſs Inſult upon the *Philiſtines* in general, to whom *Saul* was deſirous to make *David* as odious as poſſible, that, at one Time or other, he might fall into their Hands. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† It is ſtrange, that *Saul* ſhould ſpeak to *Jonathan* to murther *David*, if he knew the Friendſhip, he had for him; and he could not well be ignorant of it, ſince (in 1 *Sam.* 18. 3, 4.) he had made ſo publick a Declaration of it. But he imagin'd perhaps, that his Love to a Father would overcome his Love to a Friend; and (taking an Eſtimate from himſelf) might think it no mean Incitement to his Son, that *David* was going to deprive not only the Father of the preſent Poſſeſſion, but the *Son* likewiſe the Right of Succeſſion to the Throne of *Iſrael*. But whatever *Saul*'s Reaſons might

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and ſome of the principal Men of his Court, at any Rate to diſpatch *David*; which *Jonathan* all along took care to acquaint him with, and, at the ſame Time, advis'd him to provide himſelf with ſome Place of ſafe Retreat, until he ſhould have an Opportunity of * expoſtulating the Matter with his Father, which accordingly he did, and with ſo good Succeſs, that his Father was (ſeemingly at leaſt) reconcil'd to *David*, and *Jonathan* next Day introduc'd him into his Preſence: But the Increaſe of *David*'s Fame, upon ſeveral Defeats given the *Philiſtines*, ſtill renewing, and increaſing *Saul*'s Jealouſy, would not ſuffer this Reconciliation to laſt long. *Saul* was taken with another Fit of Frenzy, and *David* was deſir'd to play to him: But, while he was employ'd in tuning his Harp, the other took an Opportunity (as he had done before) of darting a Javelin at him, which *David*, having a watchful Eye upon him, nimbly declin'd, and ſo retir'd to his own Houſe. Thither the King ſent his Guards, as ſoon as it was Light, to apprehend him; but by the Contrivance of his Wife *Michal* (who let him down from a Window) he made his Eſcape, and, by the Benefit of a dark Night, came to his old Friend *Samuel* at *Ramah*; to whom he told all his Complaints, and with whom (for the better Security of his Perſon) he went to *Najoh*, which was * a *School* or *College* of the Prophets, and there dwelt. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

IT was not long before *Saul* had Intelligence of his Abode, and † ſent a Party of Soldiers to apprehend him; but they, upon their Arrival at the Place, where they found *Samuel* teaching and inſtructing the younger Prophets, were ſeiz'd with a *prophetick Spirit*, and return'd not again. After theſe, he ſent freſh Meſſengers, and after them, others again; but no ſooner were they come within the *Verge* of the Place, but they all began to be affected in like Manner. *Saul* at length, impatient of theſe Delays, went himſelf; but as he drew

might be for deſiring *Jonathan*'s Aſſiſtance in ſo vile a Fact, 'tis plain, that there was a peculiar Providence of God in his diſcloſing himſelf ſo freely on this Head, ſince thereby *David* came to a right Information of his Danger. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The Speech, which *Joſephus* puts in *Jonathan*'s Mouth upon this Occaſion, is expreſs'd in theſe Terms:——— "You have conceiv'd, Sir, a terrible Diſpleaſure againſt this young Man, and given Orders for his Death; but "upon what Provocation, or for what Fault, great or little, I cannot apprehend. He is a Perſon, to whom we ſtand "indebted for our Safety, and the Deſtruction of the *Philiſtines*; for vindicating the Honour of our Nation from the "Scandal of a forty Days Affront, in the Challenge of a Giant, whom not a Creature, but this innocent Youth, had "a Heart to encounter; a Perſon, who purchas'd my Siſter for his Wife at your own Price; and, in fine, a Perſon "entitl'd to your Eſteem and Tenderneſs, both a brave Man, and a Member of your own Family. Be pleas'd to con-"ſider then, what Injury you do your own Daughter in making her feel the Mortification of being a *Widow*, before "ſhe enjoys the Bleſſing of being a *Mother*. Be pleas'd to remember, who it was, that cur'd you of your dark melan-"cholick Fits, and, by that Means, laid an Obligation upon the whole Family; and, who it was, that (next under "God) deliver'd us from our implacable Enemies. Theſe, Sir, are Benefits never to be forgotten, without the Infamy "of the blackeſt Ingratitude." *Jewiſh* Antiq. l. vi. c. 13.

* When theſe Schools of the Prophets were at firſt inſtituted is no where indicated in Scripture: But, as the *firſt* Mention we find of them is in *Samuel*'s Time, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that they were much ſuperior to it. It may be preſum'd therefore, that the ſad Degeneracy of the Prieſthood, at firſt occaſion'd the Inſtitution of theſe Places, for the better Education of thoſe, that were to ſucceed in the ſacred Miniſtry, whether as *Prophets*, or *Prieſts*. According to the Places, that are ſpecify'd in Scripture, (1 *Sam.* x. 5. 10. and xix. 20. 2 *Kings* ii. 5. iv. 38. and xxii. 14.) they were firſt erected in the Cities of the *Levites*, which, for the more convenient Inſtruction of the People, were diſpers'd up and down in the ſeveral Tribes of *Iſrael*. In theſe Places the *Prophets* had convenient *Colleges* built (whereof *Najoh* ſeems to be one) for their Abode; and, living in Communities, had ſome one of diſtinguiſh'd Note (very probably by *divine Election*) ſet over them to be their Head or *Preſident*. Here it was, that they ſtudy'd the Law, and learn'd to expound the ſeveral Precepts of it. Here it was, that, by previous Exerciſe, they qualify'd themſelves for the Reception of the Spirit of *Prophecy*, whenever it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend it upon them. Here it was, that they were inſtructed in the ſacred Art of *Pſalmody*, or (as the Scripture calls it, 1 *Chron.* xxv. 1, 7.) in *propheſying with Harps, with Pſalteries, and Cymbals:* And hence it was, that, when any Bleſſings were to be promis'd, Judgments denounc'd, or extraordinary Events predicted, the Meſſengers were generally choſen: So that theſe *Colleges* were *Seminaries* of divine Knowledge, and Nurſeries of that Race of Prophets, which ſucceeded from *Samuel* to the Time of *Malachi*. *Stillingfleet*'s Orig. Sacræ. *Wheatly*, on the Schools of the Prophets, and *Jacob Abting*, de Repub. Heb.

† Such was *Saul*'s implacable Hatred to *David*, that it had aboliſh'd, not only all Reſpect and Reverence to *Samuel*, (under whoſe Protection *David* then was) but all Regard likewiſe to the College of the Prophets, which, in thoſe Days had obtain'd the Privilege of a Sanctuary. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Grotius*, de Jure Belli & Pacis, l. 3. c. 11.

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drew near to *Najoh*, the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, ſo that he went along † *propheſying*, until he came to the Place, where *Samuel* and *David* were, and there, ‡ ſtripping himſelf of his upper Garments, he lay (as it were in an Extacy) almoſt naked on the Ground, all that Day and the next Night.

DAVID took this Opportunity to make a private Viſit to his Friend *Jonathan*, with whom he expoſtulated his Father's Unkindneſs, which the other could no ways excuſe, only he aſſur'd him of his beſt * Offices; that he would make what Diſcovery he could of his Father's Deſigns againſt him, and not fail to acquaint him with them. In the mean Time he renew'd the League of Friendſhip that was between them, and directed him where to conceal himſelf for a Day or two, until he could learn, whether it was proper for him to appear or no; which he was to ſignify to him by his ſhooting ſome Arrows, in ſuch a Manner, as they concluded on, and ſo mutually embracing they parted. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

† THE *Feaſt* of the *New-Moon* was now come, which *Saul* return'd from *Najoh* to celebrate; but, as he obſerv'd that * *David's* Seat at the Table had for two *Who, upon his Account, had ran the hazard of his Life.*

† This is a Word of an extenſive Signification, and may denote ſometimes ſuch Actions, Motions, and Diſtortions, as Prophets, in their Inſpirations, are wont to expreſs.

Increta qualis Entheos curſus tulit,
Cum jam recepto Mænas inſanit Deo. SEN. in Medeâ.

Which perhaps may be very juſtly apply'd to *Saul* upon this Occaſion. But the Generality of Interpreters, in this Place, take *propheſying* to ſignify *Saul*'s ſinging of Pſalms, or Hymns of Thankſgiving and Praiſe, which even againſt his Will he was compell'd to do, to teach him the Vanity of his Deſigns againſt *David*, and that in them he fought againſt God himſelf. *Calmet*'s Commentary on 1 Sam. xviii. 10. and *Poole*'s Annotations on xix. 23.

‡ The Words in our Tranſlation are, ——— *And he ſtript off his Cloaths alſo, and lay down naked, all that Day, and all that Night*, 1 *Sam.* xix, 24. In which Words, and ſome other Portions of the like Import, we are not to imagine, that the Perſons there ſpoken of were entirely *naked*, but only that they were diveſted of ſome *external* Habit or other, which, upon certain Occaſions, they might lay aſide. For, whereas it is ſaid of ſome Prophets, *Iſa.* xx. 2. and *Mic.* i. 8. that they went about *naked*, we can hardly think that they could be guilty of ſo much Indecency, and eſpecially by the expreſs Order of God, who had always teſtify'd his Abhorrence of *Nudity*, and enjoin'd his Prieſts the Uſe of ſeveral Garments to cover the Body, that thus they might be diſtinguiſh'd from the *Pagan* Prieſts, who were not aſham'd to appear naked. The Words in the Original therefore, which we render *naked*, or *to be naked*, ſignify no more, than either to have Part of the Body uncover'd, or to be without a Gown, or upper Garment, which the *Romans* call'd *Toga*, and (according to the Cuſtom of the *Eaſtern* People) was wont to be put on when they went abroad, or made any publick Appearance. And therefore it was ſome ſuch Veſtment as this, or perhaps his Military Accoutrements, which *Saul*, upon this Occaſion, put off; and that this was enough to denominate him *naked*, is manifeſt from what *Aurelius Victor*, ſpeaking of thoſe who were ſent to *Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus*, to bring him to the Senate to be made Dictator, ſays, That they found him *naked*, plowing on the other Side of the *Tyber*; whereas *Livy*, who relates the ſame Story, obſerves, that he call'd to his Wife *Rucca*, for his Gown, or *Toga*, that he might appear fit to keep them Company. Eſſay towards a new Tranſlation.

* The *Speech* which *Joſephus* puts in *Jonathan*'s Mouth, upon this Occaſion, is very tender and *pathetick*: ——— "That God, who fills and governs the Univerſe, and knows the Thoughts of my Heart in the very Conception of them; "that God, *ſays he*, be Witneſs to the Faith, that is vow'd and promis'd betwixt us; and that I will never give over ſearching into, and ſifting the private Deliberations, and Purpoſes of my Father, till I ſhall have diſcover'd the Bottom of "his Heart, and whether there be any ſecret Rancour in his Thoughts, or not, that may work to your Prejudice: "And if I ſhall be able to make any Thing out at laſt, whether it be for, or againſt you, it ſhall be the firſt Thing I "do to give you Information of it. The Searcher of Hearts will bear me Witneſs that this is true, and that I have "ever made it my earneſt Prayer to Almighty God, to bleſs, and proſper you in your Perſon and Deſigns; and you "may aſſure yourſelf, that he will be as gracious to you for the future, as he has been hitherto, and lay all your Enemies at your Feet. In the mean while, pray be ſure to keep theſe Things in Memory, and when I am gone, to "take care of my poor Children." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vi. c. 14.

† The *Jewiſh* Months were *Lunar*, and never began before the Moon appear'd above the Horizon; for which Purpoſe, there were certain Perſons plac'd upon the Mountains, ſome Time before the new Moon was expected, to give Notice by the Sound of an Horn when it firſt appear'd, that ſo the News thereof might immediately be carry'd to *Jeruſalem*. But leſt there ſhould be any Miſtake in this Method of making their Obſervation, from this Example of *Saul*'s, it is ſuppos'd, that they celebrated this *Feſtival* for two Days together. Whether the *Heathens* had this Rite from the *Jews* or no, 'tis certain, that other Nations had Feaſts at the Beginning of every Month, and that, with the *Romans*, the *Calends* in particular were feſtival Days, conſecrated to *Juno*, to whom Sacrifices at this Time were offer'd. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

* That ſitting at Table was an antienter Cuſtom, than either lying or leaning at Meat, is obvious from this Paſſage. The *Egyptians*, when they eat at *Joſeph*'s Entertainment, ſat at Table, and ſo did the *Hebrews*. *Homer* always introduces

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two Days been empty, he enquir'd of *Jonathan*, † what was become of *the Son of* Jeſſe, as he call'd him in Contempt. *Jonathan* told him, that he had given him Leave to go to an *anniverſary* Feaſt of his Family at *Bethlehem*; whereupon *Saul*, ſuſpecting very probably the Reality of his Anſwer, fell into a Paſſion with his Son, and upbraided him with his Friendſhip for *David*, which (as he told him) would prove fatal to himſelf, and injurious to his Succeſſion; and therefore he commanded him to produce him; for reſolv'd he was, that this *Rival* of theirs ſhould die. *Jonathan* was going to interpoſe ſomething in Vindication of his Friend, and the Unreaſonableneſs of his Father's Indignation againſt him; which provok'd his Father to ſuch a Degree, that, forgetting all Ties of *paternal* Love, † he threw a Javelin at him with an Intent to kill him. But he avoided the Blow, and retir'd; and, the next Morning, went into the Fields, under Pretence of ſhooting with his Bow and Arrows, to give *David* the Signal. To him he communicated all that had paſs'd between his Father and him; that his Father was implacable, and determin'd to deſtroy him, and therefore he advis'd him to eſcape for his Life: And ſo, having made new Proteſtations to each other of perpetual Friendſhip, they embrac'd, and parted.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

David's *flying from Place to Place for Shelter againſt* Saul.

EVER after this *David* was baniſh'd from Court, and liv'd in the Nature of an *Out-Law*. The firſt Place that he betook himſelf to was † *Nob*, where ſtood the Tabernacle at that Time, and where ‖ *Ahimelech*

ducces his Heroes in this Poſture; and that this was the known Cuſtom among the antient People of *Italy*, *Virgil*, in theſe Words, teſtifies:

Perpetuis ſoliti Patres conſidere Menſis. *Æne.* vii.

It is not to be diſſembled however, that very early, and even in the Times of *Saul*, the Uſe of Table-Beds, or Beds to lie, or lean upon at Meals, had obtain'd among the *Jews*; for when the Witch of *Endor*, with much Entreaty, prevail'd with *Saul* to take a little Refreſhment, 'tis ſaid, that *he aroſe from the Earth, and ſat upon the Bed*, 1 Sam. xxviii. 23. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that *Saul*, who had ſo often endeavour'd to kill *David*, and was now juſt return'd from an Expedition undertaken againſt his Life, ſhould ever expect to ſee him at his Table any more. But he might think perhaps, that *David* was inclinable to overlook all that had paſs'd, as the Effect of his Frenzy and Melancholy; that now he had been propheſying at *Najoh*, he was return'd to a ſound Mind, and become a new Man; and that, becauſe, after the firſt Javelin darted at him, *David* had ventur'd into his Preſence again, he might, for the future, be guilty of the like Indiſcretion. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† If it be aſk'd, how it came to paſs, that *Saul* always had a Javelin or Spear in Readineſs, (as on this, and other Occaſions) to execute his evil Purpoſes? The Anſwer is, that Spears were the Sceptres of thoſe Ages, which Kings always carry'd in their Hands. That they always carry'd the Sceptres in their Hands appears from *Homer*, and that theſe Sceptres were Spears is evident from *Juſtin*, (lib. xxiii. c. 3.) where, ſpeaking of the firſt Age of the *Romans*, (which Dr *Patrick* thinks was about the Age of *Saul*) he tells us, that, as yet, in theſe Times, Kings had Spears, as Enſigns of Royalty, which the *Greeks* call'd Sceptres. The *Life of* David, *by the Author of the Revelation examin'd.*

† There is mention made of two Cities of this Name, one on the *Eaſt*, or *further* Side, and the other on the *Weſt*, or *hither* Side of *Jordan*. The Generality of Interpreters will have the City here ſpecify'd, to be that which ſtood on the *Weſt* Side, and in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. Tho' it is not reckon'd among the Number of the Cities, that were at firſt aſſign'd to the Prieſts, yet, that it afterwards became one of the *ſacerdotal* Towns, and eſpecially (as we may imagine) when the Tabernacle came to be mov'd thither, is evident from 1 *Sam.* xxii. 19. and *Nehem.* xi. 32. and ſome ſuppoſe it ſtood about four Leagues from *Gibeah*. *Calmet*'s Commentary, and *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III.

‖ The Words of our Bleſſed Saviour, in *Mark* ii. 25. are theſe, ——— *Have ye never read what* David *did, when he had need, and was an hungred, he, and they that were with him, how he went into the Houſe of God, in the Days of* Abiathar, *the High-Prieſt, and did eat the Shew-Bread, and gave alſo to them that were with him?* Now there are two Things, which the Author of this Book of *Samuel* aſſerts, quite contrary to what our Saviour declares, *viz.* 1ſt, That *David was alone, and no Man with him*, Chap xxi. 1. And 2dly, That *Ahimelech* was at that Time High-Prieſt; whereas our Saviour affirms, both that *David* had Company along with him, and that *Abiathar* was then in the Pontificate. Now, 1ſt, That *David* had Company with him, and that *Ahimelech* knew it, is evident from his Words in the fourth Verſe; *There is no common Bread in my Hand, but there is hallowed Bread*, if the young Men *have kept themſelves at leaſt from Women*; and therefore *Ahimelech*'s Meaning muſt be, that *David* had no Guards to attend him, as it was uſual for Perſons of his Quality to have; or, at leaſt, thoſe that were with him might be order'd to keep at a Diſtance, and ſo *Ahimelech* (when he utter'd theſe Words) might not ſee them, tho', when he came into a cloſer Conference with *David*, *David* might inform him, what Retinue he had brought, and conſequently, that all the Shew-Bread was no more

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Abimelech was High-Prieſt; but, as he had no Attendants, he pretended to *Abimelech*, that he was ſent by the King upon † a Buſineſs of ſuch Diſpatch, that he had Time neither to take Arms, nor Proviſion with him, and therefore had obtain'd of the High-Prieſt, * *Goliah*'s Sword, which had been depoſited in the Tabernacle, and ſome of the *Shew-Bread*, which, the Day before, had been taken off from the *Golden Table*, and with theſe he proceeded to *Gath*, as not thinking himſelf ſafe in any Part of *Saul*'s Dominions.

He had not been long in *Gath* however, before he was diſcover'd, and the King inform'd of his being that great Man of War in *Iſrael*, who had ſo often defeated, and deſtroy'd the *Philiſtines*; ſo that, to get clear of this Information, he was forc'd to counterfeit *Madneſs*, and an *Epilepſy*, which he did ſo artfully, that, by this Means, he evaded the Suſpicion of the King, and made his Eſcape to † *Adullam*, a Town in the Tribe of *Judah*, where his Brethren and Relations, together with many Malecontents, and Men of deſperate Fortunes met him, and made up a little Army of about four hundred in Number. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

After his Family had thus join'd him, he could not but be apprehenſive, that the Wrath of *Saul* would fall upon his aged Parents, and therefore his next Care was to provide them with a ſafe Retreat; which he did by putting both himſelf and them under the Protection of the King of *Moab*, who was then at Enmity with *Saul*. And with his Parents he thus continu'd, until the Prophet *Gad* (who attended him) advis'd him to leave *Moab*, and to return into the Land of *Judah*; which accordingly he did, and took up his Station in the † Foreſt of *Hareth*, where *Abiathar* the Prieſt came to him, and, *upon this ſad Occaſion*, brought along with him all the *pontifical* Ornaments.

During

more, than what they wanted for their preſent Support. 2dly, Tho' it be granted that the Name of *High-Prieſt*, in its ſtricteſt Senſe, did not at this Time belong to *Abiathar*, yet ſince it is generally agreed, that he was the *Sagan*, (as the *Jews* of latter Days call him, who is the High-Prieſt's *Vicar*) he might well enough (in a qualify'd Senſe) be called the *High-Prieſt*; eſpecially conſidering his immediate Succeſſion to his Father, and how ſhort his Father's Continuance in the Office was, after this Interview with *David*. Nor can we ſee any great Impropriety in ſaying, that ſuch a Thing was done in *the Days of* Abiathar *the High-Prieſt*, tho' done ſomewhat before he was inveſted with that Dignity; any more than in ſaying, that ſuch a Thing happen'd in the Days of *Henry* VIII. which ſtrictly came to paſs ſome Days before he began to reign. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† It muſt be own'd, that *David*, in this Pretence, did not ſpeak direct Truth, nor are we from hence to take an Example for ſpeaking Lyes; but one Thing may be ſaid in his Excuſe, that, as he ſaw *Doeg* there, who he knew would inform *Saul* of what paſs'd between him and *Abimelech*, his Pretence of Buſineſs was on purpoſe to furniſh the High Prieſt (if he were called to an Account) with a better Apology for his Reception of *David*, ſince he knew no other, but that he came Expreſs from the King: And accordingly we may obſerve, that *Abimelech* inſiſts on that chiefly. 'Tis a melancholy Conſideration, however, that the Wickedneſs of the World ſhould be ſuch, as to put even excellent Men ſometimes upon the Neceſſity of Lying to preſerve their Lives, which cannot be ſafe without it. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* It was an antient Cuſtom, not only among the *Jews*, but the *Heathens* likewiſe, to hang up the Arms that were taken from their Enemies in their Temples; and in Conformity hereunto, the Sword wherewith he cut off *Goliah*'s Head *David* dedicated to the Lord, and deliver'd to the Prieſt, to be kept as a Monument of his Victory, and of the *Iſraelites* Deliverance. And, as it was cuſtomary to hang up Arms in the Temples, ſo, when the Occaſions of the State requir'd it, it was no unuſual Thing to take them down, and employ them in the publick Service; from whence came that Saying of *Seneca*, *pro Republicâ plerumque Templa nudant*. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† It was a Town in the Tribe of *Judah*, of ſome conſiderable Note in the Days of *Euſebius*, and about ten Miles from *Eleutheropolis* Eaſtward, where there was a Rock of the ſame Name, in which was a Cave, naturally ſtrong and well fortify'd, to which *David* retreated; as indeed moſt of the Mountains of *Paleſtine* were full of *Caverns*, whither the Country People generally betook themſelves for Safety in Time of War. *Calmet*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II.

† Both St *Jerom* and *Euſebius*, make mention of a Place of this Name in the Tribe of *Judah*, lying *Weſtward* of *Jeruſalem*; of which *Rabbi Solomon* (upon the Credit of ſome antient Tradition) ſays, that, being before dry, barren, and impaſſable, upon *David*'s coming, it became fruitful and irriguous, and that in the xxiiid *Pſalm* (where he conſiders God as his *Shepherd*, who would lead him into *fruitful Paſtures*, and under his Protection, keep him ſafe in the moſt *dangerous Scenes*) he alludes to this, *He ſhall feed me in a green Paſture, and lead me forth by the Waters of Comfort*: For ſurely it is not impoſſible, but that *this*, which was before a barren Deſert, might now, by a ſingular Bleſſing from God upon the Induſtry of *David* and his Companions, become a green and well-water'd Paſture. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III. and *The Hiſtory of* David, *by the Author of Revelation examin'd*.

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Who ſlew Ahimelech *the High-Prieſt, and diverſe others, upon his Account.*

DURING *David*'s ſhort Stay at *Nob*, *Doeg*, the King's principal Herdſman, was there, and, upon his Return to Court, gave *Saul* Information of all that had paſs'd between the High-Prieſt *Ahimelech*, and *David*. Hereupon *Saul* ſent for *Ahimelech*, and the reſt of the Prieſts, and, having accus'd them of a Conſpiracy, and traiterous Practices againſt him, (* notwithſtanding all the High-Prieſt could ſay, in Vindication of himſelf, and his Brethren) he commandtd them to be put to Death. His Guards, who ſtood by, and heard *Ahimelech*'s Defence, * would not undertake ſo barbarous an Office; but *Doeg*, who had been their *Accuſer*, at the King's Command, became their *Executioner*, and, with his ſacrilegious Hand, ſlew no leſs, than || *eighty-five* of them. Nor did *Saul*'s bloody Reſentment ſtop here: * For, ſending a Party to *Nob*, he commanded them to kill Man, Woman, and Child, and even every living Creature; ſo that, of all the Children of *Ahimelech*, none eſcap'd, but *Abiathar*, (as we ſaid before) who came to *David*, and told him the diſmal Tidings of this Maſſacre, which *David* could not but ſadly condole, and, in ſome Meaſure, look upon himſelf as the innocent Occaſion of it. However he gave *Abiathar* Aſſurances of his Protection, that he ſhould ſhare the ſame Fate with him; and that, with his own Life, he would ſhield him from all Danger. From 1 Sam. i to the End.

WHILE *Saul* was imbruing his Hands in the innocent Blood of his Subjects, *David* was employing his Arms in the neceſſary Defence of his Country; for, hearing that the *Philiſtines* had made an Incurſion upon *Keilah*, a City of *Judah*, † he went, and reliev'd the Place, repuls'd the Enemy with a great Loſs of Men, and took *And purſues* David *into ſeveral Places, but is ſtill diſappointed.*

* The Speech, which *Joſephus* draws up for the High-Prieſt, upon this Occaſion, is directed to *Saul*, and conceiv'd in theſe Words: "I did not receive *David* as your *Majeſty*'s Enemy, but as the faithfulleſt of your Friends and "Officers, and (what is more) in the Quality of your Son too, and a Relation in ſo tender a Degree of Affinity and "Alliance. For how ſhould any Body imagine *that* Man to be your Enemy, upon whom you have conferr'd ſo "many Honours? Or why ſhould not I rather preſume ſuch a Perſon, without any further Enquiry, to be your "ſingular Friend? ——— He told me, that he was ſent in haſte by yourſelf, upon earneſt Buſineſs; and if I had "not ſupply'd him with what he wanted, it would have reflected an Indignity upon yourſelf, rather than upon him. "Wherefore, I hope, that the Blame will not fall upon me, even tho' *David* ſhould be found as culpable, as you "ſuſpect him; unleſs an Act of pure Compaſſion and Humanity, abſtracted from the leaſt Thought, Knowledge, or "Imagination of any evil Intention, ſhall be underſtood to make me privy to a *Conſpiracy:* For the Service I did him, "was Matter of Reſpect to the King's *Son-in-Law*, and the King's military Officer, not to the Perſon or Intereſt of "*David*." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vi. cap. 14.

* In this they were to be commended: But much more Praiſe they would have deſerv'd, if they had offer'd up their Petitions for theſe innocent People; if they had remonſtrated to the King, that he was going to commit a Thing, that was contrary to all Laws, both *divine* and *human*; and if (when they ſaw, that neither their Reaſons nor Petitions availed) they had look'd upon this Order, as the Effect of one of the King's diſtracted Fits, and accordingly ſeiz'd and ſecur'd him, until the Prieſts had made their Eſcape, and he return'd to a better Mind. For to ſtand wringing their Hands, while they ſaw ſo many innocent Creatures murther'd, and foreign Soldiers made the Inſtruments of the King's Cruelty, was much the ſame Thing, as to betray all divine and human Rights merely to pleaſe a *Tyrant*. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, Vide *Joſephus*'s *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vi. cap. 14. who has, upon this Occaſion, a curious Deſcant about the Abuſe of Power in Kings, when once from a low, they come to be exalted to an high Station in Life.

|| The *Septuagint*, as well as the *Syrian* Verſion, makes the Number of Prieſts, ſlain by *Doeg*, to be *three hundred and five*, and *Joſephus* three hundred and eighty-five, which is a large Variation from the *Hebrew* Text. *Millar*'s Hiſtory of the Church.

* This Party, as *Joſephus* informs us, was commanded by *Doeg*, the vile Informer and Murtherer, who *taking ſome Men, as wicked as himſelf, to his Aſſiſtance*, ſlew in all *three hundred and eighty-five Perſons*, and, in Addition to theſe, 'tis thought by ſome, that the *Gibeonites*, (upon whoſe Account there was ſo ſore a Famine in the Days of *David*) who might now be at *Nob*, in Attendance upon the Prieſts, were at this Time ſlain. 'Tis certain, *Saul* was now become a mere Tyrant, and againſt thoſe poor People acted more cruelly, than he did againſt the *Amalekites*, ſome of whom he ſpar'd, even contrary to God's Command; but in this Caſe he let none eſcape, on purpoſe to deter others from giving the leaſt Shelter or Aſſiſtance to *David*, and to incite them the rather to come, and give him Information, wherever his Haunts, or Lurking-Places were. *Joſephus*'s Antiq. lib. vi. c. 14.

† We read of no Embaſſy, that the People of *Keilah* ſent to *David* to deſire his Aſſiſtance, nor of any particular Affection they had for him; and therefore we may ſuppoſe, that *David* undertook this Expedition, out of pure Love to his *Countrymen*, to let the World ſee, how ſerviceable he could be to them, in Caſe he was reſtored to his Dignity again, and that (what ill Treatment ſoever he ſhould meet with from the Hand of *Saul*,) nothing ſhould provoke him to abandon his Love for his Country. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

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took from them a conſiderable Booty of Cattle. *Saul* had ſoon Intelligence of this Action; and ſuppoſing that *David* would now fortify himſelf in this ſtrong Hold, he ſent an Army to inveſt it: But *David*, having conſulted the Divine Oracle upon this Emergency, found that the Inhabitants of the Place would prove perfidious to him, and therefore he left them, and retir'd into a Wood in the † Deſerts of *Ziph*, whither *Saul*, for Want of Intelligence, could not purſue him; but his Son *Jonathan*, having private Notice ſent him, went to him, and gave him all the Comfort and Encouragement that he could; aſſuring him, that his Father's Malice would never reach him; that he ſtill hop'd to ſee him King of *Iſrael*, and himſelf his *ſecond*; and with theſe Words, confirming the Covenant of Friendſhip between them, they embrac'd and parted.

THE People of the Wilderneſs were very officious in ſending *Saul* Intelligence where *David* was, and (if he would ſupply them with a ſufficient Force) undertook to betray him into his Hands: But *David*, having taken Notice of their intended Treachery, retir'd farther into the Deſert of *Maon*, whither *Saul* purſu'd him, and preſs'd him ſo cloſe, that there was but a Valley between the two Armies. *David*'s Army was ſo very ſmall, that *Saul* was thinking of encompaſſing the Mountain, where he encamp'd, in order to prevent his Eſcape; when News was brought him, that the *Philiſtines* had invaded the Country on the other Side, ſo that he was forc'd to drop his private Reſentment for the publick Weal, and divert his Arms another Way: But, as ſoon as the *Philiſtines* were repuls'd, he, with three Thouſand choice Men, renewed his Purſuit of *David*, who by this Time was retir'd into the ſtrong Holds of † *Engedi*.

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AS *Saul* was on his March, he happen'd to turn into a Cave to eaſe Nature, where *David*, and ſome of his Men lay hid. His Men, when they ſaw the King entering alone, thought it a lucky Opportunity, that Providence had put in their Hands, and accordingly inſtigated *David* to diſpatch him: But *David* rejected the Offer with Abhorrence, * *God forbid that I ſhould ſtretch forth my Hand againſt the Lord's Anointed*; and only (to ſhew *Saul* how much he was in his Power) went ſoftly, and † cut off the Skirt of his Robe. When *Saul* was gone out of the Cave, *David* call'd to him at a Diſtance, and,

† In *Joſhua*, xv. 55. we read of a Town of this Name, where Mention is likewiſe made of *Carmel*, and *Maon*, and therefore it probably was adjacent to them. And here, in the Story of *David*, we find *Carmel* and *Maon* mention'd as adjoining to *Ziph*; ſo that, it is not to be doubted but that by the *Ziph* in the Wilderneſs, where *David* now conceal'd himſelf, we are to underſtand the *Ziph*, which was in the Neighbourhood of *Carmel*, and *Maon*, in the ſouthern Part of the Tribe of *Judah*, and (according to St *Jerom*) about eight Miles eaſtward from *Hebron*. *Wells*'s Geogr. of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III.

† *En-gedi*, (now called *Anguedi*) in the Days of St *Jerom*, was a large Village, ſituate in the Deſerts, which lay upon the weſtern Coaſts of the *Salt* or *Dead Sea*, not very far from the Plains of *Jericho*: And, as the Country thereabouts abounded with Mountains, and theſe Mountains had Plenty of vaſt Caves in them, it was a very commodious Place for *David* to retire to, and conceal himſelf in. *Euſebius* makes it famous for excellent *Balm*; and *Solomon* in his Song, for Vineyards, which, in all Probability, were planted by his Father, during his Retirement in this Place, and therefore ſo peculiarly celebrated by the Son. *Calmet*'s Commentary, *Wells*'s Geogr. of the Old Teſtam. Vol. III. and *The Hiſtory of King* David, by the Author of *Revelation Examin'd*.

* This one Example of *David*'s, under all the Provocations, he receiv'd from *Saul*, abundantly ſhews us, that the Perſons of Kings are ſacred and inviolable.

Regum timendorum in proprios Greges,
Reges in ipſos Imperium eſt Jovis. HOR. Od.

† If it be aſk'd, how *David* could do this without *Saul*'s perceiving it? The Anſwer may be, that this poſſibly might be ſome upper looſe Garment, which *Saul* might put off, and lay aſide at ſome Diſtance from him, upon this Occaſion; and that, as there were ſeveral Rooms, or particular Cells, in theſe large Caverns, which might have ſecret Paſſages from one another, *Saul*, at the Mouth of one of theſe Cells, might lay down this upper Garment, which *David* perceiving, and knowing all the Paſſages of the Place, might go ſome ſecret Way, and cut off ſome ſmall Part of it. Nor could the Noiſe, which *David*'s Motion might make, be well heard by *Saul*, becauſe it muſt have been drown'd by a much greater Noiſe, which *Saul*'s Army, waiting for him at the Mouth of the Cave, may be ſuppos'd to make. *Pool*'s Annotations.

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and, ſhewing him the Skirt of his Raiment declar'd his Innocence in ſuch tender Terms, and with ſuch ſubmiſſive Behaviour, that he made the King's Heart relent. So that, with the utmoſt Compunction, he acknowledg'd his Guilt in thus perſecuting the Juſt; and, from the many Eſcapes, which God had vouchſaf'd *David*, concluding aſſuredly that he was to ſucceed in the Kingdom, he conjur'd him, by all that was ſacred, ‖ not to deſtroy his Family; and, having obtain'd this Promiſe, he return'd home: But *David*, * not daring to truſt to his fair Words, ſtill kept himſelf cloſe in the Faſtneſſes of the Hills.

MUCH about this Time † the Prophet *Samuel* dy'd, and was bury'd at *Ramah*, the Place of his Habitation, in great Solemnity, and † with the general Lamentation of the People: During which Time, *David* took the Opportunity to remove from *En-gedi*, and to retire farther into the Wilderneſs of *Paran*, not far from *Maon*, where he had been once before. From 1 Sam. i. to the End

IN the neighbourhood of this Place, there liv'd a wealthy Man, whoſe Name was *Nabal*, but himſelf was of a ſurly and moroſe Diſpoſition. While *David* abode in this Wilderneſs the Time before, he had taken great Care to reſtrain his Men from doing any Injury to *Nabal*'s Flocks, and now, in the Time of his *Sheep-ſheering*, (which, in theſe Countries, was always a Seaſon of great Feſtivity and Entertainment) he ſent Meſſengers to him, that, in Conſideration of the many *Civilities*, he had ſhewn him, he would be pleas'd to ſend ſome Proviſions for the Support of his Army. But *Nabal* receiv'd the Meſſengers *David's Interview with* Abigail, Nabal's *Wife, whom he afterwards marries.*

‖ But how did *David* abſolve his Promiſe, or keep his Oath with *Saul*, when, in 2 *Sam.* xxi. 8. he ſlew ſo many of his Sons? The Reply, that is uſually made to this, is, ——— That this Promiſe, or Oath of *David*'s, could never be *abſolute* or *unconditional*, becauſe, upon Suppoſition that any of *Saul*'s Family had become *rebellious*, they had nevertheleſs been obnoxious to the Sword of Juſtice; that, tho' *David* could bind himſelf with his Oath, yet he could not bind God, to whoſe Will and Pleaſure all private Obligations muſt be ſubmitted; and (what is more) that this Execution was not done by *David*'s Order, but at the Deſire of the *Gibeonites*, to whom God had promis'd that Satisfaction ſhould be made for *Saul*'s bloody Endeavours to deſtroy them. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

* 'Tis an old Saying, and a wiſe one, μέμνησο ἀπιστεῖν, *Remember not to be too credulous*; and the Advice of the Son of *Sirach* is this, ——— *Never truſt thine Enemy; tho' he humble himſelf, yet take good Heed, and beware of him.* Eccluſ. xii. 10, 11.

† The *Jews* are of Opinion that *Samuel* died only four Months before *Saul*: But, by the Generality of Chriſtian *Chronologers*, he is ſuppos'd to have died about two Years before the Death of that Prince, and in the ninety-eighth Year of his Age; twenty of which had been ſpent in the Government of *Iſrael* (tho' Sir *John Marſham* will have it no more than ſixteen) before *Saul*'s Inauguration, after which, he liv'd about eighteen. He was at firſt interr'd at *Ramah*, but, in the Time of the Emperor *Arcadius*, his Body was tranſported from *Paleſtine* to *Conſtantinople*; and (as St *Jerom* informs us) receiv'd both by the Clergy and Laity with a Joy unſpeakable, and Honours almoſt infinite. He was indeed, while he liv'd, an excellent Governor, and, through his whole Adminiſtration, above Vanity, Corruption, or any private Views. Thoſe, that attend to his Life, may obſerve, that he was modeſt without Meanneſs, mild without Weakneſs, firm without Obſtinacy, and ſevere without Harſhneſs; or, as the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* has recorded his Actions, and conſecrated this *Eulogy* to his Memory: ——— Samuel, *the Prophet of the Lord*, ſays he, *beloved of the Lord, eſtabliſhed a Kingdom, and anointed Princes over his People. By the Law of the Lord he judged the Congregation, and the Lord had Reſpect unto* Jacob. *By his Faithfulneſs he was found a true Prophet, and by his Word he was known to be faithful in Viſion. He called upon the mighty God, when his Enemies preſſed upon him on every Side, when he offered the ſucking Lamb; and the Lord thundred from Heaven, and with a great Noiſe made his Voice to be heard. He deſtroyed the Rulers of the* Syrians, *and all the Princes of the* Philiſtines. *Before his long Sleep, he made Proteſtations in the Sight of the Lord, and his Anointed, and after his Death he propheſied, and ſhewed the King his End.* Eccluſ. xlvi. 13, &c. But, beſides the Things that are recorded of this Prophet in the firſt Book of *Samuel*, there are ſome other Paſſages concerning him in the firſt Book of *Chronicles*; as, That he enriched the Tabernacle with ſeveral Spoils, which he took from the Enemies of *Iſrael* during his Adminiſtration, Chap. xxvi. 28. That he aſſiſted in regulating the Diſtribution of the *Levites*, which *David* afterwards preſcribed for the Service of the Temple, Chap. ix. 22. And laſtly, that he wrote the Hiſtory of *David*, in Conjunction with the Prophet *Nathan* and *Gad*: But, as he was dead before *David* came to the Throne, this can be meant only of the Beginning of that Hiſtory, which by the other two Prophets might be continu'd and concluded. There is great Probability indeed, that he compos'd the twenty-four firſt Chapters of the firſt Book of *Samuel*, which contains the Beginning of *David*'s Life, and ſeveral hiſtorical Facts, wherein he himſelf had a large Share; but as for the latter Part of it, it was impoſſible for him to write it, becauſe, in the Beginning of the xxvth Chapter, there is Mention made of his Death.

† When they ſaw the Diſorders of *Saul*'s Reign, they had great Reaſon to lament their Loſs of *Samuel*, and their Sin, in rejecting ſo great a Prophet, and ſo good a Magiſtrate. *Millar*'s Hiſtory of the Church.

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gers very rudely, and, with ſome oppro-brious Reflections upon *David* himſelf, ſent them away empty, which ſo exaſpe-rated *David*, that, in the Heat of his Reſentment, he vow'd to deſtroy all *Na-bal*'s Family before next Morning, and with this Reſolution he ſet forward: But *Abigail*, *Nabal*'s Wife, who was a very beautiful Woman, and in Temper the very *reverſe* to her Huſband, being in-form'd by her Servant of what had paſs'd, took this Expedient to divert his Ire.

She order'd her Servants immediately to pack up two hundred Loaves of Bread, ‖ two Bottles of Wine, five Sheep ready dreſs'd, five Meaſures of parch'd Corn, an hundred Cluſters of Raiſins, and two hundred Cakes of Figs; and with this Preſent ſhe made haſte to meet *David*. *David* was marching with all Speed, to put in Execution his raſh Vow; but *Abi-gail*, when ſhe met him, approach'd him with that Reſpect, and addreſs'd him † in ſuch moving Language, that ſhe ſoon diſ-arm'd him of his Rage, and ſtopp'd the Effects of his Indignation, ſo that they both parted with mutual Satisfaction; *he*, for being thus prevented from ſhedding of Blood, and *ſhe*, for having thus happily ſucceeded in her Embaſſy.

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When ſhe got home, ſhe found her Huſband rioting and drinking; ſo that ſhe deferr'd telling him of what had paſs'd, until he was a little ſoberer the next Morn-ing. But when he came to underſtand the Danger he had been in, he was ſo terrify'd at the Thoughts of it, that ‖ he turn'd quite ſtupid, and, in the Space of ten Days, died: Whereupon *David* ſent for his Wife, and marry'd her, as he did likewiſe another Woman, whoſe Name was *Ahinoam* a *Jezreelite*; for his firſt Wife, who was *Saul*'s Daughter, by her Father's Command, † was at this Time given to another.

The *Ziphites* (as we ſaid before) were always forward to give *Saul* Information, where *David* and his Men were conceal'd; *His ſaving King* Saul, *when he was in his Power.*

and

‖ It muſt be obvious to every Reader, that *two Bottles of Wine* would bear no Proportion to the other Parts of the Preſent, nor anſwer the Exigencies, which *David*'s Army might be in, if they be underſtood of ſuch Bottles as are now commonly in Uſe with us: But, in theſe *Eaſtern* Countries, they us'd to carry and keep their Wine and Water in Leathern Bags, made on Purpoſe to hold liquid Things, which Veſſels they call'd, or (at leaſt) we tranſlate them, *Bottles*. Such were the Bottles which the *Gibeonites* brought to *Joſhua*'s Camp, which they ſaid were worn out, and torn in their pretended long Journey, *Joſh.* ix. 13. And of ſuch as thoſe it is not unlikly, that our Saviour ſpeaks, *Matth.* ix. 17. where, in the marginal Note of our old Bible, *Bottles* are explain'd by Bags of Leather, two Skins or Borachios, wherein Wine was carry'd on Aſſes or Camels: And that two ſuch Veſſels as theſe might hold a Quantity of Wine proportionate to the reſt of the Preſent, which *Abigail* carry'd with her, needs not to be diſputed. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, in the Notes.

† The Speech, which the ſacred Hiſtorian puts in *Abigail*'s Mouth, upon this Occaſion, is certainly an artful Piece of Eloquence, full of fine Turns and Inſinuations; nor is that of *Joſephus*, eſpecially in the Concluſion, much amiſs; —— "Be pleas'd, Sir, I beſeech you, to accept of the good Will of your poor Servant in theſe ſmall "Preſents, and, upon my humble Requeſt, to paſs over the Offence of my Huſband, who has ſo juſtly incurr'd your "Diſpleaſure; for there is nothing ſo well becoming the Character of a Perſon, whom Providence deſigns for a "Crown, as Clemency and Compaſſion." Jewiſh Antiq. lib. vi. c. 14.

‖ The Words in the Original are, *He became a Stone*, but our Tranſlation has wiſely ſupply'd the Particle *as*, which ſhould always be done, when the Scripture affirms ſomething of another, that is not abſolutely of the ſame Nature. We may obſerve however, that this Manner of Expreſſion is very common among profane Authors. Thus *Ovid* brings in *Ariadne* expreſſing her Grief and Aſtoniſhment at the Loſs of *Theſeus*, who had left her in the Iſland *Dia*:

Aut Mare proſpiciens in Saxo frigida ſedi,
Quamque Lapis ſedes, tam *Lapis ipſa fui*.

The like Expreſſion is us'd of *Hecuba*, when ſhe ſaw the dead Body of her Son *Polydorus*:

—— duroque ſimillima Saxo
Torpet. —— ——

But in the Caſe of *Niobe*, who is ſaid to be turn'd into a Statue of Stone, *Cicero*, in his *Tuſculan* Queſtions, obſerves, that this Fable only repreſents her perpetual Silence in Mourning: And accordingly *Joſephus* tells us of *Nabal*, that, when his Wife told him of the Danger he had eſcap'd, he was ſtruck with ſuch an Aſtoniſhment, that he fell into a dead Numbneſs all over his Body, of which he ſoon died. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and Diſſert. de Statuâ Salis.

† The Reaſon of *Saul*'s putting this Indignity upon *David*, was to extinguiſh, as far as he could, all Relation and Kindred, and to cut off his Hopes and Pretences to the Crown upon that Account: But, as the *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion, that this *Phalti*, to whom ſhe was given, was a very pious Man, and would never approach her, be-cauſe ſhe was another Man's Wife, and as *David* had never been divorc'd from her, he receiv'd her again, when he came to the Throne. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Calmet*'s Commentary.

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and therefore, underſtanding from them, that he was ſomewhere about the Mountain *Hachilah* †, he took three Thouſand Men, and went in Queſt of him. *David* had Intelligence where *Saul*'s Army lay encamp'd; and therefore going, firſt of all privately himſelf, to *reconnoitre* it, he † took with him at Night his *Nephew Abiſhai*, and, entering the Camp, found *Saul*, and *Abner*, and all the reſt of the Hoſt, faſt aſleep. *Abiſhai* would have gladly made uſe of this Opportunity to diſpatch the King, but *David* would by no Means permit him, for the ſame Reaſons that he had ſav'd his Life in the Cave; only the * Spear, and Cruiſe of Water, that were at his Bed's Head, he bid him bring with him, that he might ſhew the King how much his Life had been at his Mercy: And, accordingly, when they got at a convenient Diſtance, *David*, with a loud Voice, call'd unto *Abner*, and, in an † ironical Manner, upbraided him with his Neglect of preſerving the King's Life, ſince his Spear, and the Cruiſe of Water, that were ſo near his Bed's Head, were ſo eaſily taken from him: And when *Saul*, upon hearing his Voice, came out of the Camp, and ſpake to him, he expoſtulated with him, much in the ſame Manner as he did, after his Eſcape from the *Cave*, with this additional Complaint, that, by thus expelling him from his own Country, he forc'd him to converſe with *Infidels*, and (as much as in him lay) to embrace their Religion. Whereupon *Saul*, accuſing himſelf of Cruelty, and applauding *David*'s Generoſity, confeſs'd his Guilt, and promis'd, for the future, never to make any farther Attempts upon his Life.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

BUT, notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious Declarations, *David*, who knew the Inſtability of *Saul*'s Temper, and how impoſſible it was for him to live in Safety, while he continu'd in his Dominions, determin'd at laſt to go over to the *Philiſtines*; and, having

His Retreating to Achiſh, *and living at* Ziklag.

† The Inconſtancy, Falſeneſs, and implacable Rage of this Prince is really inconceivable. Not long ago he was oblig'd to *David* for his Life, and acknowledg'd his Error, and made *David* ſwear, that he would be kind and merciful to his Poſterity; and yet now he openly declares himſelf again his Enemy, and goes in Purſuit of him to kill him. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† This may ſeem a bold and ſtrange Attempt, for two Perſons to go into the Midſt of an Army of three Thouſand choſen Men; but, in Anſwer to this, many Things may be conſider'd: As that, according to the Accounts of many credible Hiſtorians, ſeveral gallant Men have attempted Things of no leſs Danger and Difficulty than this was; that *David* had all along Aſſurance given him, that God would preſerve him in all Dangers to ſucceed in the Kingdom; and that, at this Time, he might have a particular Impulſe and Incitement from God to go upon this Enterpriſe, and might poſſibly be inform'd by him, that he had caſt them into a deep Sleep, that he might give him this ſecond Opportunity of manifeſting to *Saul* his Innocence, and the Juſtneſs of his Cauſe. Not to ſay, that as Secrecy, at this Time, was the great Point, *David* might think himſelf ſafer, in this Reſpect, with one ſingle Companion, than with more. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *The Life of King* David.

* That it was cuſtomary for Warriors, when they laid them down to Reſt, to have their Arms plac'd in Order by them, is evident, from what *Silius Italicus* tells us of *Mago*, *Hannibal*'s Brother.

——————— Nec degener ille
Belligeri Ritûs taurino membra jacebat
Effultus Tergo, & mulcebat triſtia Somno.
Haud procul *Haſta* viri terrâ defixa propinquâ
Et dira è ſummâ pendebat cuſpide Caſſis
Et Clypeus Loricaque, & enſis, & arcus,
Et Telum Baleare ſimul tellure quieſcunt. Lib. vii.

But, long before *Silius*, *Homer* deſcribes the *Thracians* ſleeping in this Manner in their Tents:

Οἱ δ' εὗδον καμάτῳ ἀδδηκότες, ἔντεα δὲ σφιν
Καλὰ παρ' αὐτοῖσι χθονὶ κέκλιτο εὖ κατὰ κόσμον. Il. 10.
Ρῆσος δ' ἐν μέθῳ ἧδε ———

† The Speech, which *David* makes to *Abner*, according to *Joſephus*, is to this Effect: ——— "Are not you a fit "Man to be a Prince's Favourite, a *General* of his Army, to take upon you the Guard of his royal Perſon, and "under all theſe honourable Obligations, to lie dozing, and ſtretching yourſelf at Eaſe, when your Maſter's Life is in "Danger? Can you tell me what is become of the King's Launce, and the Pitcher of Water, that were this Night "taken by the Enemy out of his Tent, and from his very Bed-Side, and you, in the mean Time, all ſnoring about "him, without knowing any Thing of the Matter? Whether this was Neglect or Treachery, 'tis the ſame Thing; "you certainly deſerve to loſe your Head for it." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vi. c. 14.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

having obtain'd from † *Achiſh*, King of *Gath*, a ſafe Conduct for himſelf and his Retinue, he, for ſome Time, liv'd in the royal City; but, not liking his Accommodation here ſo well, as he grew in Favour with the King ever more and more, he obtain'd of him at laſt to have the † Town of *Ziklag* aſſign'd for his Habitation, and, as ſoon as he was ſettled here, ſeveral of *Saul*'s beſt Officers and Soldiers came over to him. *David* at firſt had ſome Suſpicion of them; but having, for ſome Time, made Trial of their Fidelity, he receiv'd them into his Service, and gave them Commands: And, with this Acceſſion to his Army, he was enabled to make ſeveral Excurſions againſt the || *Amalekites*, and other Nations, in which he was accuſtom'd to kill all, that none might carry Information, and, at the ſame Time, † by certain ambiguous Expreſſions, made the King believe, that the Booty, he brought back with him, was taken from the *Iſraelites*, which was no unpleaſant News. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

IN ſhort, to ſuch a Degree of Confidence was he grown with *Achiſh*, that he propos'd taking him along with him to the War, which the *Philiſtines* had at this Time declar'd againſt *Saul*; but ſome of the chief Men about him declaring againſt it, as being apprehenſive, that, in the Day of Battle he might poſſibly turn againſt them, prevail'd with the King to diſmiſs him. This was an agreeable Turn to *David*; yet he ſo far diſſembled the Matter, that the King (to oblige his *Nobles*) was forc'd to be very preſſing, and importunate with him to return to *Ziklag*; which, accordingly he did, and, in his March thither, was join'd by ſeveral of the Tribe of *Manaſſeh* (as thoſe of *Gad* and *Benjamin* had done before) to a conſiderable Augmentation of his Forces. And well it ſo happen'd: For, upon his Return to *Ziklag*, he found that the *Amalekites*

† Whether this was the ſame *Achiſh*, mention'd 1 *Sam.* xxi. 10. with whom *David* took Shelter at his firſt Flight from *Saul*, or ſome Succeſſor of the ſame Name, is a Matter of ſome Conjecture: His being call'd *Achiſh, the Son of Maoch*, ſeems to imply, that he was a different Perſon, becauſe, in the Nature of Things, theſe Words can have no Uſe, but only to diſtinguiſh this *Achiſh* from another of the ſame Name. But whoever it was, 'tis highly probable, that he either had invited *David* to come thither for his Security, or that *David* had ſent before-hand Embaſſadors to treat with him, and to obtain his royal Promiſe of Protection. And this we are the rather induc'd to believe, becauſe both found their Advantage by this Alliance: *David* ſecur'd himſelf againſt the Perſecutions of *Saul*; and *Achiſh*, knowing *David*'s Valour, and the Number of *Troops*, which came along with him, thought he ſhould give a powerful Diverſion to the Forces of *Iſrael*, if he could at this Time attach *David* to his Intereſt. But whether *David* did well or ill, in either ſuing for, or accepting of the Protection of this foreign King, is a Point that we ſhall have Occaſion to diſcuſs hereafter. *Patrick*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries, and *The Life of King* David.

† *Ziklag* was ſituate in the extreme Parts of the Tribe of *Judah* ſouthwards, nor far from *Hormah*, where the *Iſraelites* receiv'd a Defeat, while they ſojourn'd in the Wilderneſs. In the Diviſion of the Land of *Canaan*, it was firſt given to the Tribe of *Judah*, Joſh. xv. 31. and afterwards to that of *Simeon*, Joſh. xix. 5. but the *Philiſtines* ſeem all along to have kept Poſſeſſion, ſo that it never came into the Hands of either Tribe, until, by the Gift of *Achiſh*, it became the peculiar Inheritance of *David* and his Succeſſors. Why *David* deſir'd of *Achiſh* the Liberty to retire to this Place, was to avoid the Envy, which the Number of his Attendants might poſſibly occaſion; to ſecure his People from the Infection of *Idolatry*; to enjoy the free Exerciſe of his own Religion; and to gain an Opportunity of enterpriſing ſomething againſt the Enemies of God, without the Knowledge or Obſervation of the *Philiſtines*. *Calmet*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

|| In 1 *Sam.* xv. 7. we read, that *Saul ſmote the* Amalekites, *and utterly deſtroyed all the People with the Edge of the Sword*; and yet we find here *David* making frequent Incurſions upon the *Amalekites*; and therefore the Meaning of the former Paſſage muſt be, that *Saul* deſtroy'd as many of them as fell into his Hands; for ſeveral of them might make their Eſcape from *Saul* into the Deſerts that lay towards *Arabia-Felix*, and upon his Retreat, return and repoſſeſs their old Habitation. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† The Words, wherein *David* anſwer'd this Queſtion of *Achiſh*, *Whither have you made a Road to Day?* are theſe, *Againſt the South of* Judah, *and againſt the South of the* Jerahmeelites, *and againſt the South of the* Kenites, 1 *Sam.* xxvii. 10. By which Nations *David*, in Reality, meant the *Geſhurites*, and the *Gezerites*, who were both of them Relicts of the *Canaanites*, whom God order'd to be extirpated, and who did, in Truth, live to the *South* of *Judah*; but *Achiſh* underſtood him in a quite contrary Senſe, *viz.* that he had fallen upon his own Countrymen. So that, ſince the Formality of a Lye conſiſts in our impoſing upon thoſe, with whom we converſe, we cannot but allow, that tho' *David*'s Anſwer may not be called a downright Lye, yet it is an *Equivocation*, with an Intent to deceive, badly comporting with that Honeſty, and Simplicity, which became *David*, both as a Prince, and Profeſſor of the true Religion, wherein he is no way to be excus'd, and much leſs to be imitated. *Pool*'s Annotations.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

kites had burnt, and pillag'd the Place, † and carry'd away his two Wives, and all the People that were therein; and (what was no ſmall Acceſſion to this Misfortune) his Soldiers mutiny'd againſt him, as if he had been † the Occaſion of it. *David*, however, marching away immediately, and having gain'd Intelligence which Way the Enemy took, ſoon came up with them; fell upon them, and cut them to Pieces, and not only recover'd all the Perſons, and the Booty, which they had taken, but ſeveral *rich Spoils* likewiſe, that they had robb'd others of in this Expedition, whereof he made *Preſents* to his Friends †.

Saul's *conſulting the Witch of* Endor.

IN the mean Time, the *Philiſtine* Army lay at † *Shunem*, and *Saul* and his Forces were encamp'd in Mount *Gilboa*, from whence having a Proſpect of the Enemy's Strength, † his Courage fail'd him, when he ſaw how much more numerous the *Philiſtines* were, and found, at the ſame Time, that God, in this preſſing Juncture, would not be conſulted by him, nor give him any Inſtructions what to do. He had, ſome Time before, baniſh'd all the *Wizards*, and ſuch as dealt with *familiar* Spirits, out of the Nation; but, being now in the utmoſt Perplexity, † he was reſolv'd to conſult ſome one of this Profeſſion, in order to know what the Fate of this War would be. At *Endor*, about three Leagues from Mount *Gilboa*, he was told there liv'd a * *Witch*, or *Sorcereſs*; and therefore, diſguiſing himſelf, and taking but two Servants with him, that he might not be ſuſpected, he came to the Woman * by Night, and deſir'd of her * to raiſe up the Ghoſt of *Samuel*.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

WHETHER

† It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that the *Amalekites*, who had ſo often been cut to Pieces by *David*, ſhould not, upon their Succeſs, ſlay, rather than carry away, the People, which they found in *Ziklag*: But this may be imputed either to their Covetouſneſs, who might keep them for Sale, and to make Money of them as Captives; or to their Cruelty, who might reſerve them for more lingering and repeated Torments; or perhaps for the Gratification of their brutal Luſts; though principally it is to be aſcrib'd to God's over-ruling Providence, who reſtrain'd, and ſet Bounds to their Rage. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† This he might ſeem to be in relinquiſhing his own Country, and coming to *Ziklag*; in provoking the *Amalekites*, by the Slaughter of all that came in his Way; and in going with *Achiſh* to War, while he left the Place, where their Wives and Children were, unguarded. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† His Friends were chiefly thoſe of his own Tribe; but, beſides theſe, we find he ſent to others, *viz.* to the Inhabitants of the City of *Bethel*, which belong'd to the Tribe of *Ephraim*; and this he did, not only in Acknowledgment of the Shelter and Support, which he had receiv'd from them in his Baniſhment, but in Proſpect of their future Favour and Intereſt, in Caſe there ſhould happen a Vacancy in the Throne. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

† *Shunem* was a City in the Borders of the Tribe of *Iſſachar*, about five Miles to the South of Mount *Hermon*, according to St *Jerom* and *Euſebius*; who tells us likewiſe, that *Gilboa* was a Ridge of Mountains, ſix Miles Diſtance from *Scythopolis*, antiently called *Bethſham*; and that *Endor* was a Town in the Valley of *Jezreel*, at the Foot of Mount *Gilboa*. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† The *Philiſtines* muſt have had, on this Occaſion, ſeveral *hir'd* Forces, otherwiſe *Saul* had no Reaſon to have been afraid of them, becauſe the ſmall Tract, which the *Philiſtines* inhabited, could not poſſibly ſupply them with an Army any Thing equal to the *Hebrews*, who, in ſome of their Wars, have carry'd to the Field ſome hundred Thouſands of Men. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† A ſtrange Infatuation this of *Saul!* He had baniſh'd all Wizards and Sorcerers out of his Kingdom, as a dangerous Sort of People, who made Profeſſion of a wicked and unwarrantable Art; and yet he here enquires after one, and puts his whole Confidence in what he had ſo wiſely exploded before; as if a Witch, with her Incantations, and other diabolical Arts, was capable of allaying the Uneaſineſs of his Mind, or ſecuring him from the Apprehenſions of Danger. It may be obſerv'd however, that he mentions a *Woman*, rather than a *Man* to be conſulted upon this Occaſion, becauſe he might imagine, that the weaker Sex might more eaſily be deceiv'd by evil Spirits, and were generally more addicted to theſe unlawful Practices. *Calmet*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

* The *Septuagint* have called her, *a Woman that ſpeaks from her Belly, or Stomach*, as moſt Magicians affected to do; and ſome modern Authors have inform'd us, that there were Women, who had a *Dæmon*, which ſpake articulately from the lower Part of their Stomachs, in a very loud, though hoarſe Tone:

Umbræ cum ſaganâ reſonarunt triſte & acutum. HOR. Sat. viii.

* They could not go the direct Way; for then they muſt have paſs'd through the Enemies Camp; and therefore they took a Compaſs, and travelled by Night, that they might not be diſcover'd; beſides that, the Night was the propereſt Time to conſult thoſe, that pretended to *magical* Incantations, it being a common Opinion among the *Greeks*, as perhaps now it might be among the *Hebrews*, that none of the terreſtrial *Dæmons* did appear in the Day-Time. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* It was a common Pretence of *Magicians*, that they could raiſe up Ghoſts from below, or make dead Perſons appear, to declare unto them future Events.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

WHETHER it was the Ghoſt of *Samuel*, which God, upon this Occaſion, permitted to appear, or ſome evil Spirit, whom the Witch, by her *Enchantments*, might raiſe up; but ſo it was, that, from this *Spectre* † the Woman learnt, that it was *Saul*, who had employ'd her; and *Saul*, when he ſaw it, bow'd his Face to the Ground. The *Apparition* ſpake firſt, and, demanding the Reaſon, * why he had rais'd him from the Dead, was anſwer'd by *Saul*, that the *Philiſtines*, with a powerful Army, had invaded him, and, in his Diſtreſs, God had forſaken him, and would give no Anſwer, † which Way ſoever he conſulted him: To whom the Spirit reply'd, that, for his Diſobedience, in not deſtroying the *Amalekites*, God had taken away the Kingdom from his Family, and given it to *David*; and, as to the Fate of the War, the *Philiſtines*, † the next Day, ſhould rout his Army, and he and his Sons fall in the Battle. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

SAUL had no ſooner heard his Doom, but he fainted away; and, as he had eaten nothing for ſome conſiderable Time, * the Woman and his Servants with much ado prevail'd with him to take ſome Refreſhment: Which when he had done, he went away, and march'd all Night, that he might come early enough to the Camp next Morning.

THE next Morning the two Armies met, and engag'd, but the *Iſraelites* were forc'd *Is vanquiſh'd by the* Philiſtines *and ſlain.*

——— Cruror in foſſam effuſus, ut inde
Manes elicerant, animas reſponſa daturas. HOR. Sat. lib. i.

And therefore *Saul* addreſſes the Woman, as if he believ'd her Abilities in that Way. This however ſhews, not only the Antiquity of *Necromancy*, but the prevailing Opinion then, that the Soul, after the Death of the Body, did ſurvive; otherwiſe it would have been impertinent for *Saul* to deſire the Woman to raiſe up *Samuel:* Which makes it the greater Wonder, that we have no where, in the *Old Teſtament*, a poſitive Declaration of the Soul's Immortality. *Calmet*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† How the Woman came to know it to be *Samuel*, we may thus imagine. She ſaw an Apparition ſhe did not expect; ſhe knew the Prophet; ſhe knew the Veneration, which *Saul* had for him; ſhe knew that Prophets were only ſent to Kings; and ſhe knew withal, that her Art, whatever it was, had never before that Time exhibited a Perſon of that Figure to her; and from hence ſhe concluded, that the Apparition muſt needs be *Samuel*, and the Perſon, who came to conſult her, in all Probability, was *Saul*. *The Hiſtory of the Life of King* David.

* The Words of *Samuel* are, *Why haſt thou diſquieted me, and brought me up?* Which ſeem to imply, that *Samuel* was rais'd up by the Force of this Woman's Inchantments: But, as it is not in the Power of Witches to diſturb the Reſt of good Men, and bring them into the World when they pleaſe, it is much more rational to think, that the Scripture here expreſſes itſelf in a Manner ſuitable to the Prejudice of the Vulgar, among whom it was a common Notion, that theſe Incantations gave Trouble to the Souls that were at Reſt: For which Reaſon, they were either to be appeas'd by Offerings, or conſtrain'd by the Force of Inchantments; for ſo the Tragedian has inform'd us,

Carmenque magicum volvit, & rapido minax
Decantat ore, quicquid aut placat leves
Aut cogit Umbras. SENECA in OEdip.

† The ſacred Hiſtorian has reckon'd up three ſeveral Ways of enquiring of God, *viz.* by *Dreams*, by *Urim*, and by *Prophets*; and it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that there were the ſame Methods of conſulting their Gods among the *Gentiles*; as it appears by what *Achilles* ſays in the Council of the *Greeks*, when met together to conſider about the Plague which *Apollo* ſent among them:

Ἀλλ' ἄγε δή τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν, ἢ ἱερῆα,
Ἢ καὶ ὀνειροπόλον, καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν.

† The Phraſe wherein *Samuel* expreſſes himſelf, is this, ——— *To-morrow ſhalt thou and thy Sons be with me:* Where the Word *To-morrow* (as ſome Interpreters imagine) is not to be taken in a ſtrict Senſe, becauſe (as they conceive) this Battle was not fought till ſome Time after; but, in the Paſſage before us, there ſeems to be no Reaſon, why *To-morrow* ſhould not be taken literally: For, as *Endor* was at no great Diſtance from the *Iſraelites* Camp, *Saul* might go that Night, conſult the Witch, ſtay, and eat with her, and get back to the Camp before it was light. The next Day the Battle begins; *Saul* is vanquiſh'd; and, ſeeing his Army routed, deſpairs, and ſtabs himſelf. All this might very well be done in the Space of twelve or fourteen Hours; and therefore I ſee no Occaſion why we ſhould depart from the plain Signification of the Words. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

* *Joſephus* ſeems to be very warm in his Commendation of this Woman's Generoſity to *Saul*. "She receiv'd him, "treated him, and reliev'd him; and all this ſo chearfully, and ſo frankly, that ſhe gave him all ſhe had, without "any Proſpect of Reward; for ſhe knew, that he was doom'd to die: And, what is more, this ſhe did for the very "Man, whoſe Prohibition had been her Ruin." But he raſhly ſuppoſes, that, in the Words of the *ſacred* Hiſtory, the Narration is accurate, and defective in no one Circumſtance; whereas, for any Thing we know, this Woman was far from being poor; *Saul* had amply rewarded her for raiſing up *Samuel*, and his Attendants might give her a round Price for her Lamb. And though it muſt be own'd, that her Addreſs to the King is tender, and reſpectful enough; yet, whether it proceeded from Fear or Affection, may admit of ſome Debate. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

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forc'd to give Way, and maintain'd a running Fight, until he came to Mount *Gilboa*; where, gaining the Advantage of the Ground, they attempted to rally again, but with as little Succeſs as before. *Saul* and his Sons did all that was poſſible for brave Men to do; but the *Philiſtines* aiming wholly at them, in a ſhort Time, overpower'd them with Numbers, † ſo that *Jonathan*, and two others of his Brothers, *Abinadab*, and *Malchiſhua*, were kill'd upon the Spot, and the whole Army put in Confuſion.

SAUL defended himſelf as well as Man could do; but the ſmall Party that remain'd with him being entirely broken, and the † Enemies Archers preſſing hard upon him, he found himſelf ſo weaken'd with his Wounds, and Loſs of Blood, that, for fear of falling into their Hands and being inſulted, he fell upon his own Sword, and ſo died. He had requeſted of his *Armour-Bearer* before this to diſpatch him; but his Armour-Bearer was ſtartled at the Propoſal, and refus'd to do it: However, when he ſaw his Maſter dead, † he *deſperately* follow'd his Example, and, in the ſame Manner, put an End to his Life.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

THE next Day, when the *Philiſtines* came to take a View of the Field of Battle, finding the Bodies of *Saul* and his Sons among the Slain, they ſtripp'd them of their Armour, cut off their Heads, and ſent *Expreſſes* to every Place of their Victory. * Their Armour they ſent to the Temple of *Aſhtaroth*, their Heads they fix'd up in the Temple of *Dagon*, and their Bodies they hung upon Gibbets againſt the Walls of *Bethſhan*. But the Inhabitants of *Jabeſh-gilead*, hearing of this Indignity, and retaining a grateful Senſe of the Services *Saul* had done them, ſent a Party of their beſt Soldiers by Night, who took down their Bodies, and brought them away to *Jabeſh*, where the People firſt † burnt the Remains of their Fleſh; next, honourably interr'd their Bones and Aſhes,

† It was certainly no ſmall Grief to *David* to hear of *Jonathan*'s Death, and a Trial it might be of his Patience, and Reſignation to the Divine Will; but ſtill there ſeems to be a Direction of Providence in ſuffering him to be ſlain, that *David* might more eaſily come to the Throne. For, though *Jonathan*, no doubt, would have made a voluntary *Dedition* of it, yet, as he was the People's great Favourite, ſome there might poſſibly be, who would not allow of the Dedition, and ſo a civil War might have aroſe concerning the Succeſſor, which, by his dying in this Manner, was prevented. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† There is no mention of *Archers* in any of the *Philiſtine* Armies, or Battles, before this; in which they are ſaid to have *preſs'd hard upon* Saul, as doubtleſs they were of great Advantage to the *Philiſtines* in making their Attack, 1ſt, Becauſe an Aſſault with this Kind of Weapon was *new*, and *ſurpriſing*, and therefore generally ſucceſsful; and 2dly, Becauſe the Arrows deſtroying the *Iſraelites* at a Diſtance, before they came to cloſe Fight, threw them naturally into Terror and Confuſion. And for this Reaſon ſome think, that, when *David* came to the Throne, he taught the *Iſraelites* the Uſe of the *Bow*, (as we read 2 *Sam.* i. 18.) that they might not be inferior to the *Philiſtines*, nor fall into the like Diſaſter, that *Saul* had done; and for this Reaſon it certainly was, that, when he had made a Peace with the *Philiſtines*, he took ſome of their Archers (who, in the following Books, are frequently mention'd under the Name of *Cerethites*) to be his Body-Guard. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *The Hiſtory of the Life of King* David.

† The learned and ingenious Author of *The Hiſtorical Account of the Life of King* David, ſeems to make it evident, that *Saul* and his *Armour-Bearer*, died by the ſame Sword, *viz.* that which belong'd to the Armour-Bearer. "Now "it is an eſtabliſh'd Tradition of the *Jewiſh* Church, *ſays he*, that this *Armourer-Bearer* was *Doeg* the *Edomite*, who, "by *Saul*'s Command, ſlew ſuch a Number of Prieſts in one Day, 1 *Sam.* xxii. 19. and if ſo, then *Saul* and his "Executioner fell both by the ſame Weapon wherewith they had before maſſacred the Servants of the Lord: Even "as *Brutus* and *Caſſius* kill'd themſelves with the ſame Sword with which they treacherouſly murther'd *Cæſar*; I ſay "*treacherouſly murther'd*, becauſe they lay in his Boſom at the ſame Time that they meditated his Death." Vol. I.

* We have taken Notice before, that it was an antient Cuſtom among ſundry Nations to hang up the Arms, and other Spoils taken from the Enemy, in the Temple of their Gods, as Trophies and Monuments of their Victory; and need only remark here, that the ſame Cuſtom prevail'd among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as appears from this Paſſage of *Virgil*.

Multaque prætereà ſacris in Poſtibus Arma,
Captivi pendent Currus, curvæque ſecures,
Et criſtæ Capitum, & Portarum ingentia clauſtra,
Spiculaque, Clypeique, erectaque roſtra carinis. Æneid. vii.

† It is certain that the Uſage among the *Hebrews* was not to burn, but embalm the Bodies of their Dead with *aromatick* Spices; but in this Caſe the People of *Jabeſh* might act otherwiſe, either becauſe the Bodies of *Saul* and his Sons were, by this Time, ſo dry'd, or corrupted, that they were not fit to be embalm'd; or becauſe they were apprehenſive,

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

Aſhes, in a Grove that was near their City; and then, for the Space of † ſeven Days, faſted, and made great Lamentation for them.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

The OBJECTION.

"THO' the firſt Book of *Samuel* (whoever its Author was) contains a great Variety of Hiſtory, and is pregnant with many remarkable Tranſactions; yet whoever takes an accurate Survey of them, will find them ſo loaded with Abſurdities and Contradictions, as utterly deſtroy their Credibility. For, whatever Motives the *Iſraelites* might have for carrying the Ark along with them to the War, if the real Preſence of God went along with it, we can hardly conceive how the *Philiſtines* could poſſibly take it captive; and if there was no divine Power attending it, how it came to work thoſe Wonders, wherever it abode, and to inflict upon its Enemies ſuch ſore Puniſhments for their Detention of it.

"ITS Enemies indeed, (upon this Suppoſition) had Cauſe enough to endeavour to get rid of it; but it is a Matter of ſome Admiration, why the *Iſraelites*, when they had it return'd to them, did not carry it directly to *Shiloh*, and there repoſite it in the Tabernacle, its proper Habitation. It looks indeed, as if they were afraid of it, and willing to ſhift it from one to another, after it had made ſuch Havock among the poor People of *Bethſhemeſh*, as to deſtroy above *fifty Thouſand of them*, an incredible Number! merely for preſuming to peep into it, tho' they had receiv'd it with the greateſt Reſpect and Congratulations but juſt before.

"THE *Iſraelites*, it muſt be own'd, were, upon ſeveral Accounts, a very rebellious People, but it is difficult to conceive, where their great Iniquity lay, in deſiring a King, as other Nations had; eſpecially, ſince *Samuel*'s Sons rul'd ſo badly, and God, in his great Wiſdom, had pre-ordain'd that, when they came into the promis'd Land, their Government ſhould be *regal*. This King, we underſtand, was to be elected by God; but it looks a little envious, and as if he had *given them a King in his Wrath*, to make Choice of one out of the *meaneſt* of all the Tribes, and for no other good Qualification, that we read of, but merely the *Tallneſs* of his Stature. The State and Dignity however, to which he was advanc'd, was not ſo great, ſince, after his Election, we find him (*a*) acting in the Capacity of a *Shepherd*; nor was his Enjoyment of the Throne attended with much Felicity, ſince God turn'd his Enemy ſo ſoon, and rejected him, for not deſtroying the whole Race of the *Amalekites*.

"(*b*) GOD'S Command indeed, to have every Thing belonging to *Amalek*, Men and Women, Infants and Sucklings,

apprehenſive, that *if they* ſhould embalm them, and ſo bury them, the People of *Bethſhan* might, at one Time or other, come and dig them up, and fix them againſt their Walls again; and therefore the *Jabeſhites* thought it adviſeable to recede from their common Practice, and, for the greater Security, to imitate the *Heathens* in this Particular.

Κλαίοντες δ' ἑτάροιο ἑνὶ μεγάρῳ ὀϛέα λευκὰ
Ἀλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην. HOM. Il. xxiii.

Calmet's and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† It ſeems a little ſtrange, that we no where read of any general Mourning that was made for *Saul* and his Sons, who died in Battle; but the *national* Troubles which follow'd upon his Death, might perhaps be an Obſtruction to this. *David* and his Men mourn'd but *one* Day for *Saul*: And therefore, when it is ſaid of the *Jabeſhites*, that they faſted *ſeven* Days, their Faſting muſt not be underſtood in a ſtrict Senſe, as if they eat nothing all this Time, but in a more large and general Signification, as it is us'd both in *ſacred* and *prophane* Writers, *viz.* that they liv'd very abſtemiouſly, eat little, and that ſeldom, and that but mean Food, and, inſtead of Wine, drank Water only. *Calmet*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

(*a*) 1 Sam. xi. 5. (*b*) Chriſtianity as old as the Creation, p. 273.

A M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

" lings, Oxen and Sheep, Camels and " Aſſes, utterly deſtroy'd, for an Offence " done four hundred Years before, and to " proſecute Revenge upon a People, " whoſe only Crime was, their being the " unhappy Deſcendants of thoſe, who " had originally done it; ſeems to bear as " hard upon the Juſtice and Goodneſs of " God, as his ſending *Samuel* to *Bethlehem* " to anoint *David* King, and bidding " him, at the ſame Time, pretend that " he came only to *offer a Sacrifice*, re- " flects upon his Truth and Veracity.

" IT may very well be queſtion'd how- " ever, by what Authority *Samuel* could " offer any Sacrifice (ſince he was not of " the *ſacerdotal* Order) on ſuch Altars as " were prohibited, and in ſuch Places as " were not appointed for theſe Offices, " to the manifeſt Violation of God's " Laws: And much more may it be " wonder'd at, that a Man of his pacifick " Character ſhould fall upon a poor cap- " tive King, and cut him in Pieces with " his own Hands, even in the Preſence of " his own *Sovereign*, who, out of his " Clemency, had thought proper to ſave " him; and ſo ſetting himſelf above the " Juriſdiction of *God*'s *Anointed*, and " flying in the Face of his Authority.

" WHAT *Saul*'s particular Diſtemper " was, 'tis no eaſy Matter to determine; " but ſince the Scripture expreſſes it by " (*c*) *an evil Spirit from the Lord*, 'tis " difficult to conceive, how *David*, by " playing upon his Harp, (even (*d*) tho' " he might ſing to it likewiſe) could ever " be able to *diſpoſſeſs* him. The Power " of Muſick is confeſſedly great; and yet " we find it had little or no Effect upon " *Saul*, ſince he ſtill continu'd craz'd and " delirious. For to what other Cauſe can " we impute his (*e*) ſtrange Forgetfulneſs " of *David*, who had been ſo frequently " in his Preſence, and *(f) found* ſuch " *favour in his Sight*; (*g*) whoſe Atten- " dance he had requeſted of his Father, " and whoſe Service in curing his Malady, he had requited with the honourable " Poſt of his *Armour-Bearer*; with " whom (*h*) he had a Conference but juſt " before, and ſeen him both put on and " off his Armour, and after all this, could " any but a Mad-Man, enquire of his " *General* (who knew it ſeems as little as " his Maſter) (*i*) *whoſe Son this Stripling* " *was?* From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

" WHETHER *David* himſelf was " really delirious, or only pretended to " be ſo, when he came to the Court of " *Achiſh*, is a Queſtion, that admits of " ſome Debate; but it ſeems as if he were " not much better, when he made not " only *Gath*, which was the *Capital* of " the *Philiſtines*, and the City where " *Goliah* had dwelt, the Place of his " Refuge, but (as if he meant on Purpoſe " to provoke the Inhabitants thereof) took " the Sword of the *Champion* along with " him, whom he had ſo lately ſlain. Well " was it for him, if, to ſecure him from " Harm, God depriv'd him of his Senſes " at this Juncture. For to extricate him- " ſelf from a *Premunire* he had voluntarily " run into, by perſonating the *Mad-Man*, " or pretending to be a Fool, was but a " *mean* Trick; as his opening an *Aſylum* " afterwards, not for his own *Relations* " only, but for every one, that was in " Debt, or Diſtreſs, or Diſcontent with " the Government, was certainly an *unjuſt* " *Artifice*.

" *SAUL* certainly was his avow'd " Enemy, and purſu'd him with impla- " cable Malice; and therefore it would " have been much more excuſable in " him, if he had eas'd himſelf of this " Adverſary, when Providence threw Op- " portunities in his Way, than to meditate " the Murther of *Nabal*, and his Family, " (*k*) merely becauſe he would not pay " Contributions to him, and his Gang of " *Deſperadoes*: And, tho' Reſervedneſs to " an Enemy may be very commendable,

" yet

(*c*) 1 Sam. xvi. 14. (*d*) *Joſephus*'s Jewiſh Antiq. lib. vi. cap. 9. (*e*) 1 Sam. xvii. 55. (*f*) Ibid. xvi. 22. (*g*) Ibid. xvi. 21. (*h*) Ibid. xvii. 38, 39. (*i*) Ibid. Ver. 56. (*k*) Ibid. xxii. 2.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

" yet his deep Diſſimulation to *Achiſh*, " when there was no Occaſion for it; his " entering into League with the Enemy " of his Country, joining his Forces, and " going to War with him; promiſing him " great Services, if once they came to " Action, and when he was deſir'd to " withdraw, parting with the utmoſt Re- " luctance, are Inſtances of ſuch a baſe " and perfidious Spirit, as a brave Man " ſhould rather chuſe to die, than be guilty " of.

" (*l*) IN a Word, however *David* may " be called in Scripture *the Man after* " *God's own Heart*, yet in theſe, and " ſeveral other Inſtances, he is found " ſadly *prevaricating*, and much inferior " to the Character of *Saul*, who ſcorn'd " to make uſe of any mean Arts, even " for the Preſervation of his Life; who, " inſtead of betaking himſelf to the Ene- " mies of God for Shelter, (as *David* did) " choſe voluntarily to die, rather than to " fall into their Hands; and (*m*) tho' he " knew aſſuredly that he was to fall in the " Battle, yet perſiſted in his Reſolution to " ſtand by his Fate, rather than betray " his Army, or expoſe his royal Dignity " to Scorn."

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing why the Iſraelites *ſent for the Ark.*

IN the fourth Chapter of this Book of *Samuel* we read, that, upon a Defeat, which the *Iſraelites* had receiv'd from the *Philiſtines*, the Elders of *Iſrael* advis'd together in Council what might be the Occaſion of their ill Succeſs; *Wherefore*, ſay they, *hath God ſmitten us to-day before the* Philiſtines? The Juſtneſs of their Cauſe, they thought, was enough to entitle them to God's Favour, how wicked ſoever they were in their Lives; and therefore, without any Thoughts of amending theſe, they devis'd another Expedient that would not fail of ſecuring them Victory: (*n*) *Let us fetch the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord*, ſay they, *out of* Shiloh, *that, when it comes among us, it may ſave us out of the Hand of our Enemies.* (*o*) They had good Reaſon to look upon the Ark of the Covenant as a certain Token of the Preſence of God among them, and of his Protection over them. They had had frequent Experience of Battles won by Virtue of his Preſence, and loſt in the Abſence of it; and whenever they had this Token of the divine Aſſiſtance along with them, they always eſteem'd themſelves invincible. They remember'd the Story of the Walls of *Jericho* (*p*) falling down by the Power of this Ark's ſeven Times ſurrounding them. They had heard (*q*) of the Defeat which their Forefathers had ſuffer'd, when they preſum'd to march againſt the *Canaanites* without their Leader, and without this Ark; and were fond enough to imagine, that God himſelf might be look'd upon as overcome, if the *Philiſtines* ſhould have the Advantage, when the Ark of his Preſence was with them. By this Means therefore they thought to intereſt his Honour in the War, and make him reſponſible (as it were) for any Diſaſter that ſhould befal them; and upon theſe Motives it was that they ſent for the Ark.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

And why God ſuffer'd it to be taken by the Philiſtines.

BUT, becauſe they preſum'd to ſend for it, without ever conſulting God, as they us'd to do upon all momentous Affairs; becauſe the Iniquities of the People were become ſo enormous, as not to deſerve any longer the divine Preſence among them; and becauſe the Flagitiouſneſs of the Prieſts (who were kill'd in defending the Ark) had for a long Time call'd for ſome Judgment upon them; that therefore his Predictions, concerning the Sons of *Eli*, might be fulfill'd, he permitted the Ark to be taken, as thinking it more inconſiſtent with his Honour to afford Aſſiſtance to the Wicked and Preſumptuous, than to admit of the Prophanation even of the moſt ſacred Things. What an Affliction the Loſs of this Ark was to the People of *Iſrael* we may learn from the ſad Fate of *Eli*, and his Daughter-in-Law, who both died for Grief at the bare Hearing

(*l*) Chriſtianity as old as the Creation, p. 244. (*m*) *Joſephus*'s Jewiſh Hiſtory, lib. vi. cap. 14. (*n*) 1 Sam. iv. 3. (*o*) *Calmet*'s Commentary. (*p*) Joſh. vi. 4. (*q*) Numb. xiv. 44, 45.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

Hearing of it: And therefore we may ſuppoſe, that a farther Reaſon for God's permitting it, might be, to bring his own People to a Senſe of their Apoſtacy and Ingratitude to him, when they came to conſider, what a Damage they ſuffer'd in the *Departure* of this Symbol of his Preſence, which was deſervedly eſteem'd (*r*) *the Glory of* Iſrael.

WHAT Afflictions the taking or withholding the Ark brought upon the *Philiſtines*, the Fall of their God *Dagon*, the Mice, the Emerods, the Peſtilence, and other ſore Judgments do abundantly teſtify; and therefore we may ſuppoſe yet farther, that God's Deſign, in permitting this *Capture* of the Ark, was to demonſtrate his Power among the *Heathens*, and to let the *Philiſtines* know, that his Dominion reach'd every where; that he was equally the Lord both of the Conquerers and Conquered; and that the pretended Deities, whom they adór'd, in Compariſon of him, were of no Avail.

'TWAS from an Intent therefore to illuſtrate his Almighty Power, and not from any Inability to preſerve it, that God ſuffer'd this Ark of the Covenant to be taken; and tho' what the *Jews* call the *Schechinah*, or viſible Token of God's Preſence, which abode under the two Cherubims upon the *Propitiatory*, or Covering of the Ark, in the Shape of the Cloud, might not be ſo apparent, after it fell into the Hands of the *Philiſtines*; yet that it had divine and miraculous Power attending it, is evident by their own Confeſſion, who, upon ſeeing the Deſtruction, that its Preſence had occaſion'd, do frankly declare, that (*s*) *the Ark of the God of* Iſrael *ſhould not abide with them, becauſe his Hand was ſore upon them, and upon* Dagon *their God.*

Why God ſlew the Bethſhemites.

IT was a particular Prohibition, (*t*) that not only the common People, but even the *Levites* themſelves ſhould not dare to look into the Ark, or any other of the holy Utenſils belonging to the Service of God, upon Pain of Death; and the Severity of this Law will not ſeem ſo unreaſonable, when it is conſider'd, that, in every Nation it was always accounted a great Prophaneneſs, and frequently attended with exemplary Puniſhments, for ſuch as were not initiated, (*u*) to obtrude into the Myſteries of Religion; and that, if the *Philiſtines*, for their Irreverence to the Ark, were treated with leſs Rigour than the *Bethſhemites*, it was becauſe the former were not inſtructed in the Laws of God, nor oblig'd to obſerve them.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

And to what Number.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd indeed, that there is a Miſtake in our Tranſlation, as well as in ſeveral others. *Bethſhemeth* is a Place of no great Note in ſacred Hiſtory, and (*x*) by *Joſephus* it is called no more than a Village; and therefore it is hardly conceivable, how it could contain ſuch a Number, as *fifty Thouſand and threeſcore and ten* Inhabitants, or why God, who is Goodneſs itſelf, ſhould make ſuch a Slaughter among thoſe, who receiv'd his Ark with ſo much Joy, and teſtify'd their Gladneſs by their Oblation of Sacrifices. To ſolve this Difficulty therefore, ſome have obſerv'd, that the Words in the Original, and, according to their natural Conſtruction, ſtand thus: —— He ſmote of the People *threeſcore and ten Men, fifty Thouſand Men*; where there is plainly wanting ſome Particle or other, to make the Senſe compleat. They obſerve further, that, if this is to be taken for a total Sum, the Order of the Words is plainly inverted, and that the *Thouſands* ſhould go before the *inferior* Numbers, as is uſual in all Languages; and therefore, ſince there is a manifeſt Defect in the *Copy*, they think it not amiſs to ſupply it with the Particle *Mem, out of*, which, in many other Inſtances, is known to be omitted, and here makes the Senſe compleat; *viz.* that, of the People of *Bethſhemeſh*, for their Irreverence to the Ark, he ſmote *ſeventy Men out of fifty Thouſand.* For, tho' fifty

(*r*) 1 Sam. iv. 22. (*s*) Ibid. v. 7. (*t*) Numb. iv. 20. (*u*) Vide *Huetii* Quæſt. Alnet. Lib. ii. Cap. 12. Pag. 200. (*x*) *Jewiſh* Antiq. Lib. vi. Cap. 2.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Christ. 1116, &c.

Thouſand Men can hardly be ſuppos'd in ſo ſmall a Place; yet, upon hearing of the Arrival of the Ark, the Country might flock in from other Parts, and, in a few Days, make up that Number; and tho', poſſibly, moſt of them might be guilty of the ſame profane Rudeneſs, yet God, in his great Clemency, might puniſh no more than *ſeventy of them*, and that, on purpoſe to deter others from the like Irreverence. For it is not unlikely, that theſe People might hold the Ark in more Contempt, ſince the Time that it had been conquer'd, (as it were) and led captive by their Enemies; and, for this Reaſon, God might the rather exert his *vindictive* Arm, on purpoſe to teach them, that this *Symbol* of his Preſence had loſt none of its miraculous Power, by the ill Uſage it had met with in its Abſence.

Why the Ark was not carry'd to Shiloh.

UPON the Removal of the Ark from *Bethſhemeſh*, (*y*) it is not unlikely that there was a general Aſſembly of the Elders of *Iſrael*, and that, to prevent the like Offence, the Ceremony was perform'd with the greateſt Order and Solemnity; but why it was not carry'd to *Shiloh*, and repoſited in the Tabernacle, the moſt probable Opinion is, that, after the Death of *Eli*, the *Philiſtines* had deſtroy'd the Place, and the Tabernacle was remov'd from thence to *Nob*, where it continu'd until the Death of *Samuel*. As *Kirjath-jearim* therefore ſtood at no great Diſtance, was a Place of conſiderable Strength, and had a remarkable Eminence in it, proper for the Reception of the Ark, thither it was order'd to be remov'd for the preſent, with a Deſign, no doubt, to have it reſtor'd to its antient Seat, at a convenient Seaſon: But, through the Neglect of Religion, as well as the Diſturbance of the Times, its Removal was deferr'd from Day to Day, ſo that, tho' *David* firſt brought it to the Houſe of *Obed-Edom*, and then to his Palace at *Sion*, yet we no where read † of its being replac'd in the Tabernacle any more.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

The Iſraelites *Offence in deſiring a King.*

WHEN *Samuel* was highly diſpleas'd with the Elders of *Iſrael* for deſiring a King, and thereupon apply'd himſelf for Advice, the Anſwer which God return'd him was this: (*z*) *Hearken unto the Voice of the People in all that they ſay unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I ſhould not reign over them.* Theſe are, no doubt, the Words of an angry *Sovereign*, reſenting the Slight put upon his Government, and the Indignity done to his Perſon; and therefore, to give a full Anſwer to the Objection, we ſhall firſt conſider the Nature of the Government they were under, and of that which they deſir'd, and from thence deduce the ſeveral Aggravations of their Guilt, in being ſo importunate for a Change.

The Nature of Theocracy.

JOSEPHUS, (*a*) in his Book againſt *Apion*, has theſe remarkable Words; "Several Nations have their ſeveral Forms "of Government, and their Diverſities of "Cuſtoms. Some Governments are com-

"mitted

(*y*) *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† The future Hiſtory of this ſacred Ark is this: ——— After the Building of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, *Solomon* had it remov'd from *Sion*, into a proper Place that was conſecrated for it, where it remain'd with all ſuitable Reſpect, till the Times of the latter Kings of *Judah*, who gave themſelves up to Idolatry, and were not afraid to put the Images of their Gods in the *Holy Place* itſelf. Hereupon the Prieſts, being unable to endure this Profanation, took the Ark, and carry'd it from Place to Place, that by this Means, it might eſcape the Fury of theſe impious Princes: But *Joſiah*, who was a good Man, and reſtor'd the true Worſhip of God, commanded them to bring it back to the Sanctuary, and forbad them to carry it into the Country, as they had done. The *Talmudiſts* however have a Tradition, that *Solomon*, having learn'd by Revelation, that the *Aſſyrians* would one Day burn the Temple, which he had lately built, and carry away all the rich Materials, which he had plac'd there, took care to have a private Hole made under Ground, where, in Caſe of Neceſſity, he might conceal the moſt valuable Things belonging to it from the Knowledge of any Enemies; and that *Joſiah*, having a Foreſight of the Calamities, which were coming upon the *Jewiſh* Nation, *here* hid the Ark of the Covenant, together with *Aaron*'s Rod, the Pot of *Manna*, the High-Prieſt's *Pectoral*, and the *holy Oil*; but that, during the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, the Prieſts having loſt all Knowledge of the Place, where theſe Things were concealed, they were never ſeen more, and were not in the ſecond Temple. *Calmet*'s Dictonary, under the Word *Ark*.

(*z*) 1 Sam viii. 7. (*a*) Lib. ii.

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" mitted to a ſingle Perſon, others to a " certain Number of ſelect Men, and " others again to all the People in general; " but our Lawgiver, *ſays he*, has declar'd, " that ours ſhall † be a *Theocracy*, and " has aſcrib'd all Rule, and ſovereign " Power, to God alone." For, tho' it was neceſſary, for the due Execution of his Commands, that there ſhould be ſome viſible Miniſter between him and his People, ſuch as *Moſes* and *Joſhua* were in the Time of their Adminiſtration; yet it is certain, that they never ordain'd any thing of Moment without a ſpecial Command from him. The ſame Direction which was was given *Joſhua*, that (*b*) *he ſhould ſtand before* Eleazar *the Prieſt, who ſhould aſk Counſel for him, after the Judgment of* Urim *before the Lord*, was requir'd of all other Perſons, that preſided in publick Affairs. (*c*) In all Caſes of weighty Concern, they were to have Recourſe to him, who always reſerv'd to himſelf the ſole Power of eſtabliſhing Laws, and appointing Magiſtrates, and making War. Nay, ſo very deſirous was God to ſhew himſelf to be King of the *Hebrews*, that there was no Enſign of Royalty belonging to earthly Princes, that, by his own Appointment, was not provided for him, on purpoſe to engage the People's Attention, (as the Commentator on *Maimonides* ſpeaks) and to make them perceive, that their King, who was the *Lord of Hoſts*, was in the midſt of them.

WHAT Deſign God Almighty had in conſtituting himſelf the King of this People, is evident from the Inſtructions which he gives *Moſes*. (*d*) *Thus ſhalt thou ſay to the Houſe of* Jacob, *and tell the Children of* Iſrael; *ye have ſeen what I have done unto the* Egyptians, *and how I bore you on Eagles Wings, and brought you unto myſelf: Now therefore, if ye will obey my Voice indeed, and keep my Covenant, then ye ſhall be a peculiar Treaſure unto me above all People; for all the Earth is mine, and ye ſhall be unto me a Kingdom of Prieſts, and an holy Nation.* From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

NO Government can certainly be imagin'd more happy, more ſafe, more free, more honourable, than that, wherein the Fountain of all Wiſdom and Power, of all Juſtice and Goodneſs, preſides; and therefore the leaſt that we can ſay of the *Iſraelites*, in deſiring to change this *Form* for ſuch a one, as was in uſe in the Nations round about them, *i. e.* for an *abſolute* and *deſpotick* Government, where the Princes were Tyrants, and the Subjects all Slaves, argues at leaſt a great Pitch of Folly and Indiſcretion, a Baſeneſs of Mind, an Ingratitude of Temper, a Spirit of Rebellion, and a ſecret Attachment to the idolatrous Practices of thoſe People, whoſe King they were ſo eager to imitate. For, *Make us a King to judge us*, was equivalent in their Mouths, (as (*e*) one expreſſes it) to what their Fore-fathers demanded of *Aaron*, *(f) Make us Gods, that they may go before us*; becauſe in this Manner, he, who beſt knew the Secrets of *And the Crime of rejecting it.*

† As God's Deſign, in ſeperating the *Iſraelites* from the reſt of Mankind, was to perpetuate the Knowledge of himſelf, and the Doctrine of his Unity, amidſt an *Idolatrous* and *Polytheiſtick* World; ſo was he pleas'd to ſtand in two *arbitrary* Relations towards them, in that of a tutelar Deity and Protector, and in that of a ſupreme Magiſtrate and Lawgiver; beſides the *natural* Relation, in which he ſtood towards them and all other Nations in common: But how long this *Theocracy* continu'd among the *Jews*, the Learned are not ſo well agreed; ſome thinking, that, from the firſt Commencement of Regal Power, or eſpecially from its firſt Settlement in the Line of *David*, it ceas'd, as God's Words to *Samuel* ſeem to import, *they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I ſhould not reign over them*, 1 Sam. viii. 7. Whilſt others imagine, that, from God's firſt eſpouſing the Cauſe of the *Iſraelites*, in the Time of their Tribulation in *Egypt*, even to the Coming of his bleſſed Son our Saviour *Chriſt* in the Fleſh, it all along ſubſiſted, tho' with ſome Abatements, ſometimes with ſeeming Interruptions; and to this they apply that famous Prophecy of *Jacob*, *The Sceptre ſhall not depart from* Judah, *nor the Lawgiver from between his Feet, until* Shiloh *come*, Gen. xlix. 10. *i. e.* The *Theocracy* ſhall continue over the *Jews*, until *Chriſt* come to take Poſſeſſion of his Father's Kingdom. For what Lawgiver was there ever in *Judah*, until the Coming of *Chriſt*, but God, by the Miniſtry of *Moſes*? Sentimens de quelques Théologiens Lettre 5, *Simon*'s Hiſtoire Crit. de Vieux Teſt. and *Warburton*'s Divine Legation of *Moſes*, Vol. II. Part ii.

(*b*) Numb. xxvii. 21. (*c*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*d*) *Saurin*'s Diſſert. 25. Vol. IV. Exod. xix. 3, &c. (*e*) *Saurin* Ibid. (*f*) Exod. xxxii. 1.

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of their Hearts, in his Anſwer to *Samuel*, has expounded their Meaning: *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I ſhould not reign over them; according to all the Works which they have done, ſince the Day that I brought them up out of* Egypt, *even unto this Day, they have forſaken me, and ſerved other Gods.*

Why God choſe ſo mean a Perſon as Saul, *for their King.*

WE have but one Thing more, to remark upon this Subject, and that is, —— that the Manner, in which they demanded a King, was no leſs culpable, than the Ends they propos'd by it: For inſtead of conſulting God upon an Affair of this Conſequence, they went haſtily to *Samuel*, and when, by fair Remonſtrances, he is attempting to diſſuade them from ſo dangerous an Enterprize, they turn *impetuouſly* upon him, and ſay, *nay, but we will have a King*; and this may be the Reaſon perhaps, why *God gave them one in his Anger*, deſcended of the meaneſt Tribe in *Iſrael*, and of the meaneſt Family in that Tribe, to ſhew them, that he himſelf was not ſatisfy'd with their Proceedings, nor could be pleas'd with any Thing, that was extorted from him by undutiful Importunities.

Why he returned to a private Life.

THE Meanneſs of *Saul*'s Family indeed was the Reaſon, that ſome, who were preſent at his Election, openly deſpis'd him, and ſaid, (*g*) *How can this Man ſave us?* And therefore it is not unlikely, that, as theſe ſeditious Men refus'd to ſubmit to his Government, he might leave the Publick Affairs in *Samuel*'s Hands, and return to his Father's Houſe, and there live privately, until ſome Opportunity of better eſtabliſhing his Authority ſhould happen to preſent itſelf. But, even in this Interval, ſuppoſing he did betake himſelf to ſome *rural* Employment, yet where is the great Diſparagement of this, when we find the ſame done in other Nations, by Perſons of the like Rank and Quality? When we find your *Curii*, your *Attilii*, your *Cincinnati*, and ſeveral other illuſtrious *Romans*, leaving the Plough to aſſume the Reins of Government, and, afterwards, leaving the Government to return to the Plough?

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

His Tallneſs no mean Accompliſhment.

IT muſt be acknowledg'd, however, that *Saul*'s external Qualifications, *viz.* the Stature, and Comelineſs of his Perſon, was no ſmall Recommendation to a People, who deſir'd a King, ſuch as their Neighbours had. For, whatever we may think of the Matter, the People of the *Eaſt* had always a Regard to theſe in the Choice of their Kings; and accordingly, *Herodotus*, having taking a Review of *Xerxes*'s whole Army, after a ſhort Pauſe, declares himſelf thus: —— That, (*h*) *among ſuch a Multitude of People, there was not one, who, for Tallneſs and Goodlineſs of Perſon, did deſerve the Throne*, ſo much *as he*; and, in another Place, aſſures us, that (*i*) *the* Ethiopians *always eſteem'd him, who was of the moſt advantageous Stature, the fitteſt to be choſen King*; which cannot but remind us, of what *Samuel* ſays to the People, when he preſents *Saul* to them: (*k*) *See ye him, whom the Lord hath choſen, that there is none like him among all the People*; for the Hiſtorian had told us before, that, (*l*) *from his Shoulders and upwards, he was higher than any of the People.*

NAY, had I Leiſure to gratify the Curious, I might ſhew, that, not only in the *Eaſt*, but in the *Weſtern*, and moſt polite Countries, this Tallneſs of Stature, and Gracefulneſs of Appearance were always deem'd no unbecoming Qualifications for the regal Dignity; and therefore we find *Pliny*, who certainly was a fine Speaker, and knew how to ſingle out the proper Qualities in any great Man, telling his Audience, in his Panegyrick to *Trajan*, that *the Strength and Tallneſs of his Body, the Nobleneſs of his Aſpect, the Dignity of his Countenance, and the Gracefulneſs of his Speech, did every where denote and proclaim the Prince:* As, on the contrary, what Notions the Antients had of a Prince of a low Stature, and mean Appearance, we may gather from the *Fine*, which,

(*g*) 1 Sam. x. 27. (*h*) *Herodotus*, lib. vi. c. 77. (*i*) Ibid. lib. vi. c. 20. (*k*) 1 Sam. x. 24. (*l*) Ibid. ix. 2.

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which, (*m*) *Plutarch* tells us, the *Lacedæmonians* ſet upon their King, for marrying a little Woman, who was likely to bring, ὦ Βασιλέας, ἀλλὰ Βασιλίσκους, *not Kings, but Kinglings* to reign over them.

Saul's other Qualifications.

IT muſt be remember'd however, that Tallneſs of Stature was not the only Thing that recommended *Saul* to the Kingdom. His Father is ſaid to have been (*n*) *a mighty Man of Power*; which, tho' it may not ſignify his great Wealth, and Intereſt in his Country, (becauſe (*o*) *Saul* himſelf declares the contrary) yet it doubtleſs denotes his Strength, and Courage, and Fortitude of Mind, which, in a great Meaſure, he tranſmitted to his Son. For, who in War was more brave and undaunted than he, had he but known how to uſe his Victories, as well as acquire them? But here was his great Misfortune, that, when he was ſucceſsful, he was too apt to be unmindful of what God had enjoin'd him. Who in Peace was more prudent, and politick, than he, till his Fears and Jealouſies of *David*, mix'd with an unhappy Temper of Blood, made him malicious and implacable? Nothing can be ſuppos'd more wiſe and diſcreet, than his (*p*) *holding his Peace*, and taking no Notice of the Slights, which were put upon him at his firſt Election; nothing more great and generous, than his Anſwer to ſome, who would have prompted him to Revenge, after he had eſtabliſh'd his Throne by a glorious Conqueſt: (*q*) *There ſhall not a Man be put to Death this Day; for to Day the Lord hath wrought Salvation in* Iſrael.

NOTHING certainly was more different, than *Saul*'s modeſtly declining the Offer of a Kingdom; when elected, paſſing by Indignities, and returning to a private Life; when called out to Action, muſtering his Forces, leading out his Armies, vanquiſhing his Enemies, relieving his Friends; and, when ſettled in Peace, forgiving Injuries, and conferring Benefits; and the ſame *Saul*, ſullen and diſcontented with himſelf, falſe to his Promiſes, jealous of his Friends, liſtening to Sycophants, quarrelling with his Relations, attempting the Life of his own Son, murthering a whole City of God's Prieſts, and, inſtead of conſulting the Divine Oracle, flying to the Devil for Advice in his Diſtreſs: And therefore we need leſs wonder, that we find the Beginning of his Reign ſo proſperous, and the latter Part of it ending in ſo ſad a *Cataſtrophe*.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

That he deſerv'd God's Severity to him.

WHETHER *Saul* deſerv'd this Fate, or no, we may beſt perceive by a Review of ſome Inſtances, wherein he is ſaid to have offended God. In the Beginning of the third Year of his Reign, the *Philiſtines* rais'd ſo powerful an Army againſt him, that his own Forces, for Fear of them, deſerted in great Numbers. *Gilgal* was the Place of their Rendezvous, and *Samuel*, who had hitherto tranſacted Matters between God and *Saul*, had given him Aſſurance, that, in ſeven Days time, he would come thither, (*r*) *to offer Sacrifices and Peace-Offerings, and to ſhew him what he was to do*; but (as *Abarbinel* has obſerv'd) every one of theſe Articles he tranſgreſs'd. For, (beſides that he diſtruſted *Samuel*'s Word, or thought it Scorn perhaps, that the *King* ſhould ſtay for a *Prophet*) inſtead of waiting till the appointed Days were expir'd, he call'd for the Sacrifices on the *ſeventh Morning*; inſtead of ordering a proper Perſon to officiate, himſelf adventur'd to offer up the Sacrifice; and, inſtead of enquiring of God in a regular Way, he was determin'd to begin the War without any previous Conſultation: So that, in this Behaviour of his, there were all the Signs of Pride and Ingratitude, Impatience and Diſtruſt, Neglect of God, Contempt of his Prophet, and an apparent Invaſion of the prieſtly Office; upon which Accounts *Samuel* declares, that (*s*) God would reject him, *and not continue the Kingdom* in his Family.

(*m*) In the Beginning of his Book περὶ παιδῶν ἀγαγῆς. (*n*) 1 Sam. ix. 1. (*o*) Ibid. Ver. 21.
(*p*) 1 Sam. x. 27. (*q*) Ibid. xi. 13. (*r*) Ibid. x. 8. (*s*) Ibid. xiii. 14.

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GOD, no doubt, by his divine Omniſcience, foreſaw what other Sins *Saul* would commit, and might therefore, without any Breach of his Mercy, have pronounc'd a peremptory Sentence againſt him; but the Paſſage before us implies no ſuch Thing. It is no more than a Threat, or a ſimple Denunciation of what God would do, if he were not more obſervant for the future, and might have been revok'd, had he not perſiſted in his Diſobedience, and committed a much greater Offence againſt the divine Majeſty, in the War againſt *Amalek*.

THE Oppoſition, which theſe People gave the *Iſraelites*, while they were on their Journey to the Land of *Canaan*, provok'd God to ſuch a Degree, that (as the Hiſtorian relates the Matter) he ſwore, that (*t*) *he would have War with* Amalek *from Generation to Generation*; and therefore commanded *Moſes to write it, for a Memorial, in a Book, and to rehearſe it in the Ears of* Joſhua, *that he would utterly put out the Remembrance of* Amalek *from under Heaven:* And, when they were upon the Point of entering upon the promis'd Land, they were reminded of the ſame Divine Decree againſt that wicked People: (*u*) *Remember what* Amalek *did unto thee by the Way, when ye were come forth out of* Egypt, *how he met thee by the Way, and ſmote the hindmoſt of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou waſt faint and weary, and he feared not God: Therefore it ſhall be, when the Lord thy God hath given thee Reſt from all thine Enemies round about in the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an Inheritance to poſſeſs it, that thou ſhalt blot out the Remembrance of* Amalek *from under Heaven, thou ſhalt not forget it.* In this Paſſage we have ſome Reaſons aſſign'd, why God was ſo highly incens'd againſt the *Amalekites*. (*x*) They were Deſcendants of *Eſau*, and therefore, by Pedigree, were allied to the *Iſraelites*, and of the Stock of *Abraham*. (*y*) They ſeem to have broke off with the *Edomites* very early, and to have join'd themſelves with the old *Horites*, a Neſt of Idolaters, that liv'd on Mount *Seir*; and ſo turn'd *Apoſtates* from the Religion of *Abraham*. Theſe Apoſtates were the firſt that drew the Sword againſt the *Iſraelites*, who were their Brethren in Blood, and, without any Manner of Provocation, took the Advantage, and came upon their Rear, while they were *feeble, faint, and weary*, which was not only a great Inhumanity, but done with an Intent to defeat God's Deſign in bringing up the People of *Iſrael*, and to hinder, if poſſible, their Entrance into *Canaan*; for which Reaſon the Impiety of theſe People is particularly taken Notice of, *viz. that they feared not God*, but that *their Hand was lift up againſt the Throne of the Lord, againſt* the Throne of the *God of* Abraham, their Father, which was no ſmall Aggravation of their Crime. 'Twas for theſe Reaſons then, that God had determin'd to deſtroy the whole Race of *Amalek*, and had made Choice of *Saul* to put his Decree in Execution: And if, to indulge his own Covetouſneſs, he thought proper to prevaricate in the Matter, he became guilty of the like Sin, (to uſe the Words of the learned Dr *Jackſon*) "as if a Judge, or inferior "Magiſtrate, being intruſted to do Ju- "ſtice in a Matter, unto which his Sove- "reign had peremptorily and determi- "nately ſworn, ſhould, upon a Bribe, or "other ſiniſter Reſpect, neglect his Duty, "and, as much as in him lay, make "his Maſter forſworn." And, as a Judge that would dare to do this, deſerves more Deaths than one; ſo, conſidering the infinite Difference between God and Man, and the long Train of Wickedneſs, which *Saul* afterwards ran into, the Severity can hardly be thought exceſſive, in God's puniſhing his Contempt of this great Command, by the Alienation of the Crown from his Family.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

"BUT

(*t*) Exod. xvii. 13, 14. (*u*) Deut. xxv. 17, &c. (*x*) Gen. xxxvi. 12. (*y*) Scripture vindicated, Part ii.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

Why the Amalekites *were ſo ſeverely dealt with.*

"BUT why ſhould the *Amalekites*, "for Offences committed by their Fore-"fathers ſo many Years before, deſerve "this Puniſhment? Or, ſuppoſe they did, "why ſhould young Children and Infants "ſuffer as guilty, for the Crimes of their "Parents?" Our bleſſed Saviour, in a Caſe ſomewhat like this, has help'd us to a Solution of the former Part of this Queſtion, when he tells the *Jews* of his Time, that (*a*) *they built the Sepulchres of the Prophets, which their Fathers had killed; that, in ſo doing, they allowed, or approved, of their Deeds*; and that therefore *the Blood of all the Prophets, which had been ſhed from the Foundation of the World, ſhould be required of that Generation.* From whence we may draw this Inference,——That, when any particular People commit the ſame Crimes, that their Anceſtors did, when they approve of them, when they imitate them, and, by the like Actions, declare, that, if they were in their Circumſtances, they would purſue the ſame Steps, they are juſtly puniſhable, even in Virtue of the Sentence, which paſs'd upon their Anceſtors; and that the divine Suſpenſion of that Sentence, in order to try whether they would reform and amend, is ſo far from being an *Hardſhip*, that the longer it is continu'd, the more it is an Inſtance of God's Mercy, and Patience, and Long-ſuffering.

Now, whoever looks into the Conduct of the Deſcendants of theſe old *Amalekites*, and conſiders the ſeveral Oppreſſions, which occaſion'd the Exploits of *Ehud*, *Gideon*, *Jephthah*, and *Saul*, will ſoon perceive, that theſe later Generations were every Moment renewing the Rancour and Hoſtilities of their Forefathers againſt the Children of *Iſrael*, and conſequently, were very juſtly compris'd under the Sentence, which had originally paſs'd upon them.

(*b*) *CHILDREN indeed ſhall not be put to Death for their Fathers:* But this Prohibition, we muſt obſerve, relates to *Men*, and not to *God*. (*c*) Men, when they put a Child to Death for the Sin of his Father, aſſume an Authority, that they have no Right to. The Law, which authorizes them to puniſh the Father gives them no Power over the Life of the Child; † but God is Sovereign Lord and Maſter of the Lives of both. Men, who kill the Child, to aggravate the Puniſhment of the Father, can give the Child no Equivalent for the Loſs of his Life; but God, in the future Diſpenſation of Things, can render him an ample Compenſation for it; and therefore, ſince in a general Devaſtation, whether of War, Famine, or Peſtilence, without a divine Interpoſition for every particular Perſon, the *Innocent* muſt neceſſarily ſuffer with the Guilty, 'tis Satisfaction enough to think, that theſe innocent Perſons do not finally periſh when they die, but are thence-forward taken under God's immediate Care, and, in the World to come, will find their Retribution. (*d*) Thoſe of all others, who die in their Infancy, (in what Manner ſoever it be) have Reaſon to bleſs God, what Grief ſoever it may give their Parents, for being deliver'd out of the Miſeries of this Life, in order to be made happy in another.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

SEVERAL of the *Jewiſh* Doctors are of Opinion, that, after the Death of *Eli* and his Sons, *Samuel*, by God's particular Election, ſucceeded to the High-Prieſt's Office; and this they are the rather induc'd to believe, becauſe they read of his offering Sacrifices in Places diſtinct from the Tabernacle; of his wearing an *Ephod*, which was a Veſtment peculiar to the Prieſt; of his conſecrating two Kings, *Saul* and *David*; and find (*e*) the *Pſalmiſt* placing him among Perſons of that Order and Diſtinction. But the more probable Opinion is, that he was no more than a *Levite*, and, by Birth, incapable of the Prieſt-

Why Samuel *might offer Sacrifices.*

(*a*) Luke xi. 47, &c. (*b*) Deut. xxiv. 16. (*c*) *Saurin*'s Diſſert. 30. Vol. IV.

† Deus quidem in Lege Hebræis datâ paternam Impietatem in Poſteros ſe vindicaturum minatur: Sed ipſe Deus jus Dominii pleniſſimum habet, ut in res noſtras, ita in vitam noſtram, ut munus ſuum, quod ſine ulla Cauſa & quovis tempore auferre cuivis, quando vult, poteſt. *Grotius*, de Jure Belli, Vol. II.

(*d*) *Le Clerc*'s Comment. in 1 *Sam.* xv. 3. (*e*) Pſal. xcix. 6.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

Prieſthood, which was only annexed to *Aaron*'s Family; that there is no Mention made in Scripture of his having any particular Deſignation to that Office; that there is no Reaſon to think, that God would break through his own Laws, and Ordinances, in Favour of him, when there was no Occaſion for it, ſince *Hophni* and *Phineas*, when they died, † might have Sons of ſufficient Age to ſucceed them; that his putting on an *Ephod*, was no more than what *David* did; his ſacrificing from the Tabernacle, what *Gideon* and *Saul* did; and his anointing Kings, what both *Elias* and *Eliſha* did; ſo that theſe little Incidents of his Life could never give him that Character. And tho' it be granted, that the *Pſalmiſt* has thought proper to place him in Company with *Moſes* and *Aaron*, yet, at the ſame Time, he has taken Care to point us out the Difference between them; *Moſes* and *Aaron* among the *Prieſts*, and *Samuel among ſuch, as called upon his Name*, i. e. who ſing God's Praiſe, which was the common Employment of the *Levites*. Put the Caſe then, that *Samuel* was no Prieſt, yet it ſeems to be a Privilege indulg'd to ſome great Men, upon ſome extraordinary Occaſions, to offer Sacrifices, where there was neither the Tabernacle, nor any Altar, but what they themſelves erected. Thus *(f) Gideon* and *Manoah* both, by the Directions of an Angel, made their Burnt-Offerings juſt by their own Habitations, and upon no other Altar than a Rock; and yet, that they were accepted by God, is evident from the miraculous Fire, that did conſume them.

In moſt Countries, indeed, the Prieſthood was a Privilege annex'd to the regal Dignity, and even in the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy, where the ſacerdotal Office was diſtinct. Thus *David*, upon the Reduction of the Ark, ſacrific'd Oxen and Fatlings, *(g)* and *Solomon*, in the Beginning of his Reign, and before the Temple was built, ſacrific'd in high Places *(h)*. But there is much more to be ſaid for *Samuel:* He liv'd in a Place, that was an Academy of the Prophets, and whither much People reſorted to be inſtructed in the Law. *Shiloh* was now laid deſolate, and the Ark, which was the Tabernacle's chief Furniture, was ſeparated from it; ſo that, till God had declar'd his Choice of ſome other Place, the People were, in a great Meaſure, at Liberty where to offer their Devotions; and *Samuel* more eſpecially, in a City of ſo great Concourſe, and where he himſelf preſided, was oblig'd in Conſcience to provide the People, in the beſt Manner he could, with a publick Place of Worſhip. He himſelf did but rarely, and upon extraordinary Occaſions, officiate in the Sacrifice, yet that, whenever he did it, he did it with the Acceptance and Approbation of God, is plain from the Teſtimony of Scripture, and the Succeſs, which God gave him againſt his Enemies, after he had perform'd ſuch an Act of Devotion: For thus the Account is, *(i) And* Samuel *took a ſucking Lamb, and offered it for a Burnt-Offering wholly unto the Lord, and* Samuel *cried unto the Lord for* Iſrael, *and the Lord heard him, and the Lord thundred with a great Thunder on that Day upon the* Philiſtines, *and diſcomfited them, and they were ſmitten before* Iſrael.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

* The *Jews* themſelves acknowledge, that a Prophet is not ſubject to the ceremonial Law, but may, at any Time, himſelf ſacrifice in what Place he pleaſes: And therefore, when *Samuel* went to *Bethlehem* to anoint *David*, it cannot be queſtion'd, but that he had a Right to ſacrifice there, tho' there was neither Ark nor Tabernacle in the Place; nor can it be deny'd, but that one Part of his Errand was to offer the Sacrifice, which he carry'd along with him. He had indeed an Affair

Why Samuel *might pretend a Sacrifice at* Bethlehem.

† It is generally ſuppos'd, but without any Grounds, that the Exerciſe of the High-Prieſt's Function was not enter'd upon till ſuch an Age, and that *Eli*'s Grand-Children were not as yet qualify'd for it: But *Joſephus* (Antiq. lib. xv. c. 2.) informs us, that *Ariſtobulus*, the Brother of *Mariamne*, was both admitted into that Place, and officiated in it, when he was no more than ſeventeen Years old. *Calmet*'s Comment. in 1 *Sam.* xxv. 1.

(f) Judg. vi. 20. and xiii. 19. *(g)* 2 Sam. vi. 13. *(h)* 1 Kings iii. 2, 3. *(i)* 1 Sam. vii. 9, 10.

* Authoritas Prophetæ facit, ut ſacrificium, ubicunque is adeſt, & imperat, ritè fiat; ſubſunt enim Prophetæ Imperio Leges rituales, fatentibus Hæbreis. *Grotius*, in 1 *Sam.* xvi. 2.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

fair of greater Conſequence to tranſact at the ſame Time; but I cannot ſee, under what Obligation he was to diſcover that. (*k*) *Secrecy* is of great Uſe in all important Negotiations, and the concealing of one Deſign, under the Umbrage of another, is as juſt and laudable a Practice, as the drawing of a Curtain to keep out *Spies*. Acts of Religion indeed are ſometimes made *Cloaks* for Iniquity; but 'tis hard to conceive what poſſible Prevarication there could be in performing one Act of Obedience towards God, in order to facilitate the Performance of another. The ſhort of the Matter is, when there are two Ends of any Action, (as there were in the Caſe now before us) a Man may, without any Injury to Truth, declare the one, and conceal the other; nor can any Imputation juſtly fall upon God, for ſuggeſting an Expedient to his Servant, in the Execution of which there confeſſedly was no Sin.

Why he might ſlay Agag.

AND for the ſame Reaſon, becauſe it was by God's Direction, or the Inſtigation of his Holy Spirit, that *Samuel* cut *Agag* in Pieces, we cannot ſay, that this Reſentment carry'd him beyond the Bounds of Reſpect, that was due to his *Sovereign*. *Agag* had been a bloody Tyrant, and was now cut off, not for the Sins of his Anceſtors only, but for his own mercileſs Cruelty. His Death had been predicted above 400 Years before, (*l*) by the Prophet *Balaam*; but *Saul*, out of a miſtim'd Compaſſion, and in Oppoſition to the expreſs Commands of God, had thought proper to ſpare him. Here therefore was a fit Occaſion for *Samuel* to exert himſelf, and, notwithſtanding the Preſence of his Prince, to vindicate the Honour of his God, by expreſſing a Zeal ſuitable to (*m*) that of *Phineas*, in ſlaying *Zimri*, or of that noble Band of *Levites*, (*n*) who deſtroy'd the Worſhippers of the *Golden-Calf*; tho' it does not neceſſarily follow, that he ſlew him himſelf, (*o*) becauſe what he *commanded* might be called *his own Act*, tho' it was nevertheleſs done by the publick *Executioner* of Juſtice.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

What Saul's *Diſtemper was.*

SOME Commentators have been ſo far carry'd away with the Manner of the Scripture Expreſſion, *viz.* that (*p*) *an evil Spirit from the Lord troubled* Saul, as to think, that he was really poſſeſs'd with a Devil, which at certain Times came ſtrongly upon him, and threw him into all the mad Fits whereof we read: But it ſhould be conſider'd, that the Word *Spirit*, in the ſacred Language, is of a very extenſive Signification, and denotes frequently, not only the Diſpoſitions of the Mind, (*q*) but thoſe of the Body likewiſe; that the Cuſtom of the *Jews* was to imagine, that every Affliction, whoſe Cauſe they were ignorant of, proceeded immediately from God; and that it is a very common Thing to find the Scripture Phraſe accommodating itſelf to this vulgar Prejudice. Now in our Interpretation of Scripture, this, I think, ſhould be a Rule, —— That when a Paſſage is capable of two Senſes, whereof the one ſuppoſes a *Miracle*, and the other a *natural Event* only, the latter ſhould take Place, eſpecially when there are no Circumſtances to determine us to the contrary. But now, in the Caſe before us, (*r*) the frequent Acceſs of *Saul*'s Malady, the Symptoms that attended it, and the Remedy made uſe of to aſſuage it, do ſufficiently denote, that it proceeded from a deep Melancholy, or black Bile inflam'd; and that the Man was *hypochondriack*, rather than *poſſeſs'd*. Agreeable to this bad Complexion of Body was the natural Temper of his Mind, which, through his whole Conduct, was ſuſpicious, diffident, cruel, paſſionate, and vindictive. Add to this, that the Remorſes of his Conſcience, the Menaces of *Samuel*, God's Rejection of him, and his continual Apprehenſions of being either dethron'd, or put to Death by his Competitor, confirm'd ſtill more and more the evil Diſpoſitions which his Diſtemper engender'd, and carry'd them by

(*k*) Scripture vindicated, Part ii. (*l*) Numb. xxiv. 7. (*m*) Ibid. xxv. 1. (*n*) Exod. xxxii. 27. (*o*) *Patrick*'s Comment. in 1 *Sam.* xii. 33. (*p*) 1 Sam. xvi. 14. (*q*) Vide Job xvii. 1. and Hoſea iv. 12. (*r*) *Calmet*'s Comment. in 1 *Sam.* xvi. 14.

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Fits into downright Madneſs: And as Madneſs is occaſion'd by an *atrobilous* Humour highly inflam'd, and diffus'd through the Blood, and from melancholick Vapours, which aſcend to the Brain, and make an Alteration in its Temperature, 'tis no hard Matter to conceive, that the agreeable Sound of a *muſical* Inſtrument, which occaſions Joy and Self-complacency, ſhould diſſipate theſe bad Humours, and make the Blood and Spirits return to their equal and natural Motion.

The Power of Muſick.

WHAT the Power of Muſick is, to ſweeten the Temper, and allay and compoſe the Paſſions of the Mind, we have ſome Examples from *ſacred* Hiſtory, but many more from the *prophane*. As this ſame *Saul* was returning from *Samuel*, he met, at the Place, which is called (*s*) *the Hill of God*, a Company of Prophets, playing on ſeveral Inſtruments; and ſuch was the Effect of their Melody, *that the Spirit* (as the Scripture expreſſes it) *came upon him, and he was turned into another Man.* When *Eliſha* was deſir'd by *Jehoſaphat*, to tell him what his Succeſs againſt the King of *Moab* would be, the Prophet requir'd a Minſtrel to be brought unto him, (*t*) *and when the Minſtrel played*, 'tis ſaid, *that the Hand of the Lord came upon him:* (*u*) Not that we are to ſuppoſe, that the Gift of Prophecy was the natural Effect of Muſick, but the Meaning is, that Muſick diſpos'd the Organs, the Humours, the Blood, and, in ſhort, the whole Mind and Spirit of the Prophet, to receive the ſupernatural Impreſſion. The Truth is, common Experience, as well as the Teſtimony of the graveſt Authors, does prove, that there is in Muſick a certain Charm, to revive the Spirits, mellow the Humours, allay the Paſſions, and conſequently, to diſſipate that Rage, or Melancholy, which either fumes up into the Brain in Vapours, or overſpreads the Heart with Grief, and Dejection. We need leſs wonder therefore, that we find (*x*) the *Pythagoreans*, whenever they perceiv'd, either in themſelves or others, any violent Paſſion beginning to ariſe, immediately betaking themſelves either to their Flute or their Guittar; that we find (*y*) *Theophraſtus* declaring, that Muſick is an excellent Remedy againſt ſeveral Diſtempers, both of the Mind and Body; (*z*) others, that *Aſclepiades*, a renown'd Phyſician among the Antients, was us'd to cure Madneſs by the Power of Symphony; and (*a*) others again, that the moſt violent Poiſon, that of the Sting of the *Tarantula*, has been expelled very frequently by this Means. The only remaining Difficulty is, how *David*, with his ſingle Harp, and unaſſiſted with any other Inſtruments, could effect ſuch a Cure upon *Saul?* And to ſatisfy this, I muſt be oblig'd to enquire a little into the Nature of the *Jewiſh* Muſick, which was poſſibly in Vogue at that Time.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

The Nature of the Jewiſh *Muſick.*

MUSICK, tho' an Art of no Neceſſity to human Life, was certainly of a very early Invention. Before the Deluge, *Jubal* is called the Father, or Maſter of thoſe who play'd upon the Harp, and † antient Organ, as the two *Hebrew* Words, (*b*) in that Place, are generally tranſlated. In the Time of *Jacob*, we find his Father-in-Law complaining of him, (*c*) that he had ſtolen away from him, and not given him an Opportunity of diſmiſſing him honourably, *with Mirth, and with Song, with Tabret, and with Harp.*

(*d*) *MOSES*, upon his Paſſage over the *Red-Sea*, compos'd a Song, which was ſung in Parts by himſelf, at the Head of the Men, and by (*e*) his Siſter, with *Timbrels* and *Dancing*, leading up the Women. *Samuel*, upon his Inſtitution of the Schools of the Prophets, introduc'd ſeveral Kinds of Muſick; ſo that, before *Saul*'s Election

(*s*) 1 Sam. x. 5, &c. (*t*) 2 Kings iii. 15. (*u*) *Calmet*'s Comment. in 1 *Sam.* xxvi. 17. (*x*) *Ælianus* Var. Hiſt. lib. xiv. c. 27. (*y*) In Libro περὶ ἐνθουσιασμῶν. (*z*) *Cenſorinus*, de Die Natali, lib. xii. (*a*) Vide *Saurin*, Vol. IV. Diſſert. 33.

† This Inſtrument in *Hebrew* is named *Hugab*, and was a Kind of Flute compos'd of ſeveral Pipes, of a different Bigneſs, join'd to one another. *Calmet*'s Dictonary, under the Word *Muſick*.

(*b*) Gen. iv. 21. (*c*) Ibid. xxxi. 27. (*d*) Exod. xv. (*e*) Ibid. ver. 20.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

tion to the Kingdom, (*f*) we read of the *Pſaltery*, and *Tabret*, the *Pipe*, and the *Harp*, in Uſe among them. The Kings of the *Eaſt* made it a Point of their Grandeur and Magnificence, to have Men to play to them upon ſeveral Occaſions; and therefore we may ſuppoſe, that *Saul*, when he came to the Throne, in ſome reaſonable Time, conform'd to the Mode. *David*, who was himſelf a great Maſter of Muſick, kept in his Houſe (*g*) ſome Companies of *ſinging Men*, and *ſinging Women*, as the Words of old *Bazillai* ſeem to imply; and *Solomon*, who deny'd his Heart no Pleaſure, came not behind his Father in this Reſpect; for he had his (*h*) *Men Singers* and *Women Singers* likewiſe, and muſical Inſtruments of all Sorts. *Joſephus* tells us, that he made four hundred thouſand, merely for the Uſe of the Temple; and therefore we may well ſuppoſe, that he had no ſmall Variety of them, for the Uſe of the Muſicians, that attended his Perſon.

M. *Le Clerc* ſeems to be of Opinion, that the Muſick of the antient *Hebrews* was not very regular: "They were a "Nation, *ſays he*, entirely given to Agri- "culture, and had neither Theatres, nor "any publick Diverſions of this Kind; "all the Uſe, which they made of their "Muſick, conſiſted in ſinging ſome ſacred "Hymns, which *David* inſtituted; but "we have no Reaſon to think, that their "Performances of this Kind were either "harmonious or methodical:" But now, the learned *Kircher* has confuted all this. For, (*i*) *It is not probable*, ſays he, *that ſuch an innumerable Quantity of muſical Inſtruments, made by the moſt ſkilful Hands, ſhould ſerve only to produce ſome rude and inartificial Sounds. Among the* Hebrews *there was certainly a wonderful Order of Songs and Chanters, a wonderful Diſtribution of the Singers, and a wonderful Agreement of Words fitted to harmonious Notes; neither is it likely, that all the Inſtruments of one Choir did perform their Parts in Uniſon, but that they made a various Harmony, with an admirable and accurate Contexture of the upper Parts with their reſpective* Baſſes. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

BUT ſuppoſe we, (as ſome) imagine, that they wanted the Harmony of a Concert, or ſeveral Parts of Muſick going on at the ſame Time; yet it is much to be queſtion'd, whether that Simplicity of Compoſition, which reſembles Nature moſt, is not a greater Beauty and Perfection, than that *Combination* of ſeveral Voices and Tunes, which conſtitutes our *Concerts*. For (to uſe the Words of another Author, in a Science wherein I profeſs to be no Adept) "The Antients, (*k*) "*ſays he*, had as great a Number of In- "ſtruments as we; they had their Sym- "phonies, and Voices of all Sorts, as well "as we; but then they had this Advan- "tage above us, that their ſinging Voices "and Inſtruments neither drown'd the "Words, nor deſtroy'd the Senſe of "what they ſung. While their Ears "were charm'd with the Melody, and "their Hearts touch'd with the Delicacy "of the Song, their Minds were tranſ- "ported with the Beauty of the Words, "with the Livelineſs, Grandeur, or Ten- "derneſs of the Sentiments. So that, "at one and the ſame Time, they had all "the pleaſurable Impreſſions and Senſa- "tions, that the moſt exact Imagery of "Thoughts and Sentiments, join'd with "Symphony, or a true Harmony, could "produce in their Breaſts;" and for this Reaſon it is rightly ſuppos'd by *Joſephus*, that while *David* play'd upon his Harp, he ſung Pſalms and Hymns to King *Saul*, whoſe Words very probably were adapted to the Occaſion, and that both theſe put together were conducive to his Cure; tho' God, without doubt, who gave a Bleſſing to his Endeavours, was the *principal Cauſe of it*.

THAT *David*'s Skill in playing upon the Harp, in a great Meaſure remov'd *Saul*'s Melancholy, is manifeſt from his retiring from Court to his Father's Houſe, and

(*f*) 1 Sam. x. 5. (*g*) 2 Sam. xix. 35. (*h*) Eccleſ. ii. 8. (*i*) Muſurgia Univer. lib. ii. c. 4.
(*k*) *Calmet*'s Diſſert. ſur la Muſique des Anciens.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

and betaking himſelf to his uſual Occupation of a Shepherd. How long he continu'd with his Father the Scripture is ſilent; but a ſhort Time might be ſufficient to impair the King's Remembrance of him, eſpecially when he appear'd in another Dreſs, than what he wore at Court, and was juſt now come off rough from a Journey. He had play'd to the King indeed, and happily reliev'd his Diſorder: But who knows, but that he then wore an Habit proper for his Profeſſion, as a *Muſician*, and (as Cloaths make a great Alteration in a Man) appear'd now quite another Creature in his plain Shepherd's Garb? Who knows, but that the (*l*) *Miniſter* (whoever he was) that recommended him to the King, finding that his Muſick prov'd *medicinal* to him, might take the Freedom to ſend to his Father, and requeſt that his Son might continue a little longer at Court, even without the King's Knowledge or Direction? And it ſeems not unlikely, that the Office of *Armour-Bearer* (whatever it imported) was a Place of Honour and Reſpect, more than ſtrict Duty and Attendance, becauſe we find *David* ſometimes retiring to his Father's Houſe as not oblig'd always to reſide at Court.

WITHOUT our ſuppoſing then, (as ſome Commentators have done) that *Saul*'s Diſtemper had diſturb'd his Head, and impair'd his Memory, we need but conſider the Humour and Faſhions of a Court, the Hurry of Buſineſs, the Multitude of Servants, the Variety of Faces, and the Shoals of Comers and Goers, that are every Day ſeen there; and withal, conſider the momentous Iſſue of a Battle loſt or won, and what full Employ the King or his chief Commander muſt have for all his Thought and Attention, when an Army is drawn up in Array, and ready to engage; and then we may eaſily account both for *Saul*, and *Abner*'s wanting Recollection, when they ſaw *David* diſguis'd in his Shepherd's Coat, and now entering upon an Action, that was quite contrary to the Character of a *Muſician*. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

(*m*) BUT, after all, the Words in the Text ſay nothing of *Saul*'s Forgetfulneſs of *David*, or that he enquir'd who he was. They only intimate, that he was ignorant of his Family, and deſir'd to be inform'd from what Parent he was deſcended; and conſidering how many Servants there are in every Court, (eſpecially in a lower Station) whoſe Pedigree the King knows nothing of, and how apt we are all to forget the Names of thoſe, who live at a Diſtance, (as *Jeſſe* did from *Saul*) and with whom we hold little or no Intercourſe, we need not much wonder, that *Saul*, who had no Concern for *David*'s Family before this Adventure, ſhould quite forget the Name of his Father, living in another Country, and which he had curſorily heard perhaps, but never once fix'd in his Mind: But now that the Son was going upon a deſperate Enterprize, and was (*n*) *to have great Riches*, as well as the *King's Daughter*, if he came off victorious, it did not a little behove the King to know ſomething more of the Parentage of this young Champion, and into what Family he was to match his Daughter: And, upon this Preſumption, there is no Madneſs, no Abſurdity; no Incongruity in his bidding *Abner*, "(*o*) *enquire whoſe Son the Strip-*
" *ling is.* 'Tis a brave and gallant Youth.
" I am charm'd with his Courage, and
" Behaviour. If he falls in the Attempt,
" he ſhall have an honourable Interment;
" if he ſucceeds, and ſlays the Giant, he
" ſhall be my Son-in-Law."

Why David *retreated to* Achiſh.

THE *Jews* give a very romantick Reaſon for *David*'s going to *Achiſh*, the King of the *Philiſtines*, viz. that it was to demand an Execution of the Treaty, (whereby the Conqueror was to have a ſovereign Power and Dominion over the Conquer'd) which *Goliah* proposed, when he challeng'd the *Iſraelites*; and that, upon this Account, the chief Miniſters about that King were ſo alarm'd at his Arrival,

(*p*) *Is*

(*l*) *Le Clerc*'s Comment. in 1 *Sam.* xxvii. 55. (*m*) *Saurin*'s Diſſert. ſur le Combat de *David*. (*n*) 1 Sam. xvii. 25. (*o*) Ibid. Ver. 56.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

Is not this David, *the King of this our Land?* (*p*) as ſome take the Words. It is apparent, however, from the Context, that the *Land*, to which theſe Words relate, is *Judea*, and that *David*, at this Time, was in no Condition to make any high Demands.

SAUL's Rancour and Rage againſt him was ſo implacable, and now that ſo many were turn'd Informers againſt him, his Power to apprehend him was become ſo great, that there was no ſtaying any longer in his Dominions; and therefore *David*'s Buſineſs was to find out ſome ſafe Retreat. All the other neighbouring Princes were at Peace with *Saul*, and muſt have deliver'd him up, had *Saul* demanded him. *Achiſh* was the only one in Hoſtility with him, and therefore his Kingdom the moſt proper Place for *David*'s Refuge, where, tho' he might not hope to lay long conceal'd, yet he might nevertheleſs promiſe himſelf kind Quarter, from the Advantages that would accrue to *Achiſh*, in attaching to his Intereſt a Perſon, that was evidently the Strength of the *Jewiſh* and Terror of the *Philiſtine* Army. Hard was the Fate of *David*, it muſt be own'd, when he was forc'd to flee for Protection to thoſe, whom he had Reaſon to believe were his bittereſt Enemies; but many great Men have been compell'd to the ſame Thing; *Themiſtocles* to go over to the *Perſians*, and *Alcibiades* to the *Lacedemonians*, without turning *Apoſtates* to the Intereſt of their Country.

That he might lawfully act the Fool.

SELF-PRESERVATION, is one of the firſt Laws of Nature, and therefore, if *David*, when he came to the Court of *Achiſh*, found his Life in manifeſt Danger, I cannot ſee why he might not make uſe of any Means, conſiſtent with a good Conſcience, for the Preſervation of it. He choſe to perſonate the Fool, becauſe he preſum'd that *Achiſh* would readily conclude, that the Troubles, he had ſuffer'd under *Saul*'s Perſecution of him, had ſtupify'd his Senſes, and turn'd his Head. But he was not the laſt wiſe Man who put on that Diſguiſe; for, (*q*) did not *Solon*, when he found that the *Athenians* were going to ſurrender *Salamine*, his native Country, into the Hands of the People of *Megara*, counterfeit the *Mad-Man*, that he might, with more Impunity, take the Freedom to divert them from it? And (*r*) *Lucius Brutus*, that *wiſe Imitator of the Fool*, (as he is call'd) made uſe of the ſame Artifice, to eſcape the Suſpicion of *Tarquin*, who had already murther'd his Father, and eldeſt Brother, in order to ſeize on their great Riches.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

BUT ſuppoſing that there were no Examples of other Wiſe-Men to countenance this Practice of *David*'s; yet, where-ever did we read, in the Word of God, that Stratagems were not allowable againſt an Enemy? When the *Iſraelites* beſieg'd *Ai*, God himſelf gave them Orders to make a Feint, as tho' they fled, that they might thereby draw the People out of the City; and can the Difference be ſo great, in pretending to a Want of Courage, and in counterfeiting a Deprivation of Reaſon? A Divine Direction indeed was in the one, and we do not read that it was in the other Caſe; but why might not God, who had *David* always under his immediate Care and Protection, put him upon this Expedient, as the only Eſcape he had for his Life? Or, if the Expedient was Matter of his own Invention, ſince the Circumſtances he was in did abſolutely require it, it cannot deſerve our Blame, according to that common Diſtich, that goes under no leſs a Name than *Cato*'s.

Inſipiens eſto, cum Tempus poſtulat, aut Res,
Stultitiam ſimulare Loco, Prudentia ſumma eſt.

THIS might be ſome *Apology* for *David*'s Conduct at this critical Juncture, ſuppoſing

He did not act a Part, but was ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper.

(*p*) Vid. *Sol. Jarchi*, ad 1 *Sam.* xxi. 12. (*q*) *Diogen. Laërtius*, lib. i. in *Solone*. (*r*) *Dionyſ. Halicarn.* Antiq. Rom. lib. 4.

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ſuppoſing that he perſonated the Fool, or Mad-Man: But if we look into the Scripture-Account of this Tranſaction a little more narrowly, we may poſſibly perceive, that *David* did not diſſemble, or act a Part upon this Occaſion, but that he was really ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper, and that Diſtemper, in all Probability, was an *Epilepſy*, or *Falling-Sickneſs*.

For, whereas it is ſaid of *David*, that (*s*) *he was ſtruck to the Heart* (for ſo it ſhould be render'd) *at the Words* which the Officers of *Achiſh* ſaid to their Maſter, and thereupon *was ſore afraid of the King*, leſt, at their Inſtigation, he ſhould put him to Death; nothing is known to cauſe an *Epilepſy* ſooner, * than a ſudden and violent Fright. Whereas it is ſaid in our Tranſlation, that (*t*) *he changed his Behaviour before them*; the Words in the *Hebrew* are, *his Taſte* (whereby ſome underſtand his Reaſon) *was chang'd*; but the *Septuagint* ſeem to have hit upon the right Senſe, ἠλλοίωσε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῦ, *his Viſage, or Countenance, was changed*; for every one knows what a ſudden Alteration a Fit of this Diſtemper occaſions in any one's Looks. Whereas it is ſaid in our Tranſlation, that he *feigned himſelf mad* in their Hands, the *Septuagint* render it, παρεφέρετο ἐν ταῖς Χερσὶν αὐτῦ, *he trembled*, and was convuls'd in his Hands, as having no Power to direct their Motions, which is another known Effect of an Epilepſy. Whereas, again, our Tranſlation ſays, that *he ſcrabled*, or (according to the marginal Note) made Marks *upon the Doors of the Gate*, the *Septuagint* render the Words, ἔπιπλεν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τῆς πύλης, *he fell down againſt the Door of the Gate*, and the *Hebrew* Word *Tava* implies, *with ſuch Force and Violence*, as even to leave Marks or Prints upon them; ſo that he could not but bruiſe and hurt himſelf very much by theſe Falls. Nor is this all; for there is ſomething in the Words of *Achiſh*, (if we will but adhere to the Verſion of the *Septuagint*) that ſhews *David*'s Diſtemper to have been the *Falling-Sickneſs* beyond all Controverſy: For, whereas our Tranſlation is, *Lo, you ſee the Man is mad, wherefore then have you brought him to me? I have no need of Mad-Men*; the Words of the *Septuagint* are, ἰδὺ ἴδετε ἄνδρα ἐπίλημπτον, ἵνατὶ εἰσηγάγετε αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐμὲ; μὴ ἐλαττῦμαι ἐπιλήπτων ἐγὼ; *Why did ye bring this Man before me? Ye ſee that he is in an* Epilepſy, *and epileptick Men I do not want. Why then did you bring him, to be taken with a Fit in my Preſence?* Had *David*, all this while, been only *playing the Fool*, as our Tranſlation makes him, he might poſſibly have given *Achiſh* ſome Diverſion (as * Fools in great Houſes were often kept to give Diverſion) by his aukward or frantick Tricks; (*u*) but the Horror, wherewith the King was ſtruck at the firſt Sight of him, and his Indignation againſt his Officers, for bringing him into his Preſence, are enough to make one believe, that his Diſtemper had made him a *frightful* Object; and therefore the King commanded immediately to have him remov'd out of his Preſence, and out of the Palace.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

Upon the whole, therefore, we may conclude, that, as *David* had the true Symptoms of an *Epilepſy* upon him, which, in

(*s*) 1 Sam. xxi. 12.

* The Author of the Book, which goes under the Name of *Hippocrates*, written profeſſedly upon this Subject, (περὶ Ἱέρης νόσυ) among many other Cauſes of this Diſtemper, makes mention of a ſudden Fright as one:

Ἐπικαταῤῥέει δὲ ἐξ ἀδήλυ φόβυ γινομένυ.

(*t*) 1 Sam. xxi. 13.

* *Tarquin the Proud* kept *L. Junius Brutus* as a *Fool*, (for ſo he pretended to be) to divert his Children with his abſurd Diſcourſe and Actions. But *Anacharſis*, who liv'd about three hundred Years after *David*, complains of this Cuſtom among the *Grecians*, by telling us, that *a Man was a Creature too ſerious to be deſign'd for ſo ridiculous a Purpoſe*; and (to ſhew the Continuance of this Cuſtom) *Pliny*, writing to one of his Friends, who had complain'd to him, that, at a great Entertainment, he had paſs'd his Time but very diſagreeably, by reaſon of the *kept Fools*, who were always interrupting Converſation, tells him, that every one has his Taſte, but, as for himſelf, he could never be delighted with ſuch Extravagancies, though ſome Complaiſance was due to thoſe of another Way of Thinking. Epiſt. 17.

(*u*) *Saurin*, Vol. IV. Diſſert. 34. in Mr *Dumont*'s Letter.

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in all Probability, was occaſion'd by a violent Fright; God, in his good Providence, might permit this Diſtemper to befal him at this Juncture, in order to facilitate his Eſcape out of the Hands of *Achiſh*, and, as ſoon as the Danger was over, reſtor'd him to his former Health again. For this Reaſon we find him, in thoſe Pſalms, which he is thought to have compos'd upon this Occaſion, alluding both to the Nature of his Diſtemper, and to God's Goodneſs, in preſerving him in it, and delivering him from it: (*u*) *Great are the Troubles of the Righteous; but the Lord delivereth him out of all: He keepeth all his Bones, ſo that not one of them is broken*; and therefore (*x*) *unto thee, O God, will I pay my Vows, unto thee will I give Thanks; for thou haſt delivered my Soul from Death, and my Feet from falling, that I may walk before God in the Light of the Living.*

David's *receiving thoſe that flock'd to him juſtify'd.*

DAVID, upon his Eſcape from the Court of *Achiſh*, not knowing of any other Place of Retreat, betook himſelf to the Cave of *Adullam*, where he found it neceſſary to provide for his Security, by putting himſelf upon ſome Foot of Defence. *Jonathan*, from full Conviction, had told him, (as himſelf, from frequent Experience, had found) that his Father, at all Adventures, would endeavour to take away his Life. His Family, by this Time, were fallen under the Diſpleaſure of *Saul*, and were in Danger of being all cut off (as lately were the Prieſts of *Nob*) under Pretence of a *Conſpiracy* againſt him; and therefore it is no Wonder, that his Brethren, having this Apprenſion of Danger before their Eyes, reſorted to him for their own Security; no Wonder, that, in * Times of national Diſcord, Refugees of all Kinds, either through their private Wants, or the Oppreſſion of their Enemies, a Diſſaffection to the Government, or a Zeal for the next Succeſſor, ſhould flock to *David*: Nor was *David* any ways blameable for receiving them, (*y*) ſince we have abundant Reaſon to preſume, that he took none under his Protection, but ſuch as were forc'd to flee from *Saul*'s Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, nor ſcreen'd any Debtors, but ſuch as were under a real Inability to ſatisfy their Creditors, and were therefore *neceſſitated*, either to leave their Country, or loſe their Liberty. The Submiſſion and Diſcipline, wherein he kept his People, and the high Notions of Reſpect and Reverence, which he always infus'd into them for the Government, and Perſon of the King, are an ample Teſtimony, that he meditated no Defection or Revolt; and the Debtors, whom he ſecur'd from cruel Proſecutions, or Slavery, he put in a Condition to pay their Creditors, by leading them againſt the Enemies of *Iſrael*, from whom, in ſeveral Expeditions, they return'd laden with rich Spoils.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

His Conduct in ſome Inſtances blam'd.

THERE is one Part, however, of *David*'s Conduct, that cannot ſo well be vindicated; and that is, what paſs'd between him and *Achiſh*, upon his ſecond Retreat to his Court. We may ſuppoſe indeed, that, during this Interval, an Alliance was made between *Achiſh* and him, (tho' the ſacred Hiſtorian makes no mention of it) and that this new *Ally*, hearing how violently *Saul* perſecuted him, might,

(*u*) Pſal. xxxiv. 17. (*x*) Ibid. lvi. 12, 13.

* Though there be no Compariſon between the Proceedings of a very righteous, and a very wicked Man, *David* and *Catiline*, yet it may not be amiſs, upon this Occaſion, to take Notice of what *Salluſt* ſays of *Manlius*, *Catiline*'s Agent and Ambaſſador. *Manlius in Etruria plebem ſollicitare, egeſtate, ſimul ac dolore injuriæ, novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullæ dominatione agros, bonaque omnia amiſerat; pretereà latrones cujuſque generis, quorum in eâ regione magna copia fuit*, &c. 'Tis not improbable however, that the Uſage now prevail'd among the *Jews*, which *Cæſar* tells us, anciently obtain'd among the *Gauls*, for thoſe, that were in Debt, oppreſs'd by Tributes, or the Tyranny of the *Great*, to betake themſelves to the Service of ſome *eminent* Man for Protection: By him they were maintain'd, and to him they devoted themſelves, under a ſolemn Obligation to live and die with him. Theſe were called, in the *Gallic* Language, *Soldurii*, from whence the Word *Soldier* is deriv'd; and, as they might be honeſt and good Men, tho' they had the Misfortune to be in Debt, or could not ſubmit to tyrannical Treatment; ſo, in all Probability, *David*'s Companions were. Vid. *The Life of* David, *by the Author of Revelation examin'd.*

(*y*) *Calmet*'s Comment. in 1 *Sam.* xxii. 2.

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might, in Hopes of making the Breach wider, and of exaſperating *David* againſt him, voluntarily invite him into his Dominions; but certainly we cannot but ſay, that *David* ſhould by no Means have gone. God had expreſſly commanded him by his Prophet to return into the Tribe of *Judah*, and, at the ſame Time, gave him Aſſurance, that he would be his Safeguard and Protector: It was therefore an apparent Diffidence of God's Providence, which had been ſo long employ'd in his Preſervation, to make an Enemy's Country the Place of his Refuge; and a Breach it was of Truth and Fidelity to his new Ally, to make him believe, that he was fighting againſt his *Foes*, when all the while he was deſtroying his *Confederates*.

BUT what can we ſay for his Conduct, when he joins Forces with the Enemies of his Country, takes the Field with them, promiſes to act *offenſively*, and looks upon it as a Kind of Slight and Indignity to be diſmiſs'd? (*a*) *What have I done*, ſays he to *Achiſh*, *that I may not go fight againſt the Enemies of my Lord the King?* One would really ſuſpect, by his aſking the Queſtion, that he had an Intention not unlike that of the famous *Martius Coriolanus*, who, to revenge himſelf of the Ingratitude of his Country, join'd with the *Volſci* to deſtroy it. But if his Intention was either to ſtand *neuter*, or to turn againſt the *Philiſtines* in the Day of Battle, his Perfidy and Ingratitude to *Achiſh* muſt be open and conſpicuous.

IN ſhort, how well ſoever we may wiſh to *David*'s Character, there is no vindicating his Conduct in this Particular. Which Party ſoever he had taken, he muſt have been culpable; and one Party he muſt have taken, had not Providence ſo timely interpos'd to preſerve his Honour without injuring his Conſcience. However, if we would ſuppoſe any Thing in Extenuation of his Fault, we muſt repreſent to ourſelves a *Fugitive*, purſu'd by a formidable Enemy, and, every Moment, in Danger of falling into his Hands; this Fugitive kindly receiv'd at a *foreign* Court, and protected by a Prince, that was in Hoſtility with his Perſecutor; this Prince expecting of his Refugee, in Conſideration of the Favours, he had conferr'd on him, that he ſhould attend him to the War, and eſpouſe his Cauſe againſt their common Enemy; and, all this while, the other, bound in Gratitude not to be *uncivil*, and, conſidering the dangerous Situation of his own Affairs, not daring to diſcover his real Purpoſes: If we imagine this, I ſay, we muſt allow, that, if in any Caſe, what they call a *Fineſſe* in Policy were allowable, it was in this of *David*'s, when he had unhappily brought himſelf into theſe Circumſtances.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

IT may ſeem a little ſtrange perhaps, that *David*, who, in theſe, and ſeveral other groſſer Inſtances, could not but be culpable in the Eyes of God, ſhould, nevertheleſs, be ſtil'd in Scripture (*b*) *the Man after his own Heart:* But, whoever obſerves the Occaſion of that Expreſſion, will find, that it ought to be taken in a *comparative* Senſe only, and in Derogation indeed to *Saul*, whoſe Tranſgreſſion, in ſparing *Amalek*, the Prophet *Samuel* was then reproving; that, in executing his Decrees upon the *idolatrous* Nations round about him, *David* would be more punctual, and not ſo remiſs as *Saul* had been; and, in this Reſpect, would conform to the Divine Will, or be *the Man after God's own Heart*. This ſeems to be the primary Senſe of the Words, tho' the common *Solution*, *viz.* that, tho' *David* was a great and grievous Sinner, yet the Severity of his Repentance clear'd him in the Sight of God, and made an Amends for the Enormity of his Tranſgreſſions, be not much amiſs.

And yet in what Senſe he was a Man after God's own Heart.

IT cannot however with Juſtice be ſaid, that *David* was any ways culpable in ſparing the Life of *Saul*, even when Providence ſeems to have put it in his Hand. This Trial God made of his Virtue and Clemency, and a glorious Conqueſt it was, not only to overcome his own

His ſaving Saul's Life juſtify'd.

(*a*) 1 Sam. xxix. 8. (*b*) Ibid. xiii. 14. and xv. 24.

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From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

own Reſentments, which were juſtly enough founded againſt *Saul*, but the Arguments and Inſtigations likewiſe of thoſe about him; (*b*) *Behold the Day, of which the Lord ſaid unto thee, Behold I will deliver thine Enemy into thine Hand, that thou mayeſt do to him, as it ſhall ſeem good unto thee.* God had deliver'd him into his Hand indeed, but had given him no Order, or Permiſſion to ſlay *Saul*. (*c*) He had promis'd him the Kingdom likewiſe, but would, by no means, allow him to aſcend the Throne by Blood. His Title to the Succeſſion was real, and inconteſtable, but not allow'd to be put in Force, or himſelf to attempt, by Ways of Violence, the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, as long as *Saul* was permitted by God to reign, and recogniz'd, as *Sovereign*, by the People. *David* as yet, being only a private Man, had no Authority to wage War againſt *Saul*; and, tho' it be allowable for any one to defend himſelf againſt an unjuſt Aggreſſor, and to repel Force by Force, yet this muſt be done only in order to ſecure his own Life, and not to take away that of his Adverſary; for what the Apoſtles ſay of *judging*, or cenſuring, is much more forcible in the Matter of *killing*: (*d*) *Who art thou that judgeſt another Man's Servant? To his own Maſter he ſtandeth or falleth; for there is one Lawgiver, who is able to ſave, and to deſtroy: Who art thou then that judgeſt another?* And theſe Rules, which ought to be obſerv'd by private Perſons, are much more extenſive, when they relate to a Prince and his Subject. The *Subject* is oblig'd in Duty, even tho' he be innocent, to bear patiently the ill Treatment of his Prince. *David*, no Doubt, was conſcious of his own Intergrity, but, were it not for the preceding Promiſes of God in his Favour, and the Orders, which, from Time to Time, he receiv'd from the High-Prieſt's Oracle, it would not be ſo eaſy a Matter to juſtify ſome Part of his Conduct. His fleeing from his Country, liſting Men, and putting himſelf in a Condition of Defence, would, even under our *mild* Government, be look'd upon as *ſeditious* and *rebellious* Proceedings: And there we may ſuppoſe, that *David* himſelf might not have ſo favourable Opinion of the Courſe of Life, he was compell'd at that Time to follow; might think that he gave ſome Umbrage to *Saul*'s Jealouſy, and Suſpicion of him; and might thereupon be the more inclinable to excuſe the Violence of his Perſecution, and to make no other Uſe of the Advantages, he had againſt him, than to demonſtrate his own Innocence, and the Groundleſſneſs of the other's Suſpicions; for ſuch ſeems to be the Senſe of his own Words. (*e*) *Wherefore doth my Lord thus purſue after his Servant? For, what have I done, or what Evil is in my Hand? Wherefore hearеſt thou Mens Words, ſaying,* David *ſeeketh thy Hurt? Behold this Day thine Eyes have ſeen, how the Lord had delivered thee into mine Hand in the Cave, but mine Eye ſpared thee*; therefore *curſed be they before the Lord*, who make this Difference betwixt us; *for they have driven me out this Day from abiding in the Inheritance of the Lord:* For herein, he not only pleads his own Innocence, and good Intentions towards the King, but, in ſome Meaſure, excuſes the King's Conduct towards him, as being under the Influence of *evil Counſellors*, which both impos'd upon the King's Credulity, and compell'd him to ſuch a Method of Life, as was far from being agreeable to his Intereſt or Inclination.

And his Reſentment againſt Nabal, *in ſome Meaſure, excus'd.*

UPON many Accounts therefore, it was an Act of his great and generous Soul, for *David* to ſpare the Life of his ſevereſt Enemy: But tho' we cannot, in like Manner, juſtify his Indignation againſt *Nabal*, and the Oath which he ſwore to deſtroy his whole Family; yet ſomething may be offer'd in excuſe of it, if we attend a little to what occaſion'd it, and the too common Effect, which ſuch Treatment

(*b*) 1 Sam. xxiv. 4. (*c*) *Calmet*'s Comment. in 1 *Sam.* xxiv. 4. (*d*) Rom. xiv. 4. and Jam. iv. 12.
(*e*) 1 Sam. xxiv. 9, 10.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

ment (as *Nabal*'s was) is apt to have upon ſuch Spirits, as we may ſuppoſe *David*'s to have been. *David*, while he continu'd in the Wilderneſs of *Paran*, had given his Men Charge, not only to do no Injury to *Nabal*'s Shepherds and Herdſmen, but even to protect and aſſiſt them, in caſe they were invaded by any of the neighbouring *Arabians*; and now, that their Maſter was ſhearing his Sheep (which was always a *feſtival* Seaſon) not far from the Place, where *David* was encamp'd; to ſhew him the greater Reſpect, he ſent no leſs than *ten young Men* of his Company, to make his Compliments to him, and, in the moſt civil Manner, to requeſt ſomething of him, (as it was the Cuſtom to be generous and liberal at ſuch a Time as that) for the Relief of himſelf and his Followers, in this Form: (*f*) *Peace be to thee*, (as the young Men's Inſtructions were) *and Peace be to thine Houſe, and Peace be unto all thou haſt. Peace*, in the ſacred Language, comprehends all Manner of Bleſſings, both *ſpiritual* and *temporal*, and therefore an higher Compliment, (as we ſay) or a more affectionate Salutation, could not have been devis'd. *And now I have heard, that thou haſt Shearers; and thy Shepherds, which were with us, we hurt them not, neither was there ought miſſing unto them, all the while that they were in* Carmel: A ſufficient Argument, one would think, to engage *Nabal*'s grateful Acknowledgment; becauſe it certainly was a Matter of no ſmall Courteſy, for a Body of Men in Arms, and in Want of the common Neceſſaries of Life, not to take by Violence what they could not be hinder'd from. Such Men claim a Kind of Licence to do Injuries with Impunity, and therefore it ought to be deem'd a great Favour, when they do them not. *David*, and his Men however, are ſo far from magnifying their Services to *Nabal*, that they only ſay, (*g*) *they did them no Hurt*; whereas his own Servants acknowledge, *that they were a* Defence, *and a Wall to them, both by Night and by Day, all the while, that they were with them keeping Sheep.* Upon this Preſumption, the Matter of their Requeſt was, *Let the young Men find Favour in thine Eyes; (for we come in a good Day) give, I pray thee, whatſoever cometh unto thine Hand unto thy Servants, and thy Son* David. Words can hardly be invented more full of Reſpect and Humility; (*h*) for he pays a Deference to *Nabal*, either upon the Account of his *Seniority*, or Deſcent from the ſame *Tribe*, and deſires no Rarities, no *Delicates*, but any Thing that firſt came to hand, and what he could moſt conveniently ſpare. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

NABAL (as we juſt now hinted) was of the ſame Tribe with *David*, and could not therefore be ſuppoſed ignorant either of his Exploits, in Defence of his Country, nor of the true Cauſe of *Saul*'s Indignation againſt him: And yet, obſerve the Rudeneſs and Inſolence of his Anſwer to ſuch a Civil Meſſage, and humble Requeſt: (*i*) *Who is* David, *and who is the Son of* Jeſſe? *There are many Servants, now-a-days, that break every Man from his Maſter. Shall I* take the Proviſions I have made *for my Shearers*, and *give them unto Men, whom I know not whence they are?* Nothing certainly could be more provoking than ſuch an Anſwer as this. The charging *David* with being a *Vagabond*, and Rebel to his Prince, was a Reproach inſufferable to a Man of a liberal Spirit, who knew himſelf innocent: And therefore no Wonder that *David*, upon the Report of the Meſſengers, who were themſelves brought under the ſame *Predicament*, and therefore had no Reaſon to alleviate Matters, was reſolved, in his Paſſion, to be reveng'd upon *Nabal*. For, (*k*) there were four Things in the Matter before us, that ſeem to have inflam'd his Reſentment, and put him upon this ſanguinary Deſign. 1ſt, The *Want*, which both he and his Companions at preſent labour'd under, but

(*f*) 1 Sam. xxv. 6, &c. (*g*) Ibid. ver. 16. (*h*) *Patrick*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries. (*i*) 1 Sam. xxv. 10, 11. (*k*) *Le Clerc*'s Comment. in Locum.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

but hop'd to have reliev'd, out of the Abundance of a *wealthy* Man, who might eaſily have done it without hurting himſelf. 2dly, The *Deception* he was under, in finding no Compenſation made him, for the Care, which he, and his People had taken of *Nabal*'s Cattle, tho' perhaps he had given them his Word and Aſſurance, that ſomething of this Kind would be done. 3dly, The *Reſentment*, which eaſily riſes in the Breaſt of any generous Man, when, inſtead of Thanks, and a grateful Acknowledgment, he meets with Contumely and opprobrious Language. And 4thly, The *Vexation*, which an innocent Man, conſcious of his own Merits, and the Services he had done his King and Country, muſt neceſſarily feel, when he perceives himſelf vilified, and treated as a *Scoundrel*. † *Fugitive* and *Slave* are Imputations of the groſſeſt Nature; and, when retorted by an ungrateful Perſon upon his Guardian and Benefactor, are Provocations paſt bearing.

ANY one of theſe Things ſingly was enough to irritate a Man of a lofty Spirit; but all put together could hardly fail of inflaming the Mind to ſuch a Degree, as to make him loſe the Government of his Paſſion, and fall into the moſt vindictive Rage, which is generally more obſervable in *military* Men, whoſe Courage and Spirits run high, and, being too much accuſtom'd to Blood and Slaughter, even in lawful Wars, have not that Dread and Abhorrence of cruel and outrageous Executions, as the reſt of Mankind have, who live more retired and peaceable Lives.

'TWAS to the ſudden Tranſport of *David*'s Paſſion then, and perhaps *that* exaſperated by the Inſtigations of his own Men, that we are to impute his Vow, and Deſign of deſtroying *Nabal*'s Family: And tho' in this we cannot commend him, yet certainly there is ſomething *Praiſe-worthy* in his ſpeedy Reconcilation, upon *Abigail*'s firſt Addreſs, and Application to him, in the Room of her Huſband: (*l*) *Bleſſed be the Lord God of* Iſrael, *which ſent thee this Day to meet me; and bleſſed be thy Advice, and bleſſed be thou, which haſt kept me this Day from coming to ſhed Blood, and from avenging myſelf with my own Hand.* † "In a Word, the Reſolution againſt *Nabal* "(as one elegantly expreſſes it) was the "Reſolution of a *mortal*, not to ſay a *mi*-"*litary* Man, too much injur'd and pro-"vok'd, and urg'd by Neceſſity and Self-"preſervation: The Change and the "Thankſgiving, upon being averted from "Evil, were the Sentiments of an *Hero*, "and a Saint."

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

THE *Jews* indeed (as we quoted the Objection from *Joſephus*) give us an high Commendation of *Saul*, and ſeem to prefer him before *David* himſelf in Regard to the *Magnanimity* of his Death. But it is much to be queſtioned, whether *Self-murther* (which was certainly *Saul*'s Caſe) be an Act of Magnanimity, or not. For, beſides that the Laws of all Nations have condemned it, as abhorrent to the Dictates of Nature and Reaſon, of Self-love and Self-preſervation; the wiſeſt of the *Heathen* World ever look'd upon it as an Inſtance of Madneſs and Brutality, and, with great Wiſdom, have concluded, that ſuch an Action is ſo far from favouring of true Courage and Generoſity, that * *it is the ſure Effect of a weak and puſillanimous Temper of Mind*; ſince true *Greatneſs of Soul* (as they juſtly argue) conſiſts in ſupporting the Evils of Adverſity, and not *in* ſhifting

Saul's *killing himſelf blam'd, as an Act of Cowardice.*

† The Life of King *David*. (*l*) 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 33. † The Life of King *David*.

* Si rationem rectè conſulas, non vera animi magnitudo nominatur, ubi quiſque, non valendo tolerare vel quæquè aſpera, vel aliena peccata, ſeipſum interemerit: Magis enim mens infirma deprehenditur, quæ ferre non poteſt vel duram ſui corporis ſervitutem, vel ſtultam vulgi opinionem; majorque animus meritò dicendus, qui vitam ærumnoſam magis poteſt ferre, quam fugere. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. i. c. 22. And to the ſame Purpoſe is that in an Heathen Author:

Rebus in anguſtis facile eſt contemnere vitam:
Fortiter ille facit, qui miſer eſſe poteſt. MART. Epig.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

ſhifting them off, which is a Mark of a poor impatient Spirit, ſinking under the common Calamities of Life, and not knowing how to bear the Blows of bad Fortune. (*m*) *Draw thy Sword, and thruſt me through therewith, leſt the Uncircumciſed come and mock, or abuſe me,* * was the Requeſt, which *Saul* made to his *Armour-bearer*, and ſhews that it was not Bravery and Courage, but the Fear of *Inſults*, and a conſcious *Inability* to bear them with a becoming *Superiority* of Mind, that made him ſhun the *Storm*, when he ſaw it approaching, by withdrawing from the Stage of Life.

As a Violation of God's Law.

SAUL's Caſe indeed was very dolorous, but he had not therefore any Authority to deſtroy himſelf. His Life was a ſacred Depoſitum of God's, and not to be taken away without invading his Right, and violating his Laws at the ſame Time. For, whatever ſome may think of the *Silence* of the Scripture concerning Self-murther, there is no Queſtion to be made, but that it is included in the *ſixth Commandment*, under which *Saul* then lived. (*n*) The Commandment forbids Murther in general; and 'tis certainly as much Murther, to kill ourſelves, as to kill another Man: And the Reaſon, which the Scripture gives, why we are not allowed to do it, in both Caſes, is the ſame, becauſe (*o*) *in the Image of God made he Man.* For if I muſt not ſhed the Blood of another, becauſe *he is made in the Image of God*; I muſt not ſhed the Blood of mine own ſelf, becauſe I alſo am a Man, and *made in the Image of God*, as well as he. The Reaſon therefore why we have not more frequent Prohibitions againſt this Sin is plainly this, —— (*q*) That whatever Sins or Offences God, as a Lawgiver, prohibits, he prohibits with a Penalty, *i. e.* he affixes ſuch a Puniſhment to ſuch a Crime, and he, who commits the Crime, is to undergo the Puniſhment in this World, whether it be Reſtitution, Loſs of Limb, or Loſs of Life itſelf. But now this can never happen in the Caſe of Self-murther, becauſe Self-murther prevents all Puniſhment, (the Man being dead, before any Cognizance can be taken of his Offence) and therefore prevents all Laws concerning it; and can, conſequently, only be included under general Commands, and forbidden as a Sin, whereof God alone can take Cognizance in the World to come.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

And whether he was properly ſav'd, or no.

SINCE upon the whole then, *Saul* may be ſaid to have died in an Act of Cowardice, and in the Violation of God's Law, whereof he had no Space to repent; it has been a Matter of ſome Enquiry, what we are to think of his Salvation. The Scripture indeed tells us, that (*q*) *Saul died for his Tranſgreſſion, which he committed againſt the Lord, and alſo for aſking Counſel of one who had a familiar Spirit, to enquire of it, and enquired not of the Lord, and therefore the Lord ſlew him:* But it is doing a manifeſt Violence to the Senſe of theſe Words, to apply them (as ſome have done) to his *final* Perdition, when they plainly relate to no more than his *temporal* Death. The dangerous and deſtructive Nature of *Self-murther* is, that it makes Repentance (the only revealed Condition of Man's Salvation) impoſſible; but then we are to know, that, in that inexhauſtible Fountain of Goodneſs, there may be ſome *uncovenanted* Mercy, ſome *ſovereign* and *prerogative* Grace, that may make favourable Allowances for the Diſtraction of Men's Thoughts or Paſſions, the Violence of their Fears or Troubles, or the over-bearing Weight of any other Temptation.

BUT (to determine this Queſtion more peremptorily) tho' it certainly be conſonant to the Mercy and Goodneſs of God, to

(*m*) 1 Sam. xxxi. 4.

* How much nobler was that Reſolution of *Darius*, who, finding himſelf betray'd, and that he was either to be murther'd by his own Subjects, or deliver'd into the Hands of *Alexander*, would not however be his own Executioner. *I had rather*, ſays he, *die by another's Guilt, than my own.* CURT. Lib. v. c. 12.

(*n*) *Fleetwood*, againſt Self-murther. (*o*) Gen. ix. 6. (*p*) *Fleetwood*, ibid. (*q*) 1 Chron. x. 13, 14.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

to think, that no Man ſhall anſwer for any Miſcarriage, which is wholly occaſion'd by the Power of a *Diſeaſe*, or the Diſtraction of the *Brain*, becauſe whatever is committed in ſuch a Caſe, is not the Man's *free Act*, and conſequently, cannot be his Guilt; yet we have no Reaſon to preſume, that the Caſe is not ſo with thoſe, who, out of Pride, or Haughtineſs, Fear of Miſeries to come, or Impatience under preſent Sufferings, diſtruſt of God's Providence, or deſpair of his Mercy, lay violent Hands upon themſelves; becauſe the Act was both voluntary and vicious, and not to be amended by Repentance: But, without limiting thy Goodneſs, *O Lord*, unto thy Mercy we commit their Souls!

Heathen Teſtimonies in Confirmation of ſome Paſſages.

THUS we have endeavour'd to ſatisfy moſt of the *popular* Objections, which have been raiſed againſt ſeveral Facts, occurring in the firſt Book of *Samuel*; and, for the farther Confirmation hereof, we ſhall only inſtance in one or two ancient *Traditions* among the *Heathens*, which, in all Probability, deriv'd their Original from this Part of ſacred Hiſtory. The *Scythians*, upon their Return out of *Egypt*, paſſing thro' the Country of the *Philiſtines*, robb'd the Temple of *Venus* at *Aſkalon*, and for their Puniſhment (as (*r*) *Herodotus* tells us) they, and their Poſterity, were, for a long while after, afflicted with Emerods: Whereupon (*s*) the learned *Prideaux* remarks, that the *Philiſtines* had till then preſerv'd the Memory of what they had formerly ſuffer'd on Account of the Ark of God. The *Athenians*, when the Myſteries of *Bacchus* were brought out of *Bœotia*, having not receiv'd them with all the Pomp and Solemnity that the God expected, were ſmitten (*t*) with a Diſeaſe in their *ſecret Parts*, which reſembl'd the Malady of the People of *Aſhdod*, and ſo did their Cure too; for, having conſulted the *Oracle*, they were inform'd, that the Way to get rid of their Plague, was to offer unto *Bacchus* golden Figures of the Part, wherein they were afflicted. The *Grecians*, at the taking of *Troy*, diſcover'd an Ark dedicated to *Bacchus*, and when *Eurypilus* (as *Pauſanias* (*u*) tells us) adventur'd to open it, he found therein the Image of the God, but was immediately depriv'd of his Senſes for daring to look into it; which ſeems to be a plain Tranſcript from the Irreverence and Fate of the *Bethſhemites*. (*x*) *Clemens Alexandrinus* has obſerv'd, that the Fable of *Æacus*'s praying for Rain in a great Drought, and when *Greece* was ſadly diſtreſs'd for Want of Corn, was borrow'd from that Part of *Samuel*'s Hiſtory, where he is ſaid to have call'd down Thunder and Rain, in the Time of *Wheat-Harveſt*, when the Sky was all ſerene and clear: And therefore we need leſs wonder at the Story between *Saul* and the Witch of *Endor*, when we read of *Circe*, *Medea*, *Erichtho*, *Manto*, *Antonoë*, and ſeveral other Women, who, in the *Heathen* World, became famous for their *Necromancy*, and of the many Votaries, that reſorted to them; when we find *Statius* introducing *Tireſias*, as raiſing Altars, making Libations, and offering Sacrifices, * with ſolemn Invocations to the *infernal* Gods; and *Homer* himſelf ſpending a great Part of (*y*) one Book of his Poem, in repreſenting *Ulyſſes* as invocating the Ghoſt of this ſame *Tireſias*, and attending to the Oracles, which proceeded from his Mouth. Theſe Things had their Foundation in ſome early *Traditions*, which at firſt aroſe from the Facts contain'd in the *ſacred*

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

(*r*) Lib. i. (*s*) Connection of the Old and New Teſtament, Part i. Book 1. page 44. (*t*) Vide *Ariſtoph.* Scholiaſt. in Acharn. Act II. (*u*) In Achaic. c. 19. pag. 572. (*x*) Stromat. 6.

* The Words of his Invocation are theſe,

Solvite pulſanti loca muta, & inane ſeveræ
Perſephones, vulguſque cava ſub nocte repoſtum
Elicite, & plena redeat Styga Portitor alno;
Forte ſimul greſſus, &c.

(*y*) Odyſſ. xi.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Christ. 1116, &c.

Writings, which are confeſſedly the moſt antient Records we have; and, in this Reſpect, are an Argument of their *Veracity*, ſince we find them alluded to, by ſubſequent Authors, who had no Regard to their Authority.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

DISSERTATION III.

Of SAMUEL's *Appearing to* SAUL *at the Witch of* ENDOR's.

An Account of the Beginning of Necromancy.

HOW long the Profeſſion of *Necromancy*, or the Art of raiſing up the Dead, in order to pry into future Events, or to be inform'd of the Fate of the *Living*, has obtain'd in the World, we have no Indications from Hiſtory. We perceive no Footſteps of it in the Ages before the *Flood*, and yet it is ſtrange, that a People, abandon'd to all Kind of Wickedneſs in a Manner, could keep themſelves clear of this: But our Account of theſe Times is very ſhort. The firſt expreſs Mention that we meet with of *Magicians* and *Sorcerers*, is almoſt in the Beginning of the Book of *Exodus*, where *Moſes* is ſolliciting the Deliverance of the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*; and therefore *Egypt*, which affected to be the Mother of moſt *occult* Sciences, is ſuppos'd to have been the Inventreſs of this. From *Egypt* it ſpread itſelf into the neighbouring Countries, and ſoon infected all the *Eaſt:* For, as it undertook to gratify Man's Inquiſitiveneſs, and *ſuperſtitious* Curioſity, it could not long want Abettors. From *Egypt* 'tis certain that the *Iſraelites* brought along with them no ſmall Inclination to theſe deteſtable Practices, and were but two much addicted to them; notwithſtanding all the Care that the *State* had taken to ſuppreſs them, and the Proviſion which God had made, by eſtabliſhing a Method of conſulting him, to prevent their hankering after them.

The Jewiſh *Laws againſt it.*

THE Injunction of the Law is very expreſs. —— (z) *When thou art come into the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou ſhalt not learn to do after the Abominations of thoſe Nations. There ſhall not be found among you any, that uſeth Divination, or an Obſerver of Times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a * Conſulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer; for all that do*

(z) Deut. xviii. 9, &c.

* What our *Engliſh* Tranſlation makes a *familiar Spirit*, the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* render *the Spirit of Python*, but the *Hebrew* calls it the *Spirit of Ob*. The Word *Ob*, or *Oboth*, in its primary Signification, is a *Bottle*, or Veſſel of Leather, wherein Liquors were put; and 'tis not unlikely that this Name was given to *Witches* and *Wizards*, becauſe, when they were in their Fits of *Enthuſiaſm*, they ſwelled in their Bellies like a Bottle. The Occaſion of this Swelling is ſaid by ſome to proceed from a *Demon*'s entering into the Sorcereſs *per Partes Genitales*, and ſo aſcending to the Bottom of her Stomach, from whence, at that Time, ſhe utter'd her Predictions; and for this Reaſon the *Latins* call ſuch Perſons *Ventriloqui*, and the *Greeks* Ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, i. e. *People who ſpeak out of their Bellies*. That there have been ſuch People as theſe might be ſhewn by ſeveral Examples both in antient and modern Hiſtory; but, at preſent, we ſhall content ourſelves with one, taken from *Cælius Rhodiginus*, (Lection. Antiq. lib. viii. c. 10.) His Words are to this Effect: —— "While I am writing, *ſays he*, concerning *ventriloquous* Perſons, there is, in my own Country, "a Woman of a mean Extract, who has an unclean Spirit in her Belly, from whence may be heard a Voice, not very "ſtrong indeed, but very articulate and intelligible. Multitudes of People have heard this Voice, as well as myſelf, "and all imaginable Precaution has been us'd in examining into the Truth of this Fact. *Quando futuri avida portentus "Mens, ſæpe accerſitam Ventriloquam, ac exutam amictu, nequid fraudis occultaret, inſpectare & audire concupivit.* This "*Demon* (as our Author adds) is called *Cincinnatulus*, and when the Woman calls upon him by his Name, he imme- "diately anſwers her." In like Manner ſeveral ancient Writers have inform'd us, that, in the Times of *Paganiſm*, evil Spirits had Communion with theſe *ventriloquæ per partes ſecretiores*; but, at preſent, we ſhall only take Notice of a remarkable Paſſage in St *Chryſoſtom*, which we chuſe to give the Reader in *Latin*. *Traditur Pythia Fœmina fuiſſe, quæ in Tripodes ſedens expanſa malignum ſpiritum per interna immiſſum, & per Genitales partes ſubeuntem excipiens, Furore repleretur, ipſaque reſolutis Crinibus baccharetur, ex ore ſpumam emittens, & ſic Furoris verba loquebatur*, &c. *Saurin*,

SAUL CONSULTING A WITCH AT ENDOR. 1. Sam. XXVIII. 7.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC

I. Mynde fc.

To the right Reverend Father in God STEPHEN *Lord Bishop of* EXETER *this Plate is most humbly Inscrib'd by his Lordsh.ps most Dutyfull Son & Servant* Thos Stackhouse.

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

do theſe Things are an Abomination to the Lord: And therefore their Puniſhment was this:——(*a*) *A Man, or a Woman, that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a Wizard, ſhall ſurely be put to Death. They ſhall ſtone them with Stones, their Blood ſhall be upon them.* Nor was it only the Practicers of ſuch vile Arts, but thoſe likewiſe, that reſorted to them upon any Occaſion, were liable to the ſame Puniſhment; for (*b*) *the Soul that turneth after ſuch as have familiar Spirits, and after Wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even ſet my Face againſt that Soul, and will cut him off from among his People,* ſaith the Lord.

SUCH was the Severity of the *Jewiſh* Laws againſt thoſe, who either practis'd, or encourag'd any Manner of *magical* Arts; and it muſt be ſaid in *Saul*'s Commendation, that he had put the Laws in Execution againſt ſuch vile People, he had deſtroy'd, and drove away (*c*) *thoſe, that had familiar Spirits, and the Wizards out of the Land*; and yet, (obſerve the Weakneſs, as well as the Wickedneſs of the Man!) when himſelf fell into Diſtreſs, and had abundant Reaſon to believe that God had forſaken him, he flees to one of theſe *Creatures* for Relief, and requeſts of her to raiſe up his old Friend *Samuel*, as expecting very probably ſome Advice from him: But, whether this was really done or no, or, if done, in what Manner it was effected, are Points that have ſo much exercis'd the Heads and Pens, both of *antient* and *modern*, both of *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Writers, that little or nothing *new* can be ſaid upon them; and therefore all, that I ſhall endeavour to do, will be to reduce their ſeveral Sentiments into as narrow a Compaſs, and to ſtate them in as fair a Light, as I can, by enquiring into theſe three Particulars. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

1. WHETHER there was a real Apparition.

2. WHAT this Apparition (if *real*) was; and,

3. BY what Means, and for what Purpoſes, it was effected.

The Arguments of thoſe, who take the Whole for a Cheat *of the Witch.*

1. IT cannot be deny'd indeed, but that thoſe, who explode the Reality of the Apparition, and make it to be all nothing but a *Cheat* and *Juggle* of the *Sorcereſs*, have found out ſome Arguments, that, at firſt Sight, make a tolerable Appearance. They tell us, (*d*) that the ſacred Hiſtory never once makes mention of *Saul*'s ſeeing *Samuel* with his own Eyes. It informs us indeed, that *Saul* knew him by the Deſcription, which the Woman gave, and that he held, for ſome conſiderable Time, a Converſation with him; but ſince it is no where ſaid that he *really* ſaw him, "Why might not the Woman counter-"feit a Voice, and pretend it was *Sa-*"*muel*'s? When *Saul* aſk'd her to * raiſe "him up *Samuel*, i. e. to diſturb the "Ghoſt

(*a*) Levit. xx. 27. (*b*) Ibid. ver. 6. (*c*) 1 Sam. xxviii. 3. (*d*) *Scot* and *Webſter* upon Witchcraft.

* What Forms of Inchantment were antiently us'd in the Practice of *Necromancy*, we are at a Loſs to know, becauſe we read of none, that the *Pythoneſs* of *Endor* employ'd; but this might probably happen, becauſe the Ghoſt of *Samuel* came upon her ſooner than ſhe expected, and before ſhe had begun her Incantations. That however there were ſeveral Rites, Spells, and Invocations us'd upon theſe Occaſions, we may learn from almoſt every antient Author; but from none more particularly than from *Lucan*, who brings in *Erictho* animating a dead Body, in order to tell young *Pompey* the Fate of the Civil War. The Ceremonies, ſhe uſes for this Purpoſe, are thus deſcrib'd in our excellent Tranſlator of that Poet.

This ſaid: She runs the mangled Carcaſe o'er,
And wipes from ev'ry Wound the cruſty Gore;
Now with hot Blood the frozen Breaſt ſhe warms,
And with ſtrong Lunar Dews confirms her Charms.
Anon ſhe mingles ev'ry monſtrous Birth,
Which Nature, wayward and perverſe, brings forth.
Nor, Entrails of the ſpotted *Lynx* ſhe lacks,
Nor bony Joints from fell *Hyæna*'s Backs;
Nor *Deers* hot Marrow, rich with ſnaky Blood,
Nor Foam of raging *Dogs*, that fly the Flood.
Her Store the tardy *Remora* ſupplies,
With Stones from *Eagles* warm, and *Dragons* Eyes;
Snakes, that on Pinions cut their airy Way,
And nimbly o'er *Arabian* Deſerts prey. &c.
To theſe ſhe joins dire Drugs without a Name,
A thouſand Poiſons never known to Fame;
Herbs, o'er whoſe Leaves the *Hag* her Spells had ſung,
And wet with curſed *Spittle*, as they ſprung.
With every other Miſchief moſt abhorr'd,
Which Hell, or worſe *Erictho* could afford.

Having

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" Ghoſt of ſo great a Prophet, ſhe might " think he was no common Man; and " when (*e*) *he ſware unto her by the Lord*, " that he would defend her from all Dan- " ger, he gave her Intimation enough " that he was the *King*. *(f)* The crafty " Woman therefore, having picked up " the Knowledge of this, might retire " into her Cloſet or Cell, and there, " having her *Familiar*, i. e. ſome cunning " artful Man, to make proper *Reſponſes*, " in a different Voice, might eaſily impoſe " upon one, who was diſtracted with " anxious Thoughts, and had already " ſhewn ſufficient *Credulity*, in thinking " there was any Efficacy in *magical* Ope- " rations to evocate the Dead.

" The Controverſy between *Saul* and " *David* every one knew; nor was it " now become a Secret, that the Crown " was to devolve upon the *latter:* And " therefore that Part of the Diſcourſe, " which paſs'd between *Saul* and *Samuel*, " any Man of a common Genius might " have hit off, without much Difficulty. " *Endor* was not ſo far diſtant from *Gilboa* " or *Shunem*, but that the Condition of " the two Armies might eaſily be known, " and that the *Philiſtines* were ſuperior " both in Courage and Numbers; and " therefore his *Reſpondent*, without all " Peradventure, might prognoſticate *Saul*'s " Defeat; and, tho' there was ſome Ha- " zard in the laſt Conjecture, *viz.* that " he and his Sons would die in Battle; yet " there was this Advantage on the Side of " the *Gueſs*, that they were all Men of " known and experienc'd Valour, who " would rather ſacrifice their Lives, than " turn their Backs upon their Enemies." From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

Upon the whole therefore, the Maintainers of this *Hypotheſis* conclude, that, as there is no Reaſon, ſo there was no Neceſſity for any *miraculous* Interpoſition in this Affair, ſince this is no more, than what any common *Gipſy*, with another in Confederacy to aſſiſt her, might do to any *credulous* Perſon, who came to conſult her.

Anſwer'd by others.

They, who undertake to oppoſe this Opinion, lay it down for a good Rule, in the Interpretation of Scripture, That we ſhould, as far as we can, adhere to the *primary* Senſe of the Words, and never have Recourſe to any *foreign*, or *ſingular* Explication, but where the *literal* is inconſiſtent either with the *Dictates* of right Reaſon, or the *Analogy* of Faith. Let any indifferent Perſon then, *ſay they*, take into his Hand the Account of *Saul*'s conſulting this *Sorcereſs*, and, upon the firſt reading it, he muſt confeſs, that the Notion, which it conveys to his Mind, is that of a *real Apparition*; and ſince the Paſſages, that both precede and follow it, are *confeſſedly* to be taken in their moſt obvious Meaning, why ſhould a ſtrange and forc'd Conſtruction be put upon this? (*g*) Have we not as much Reaſon to entertain a good Opinion of the Author of this Hiſtory, his Ability, his Integrity, his Knowledge of what he wrote about, and his undeſigning to deceive us, as we can have of any *Critick* or *Commentator* upon it; and therefore, when he gives us to underſtand that the Woman *ſaw Samuel*, upon what Preſumption are we led to diſbelieve it? *Saul* and his Companions might

Having thus prepar'd the Body, ſhe makes her Invocation in theſe Words:

Ye Furies! and thou black, accurſed Hell!
Ye Woes, in which the Damn'd for ever dwell!
Chaos, the World's and Form's eternal Foe!
And thou, ſole Arbiter of all below,
Pluto! whom ruthleſs Fates a God ordain,
And doom to Immortality of Pain.
Ye fair *Elyſian* Manſions of the Bleſt,
Where no *Theſſalian* Charmer hopes to reſt!
Styx! and *Perſerphone*, compell'd to fly
Thy fruitful Mother, and the chearful Sky!
Third *Hecate!* by whom my Whiſpers breathe
My ſecret Purpoſe to the Shades beneath!
Thou greedy *Dog*, who at the infernal Gate,
In everlaſting Hunger ſtill muſt wait!
And thou, old *Charon*, horrible, and hoar!
For ever lab'ring back from Shore to Shore, &c.
Hear all ye *Powers!* if e'er your Hell rejoice
In the lov'd Horrors of this impious Voice, &c.
Hear, and obey, &c.

Pharſalia, Lib. vi.

(*e*) 1 Sam. xxviii. 10. (*f*) Vid. *Le Clerc*'s Comment. in 1 *Sam.* xxviii. *paſſim.* (*g*) The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*. Vol. I.

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might poſſibly be deceiv'd by an *Impoſtor* in *Samuel*'s Guiſe; but was the *ſacred Hiſtorian* therefore deceiv'd, or did he mean to deceive us, when he gives us this plain Account of an Apparition? *Saul* was a bold Man, and too ſagacious to become a *Dupe* to a ſilly Woman. He and his two Attendants came upon her by Night, and before ſhe was prepar'd to act any Juggle or Impoſture. They were too well acquainted with the Voice, and Stature, and Figure of *Samuel*, for any other to *perſonate* him, without being detected. But admitted the Cheat paſs'd upon them, how can we think, but that the Author of this Account, who pretends to relate the Tranſaction as it really happen'd, and is ſuppos'd to have wrote by the *Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt*, would, in ſome Meaſure, have let us into the *Secret* of this Impoſture. His Buſineſs doubtleſs was to expoſe ſuch Practices, as far as Truth would allow, and therefore it is unaccountable (unleſs he meant to delude us with a falſe Perſuaſion) that he ſhould omit every Thing, that tended to diſcover the Fraud, and, in his Narration, inſert every Thing, that tended to confirm the Reality of the Prophet's Appearance.

(*b*) THAT Spirits of another World may aſſume ſuch Vehicles, as may admit them to a ſenſible Commerce with us, in like Manner as our Spirits are cloath'd with theſe Bodies of ours, the beſt Philoſophy will admit; and that they have done ſo upon extraordinary Occaſions, (*i*) the Appearance of *Moſes* and *Elias*, and their converſing with our Saviour on the Mount, do abundantly teſtify. And therefore if God, for wiſe Reaſons of his Providence, thought fit either to appoint, or permit *Samuel* to appear to *Saul* upon this Occaſion, there ſeems to be no more Difficulty in the Thing, than his appearing to him at any other Time, while he was alive, and ſubſiſting in the World: For *Saul* ſaw his Spirit then, no more than he did now, and his Spirit was every whit as able to bear a Body as it was then. From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

'TIS own'd indeed, that, according to the Series of the Narration, *Saul* did not ſee the *Apparition* (be it what it will) ſo ſoon as the Woman did, becauſe probably the Woman's Body, or ſome other Object might interpoſe between him and the firſt Appearance; or perhaps, becauſe the *Vehicle*, which *Samuel* aſſum'd upon this Occaſion, was not, as yet, *condens*'d enough to be viſible to *Saul*, tho' it was to the Woman: But that he did actually ſee him is manifeſt, becauſe when he *perceived* (which Word in the *Original* ſignifies *ſeeing ſo*, as to be aſſur'd of our *Object*) *that it was* Samuel, † *he ſtooped with his Face to the Ground, and bowed himſelf*; which a Man is not apt to do to bare *Ideas* or *Imaginations*.

PERSONS of this Woman's Character, who are under the Diſpleaſure of the Government, generally affect Obſcurity, live privately, and are little acquainted with Affairs of *State*: But ſuppoſe her to have been never ſo great a *Politician*, and never ſo intimate with what had paſs'd between *Saul* and *Samuel* heretofore, never ſo well aſſur'd, that God had rejected him, and elected *David* in his Stead; yet how could ſhe come to the Knowledge of this, *viz.* That the Battle ſhould be fought the next Day, the *Iſraelites* be routed, *Saul* and his Sons ſlain, and their Spoils fall into the Enemy's Hands; ſince each

(*b*) The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*. Vol. I.

(*i*) Matth. xvii. 3.

† That *Saul*'s *ſtooping to the Ground*, and *bowing himſelf*, was a certain Indication of his *ſeeing* Samuel, is apparent from ſeveral Expreſſions of the ſame Nature in the ſacred Hiſtory. Thus, when *Jacob* met *Eſau*, the Text tells us, that the *Handmaids*, *and* Leah, *and* Rachel, *and their Children bowed themſelves*, Gen. xxxiii. 2. When *David* aroſe out of his Hiding-place, upon the Signal, that *Jonathan* gave him, the Text tells us, that *he fell with his Face to the Ground, and bowed himſelf*, 1 Sam. xx. 41. And when the Meſſenger from *Saul*'s Camp came to *David* at *Ziklag*, the Text tells us, that *he fell to the Earth, and did Obeiſance*, 2 Sam. xiv. 4. But the Text takes no Notice, either of the Meſſenger's *ſeeing* David, or *David*'s *ſeeing* Jonathan: Or, *Jacob*'s Family *ſeeing* Eſau. This is ſufficiently imply'd in their making their *Obeiſance* to them; becauſe it is incongruous to ſuppoſe, that any would *bow*, and ſhew other Tokens of outward Reverence and Reſpect to Perſons they did not ſee. *The Hiſtory of the Life of King* David. Vol. I.

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of theſe Events (even in the preſent Situation of *Saul*'s Affairs) were highly caſual and uncertain? For might not this Prince loſe a Battle, without loſing his Life? Or, if he himſelf fell in the Action, why muſt his three Sons be all cut off in the ſame Day? Whatever Demonſtrations of *innate* Bravery he had given in Times paſt, after ſuch ſevere Menaces as he now receiv'd from the *Apparition*; Prudence, one would think, would have put him upon providing for his Safety, either by *chicaning* with the Enemy, or retiring from the Field of Battle, without going to expoſe himſelf, his Sons, and his whole Army, to certain and inevitable Death. Theſe are Things which no human *Penetration* could reach, and which only *he*, who is the abſolute and Almighty Ruler of all Cauſes and Events, could either foreſee or foretel: And how unlikely is it, that God Almighty ſhould make uſe of this *Sorcereſs* (*k*) as a Propheteſs, and give her the Honour of revealing his Counſels, when at the ſame Time, he concurr'd with her in the Impoſition put upon *Saul*, by making him believe that *Samuel* appear'd and talk'd, when there was no *Samuel* there?

But the Truth is, thoſe menacing Predictions, how proper ſoever for a Meſſenger ſent from God to utter, were highly imprudent, either in this *Witch*'s, or her *Accomplice*'s Mouth: For, ſince they knew nothing of *Futurity*, and were, at the beſt, but put to *Conjecture*, it is much more reaſonable to believe, that, at ſuch a Juncture as this, (*l*) they would have bethought themſelves of flattering the King, and giving him Comfort, and promiſing Succeſs, and not of thundering out ſuch *Comminations* againſt him, as might probably incenſe him, but could do themſelves no good. They could not but know, that the Temper of moſt Kings is to hate to hear *ſhocking* Truths, and to receive with the utmoſt Deſpite thoſe, that bring them ill News: And therefore 'tis natural to ſuppoſe, that had theſe threatening Replies been of the Woman's, or her *Confederate*'s forming, they would have given them quite another Turn, and not run the Hazard of diſobliging the King to no Purpoſe, by laying an additional Load of Trouble upon him. In ſhort, (*m*) the whole Tenor of *Samuel*'s Speech to King *Saul* is too rough and ungrateful, too grave and ſolemn, I may add alſo, too full of Truth and Reality, ever to have proceeded from their Contrivance and Invention only.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

The Woman, by her courteous Entertainment of *Saul*, ſeems to be a Perſon of no bad Nature; and therefore, if ſhe had an *Accomplice*, who underſtood to make the moſt of his Profeſſion, his Buſineſs at this Time muſt have been, to *ſooth* and *cajole* the King, which would have both put Money in his Pocket, and ſav'd the Credit of his Predictions. For, had he foretold him of Succeſs, and Victory, and a happy Iſſue out of all his Troubles, he, and the Woman, had been ſure of Reputation, as well as farther Rewards, in Caſe it had happen'd to prove ſo; and if it had not, (ſince no one was privy to their Communion) the Falſhood of the Prediction, upon *Saul*'s Defeat and Death, muſt, in Courſe, have been bury'd with him.

From theſe Reaſons then we may infer, that the Woman, in this Tranſaction, did not impoſe upon *Saul*, ſince he had a Plain Sight of the Apparition: What the Apparition foretold him was above human Penetration; and (upon the Suppoſition of a *Juggle*) the *Witch*, and her Confederate would have certainly acted clean contrary to what they did. And ſo the next

2. *Enquiry* meets us, namely, *What this Apparition was?* Some of the ancient *Doctors*, both of the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Church, have made an *Evil Angel* the Subject of this Apparition, in pure Regard to the Honour of God. "God "*ſay they*, had ſufficiently declar'd his "Hatred againſt *Necromancy*, and all "Kinds

The Arguments of thoſe, who pretend this Apparition was Diabolical.

(*k*) *Waterland*'s Sermons, Vol. II. *Waterland*, Ibid.

(*l*) *Calmet*'s Diſſert. ſur l'Apparition de *Samuel*.

(*m*) *Water-*

A. M. 2888, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1116, &c.

" Kinds of *Witchcraft*, in the ſevere " Laws, which he enacted againſt them; " but 'tis certainly denying himſelf, and " cancelling his own Work, to ſeem in " the leaſt to countenance, or abet them, " as he neceſſarily muſt do, if, upon " the Evocation of an old *Hag*, any " Meſſenger is permitted to go from him. " Far be it from us therefore to have " ſuch Conceptions of God. He is holy, " and juſt, and uniform in all his Ways; " and therefore this *coming at a Call*, " and doing the *Witch*'s Drudgery, muſt " only appertain to ſome *infernal* Spirit, " who might poſſibly find his Account " in it at laſt. 'Twas one of this wick- " ed Crew, that either aſſumed a *Phan-* " *tom*, or a real Body, appear'd in a " *Mantle* like *Samuel*, ſpake articulately, " and held this Converſation with *Saul*; " which, conſidering his Knowledge and " Foreſight of Things, he was well " enough qualified to do, notwithſtand- " ing the ſundry Predictions, relating to " future *Contingencies*, which are contain'd " in it."

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing it was not the Devil.

How far the Honour of God is concern'd in this Tranſaction, will more properly fall under our next Enquiry: In the mean Time, I cannot but obſerve, that, whatever *Incongruity* may be ſuppos'd in the real *Appearance* of *Samuel*, it is not near ſo much, as to find one of the *apoſtate* Spirits of *Hell* expreſſing ſo much Zeal for the Service of the God of *Heaven*, and upbraiding *Saul* with thoſe very Crimes, which he himſelf tempted him to commit; as to find this wicked and impure Spirit making uſe of the Name of God (that ſacred and tremendous Name, whoſe very Pronunciation was enough to make him quake and ſhiver) no leſs than ſix Times in this Intercourſe with *Saul*, without any Manner of Uneaſineſs or Heſitation; as to find this Angel of Darkneſs, and *Father of Lies*, prying into the Womb of *Futurity*, and determining the moſt caſual *Events* poſitively and preciſely. (*n*) We do not indeed deny, but that the Devil's Knowledge is vaſtly ſuperior to that of the moſt accompliſh'd human Underſtanding; that his natural *Penetration*, join'd with his long Experience, is ſuch, that the greateſt *Philoſophers*, the ſubtleſt *Criticks*, and the moſt refined *Politicians* are mere *Novices* in Compariſon of him: Yet what *Genius*, (however exalted and improved) without a divine *Revelation*, could (as we ſaid before) be able to foretel Things, that were lodg'd in God's own Breaſt; *viz.* the preciſe Time of the two Armies engaging, the Succeſs and Conſequence of the Victory, and the very Names of the Perſons, that were to fall in Battle. This is what the Apparition plainly revealed to *Saul*: And yet this, we dare maintain, is more than any *finite* Underſtanding, by its own mere Capacity, could ever have been able to find out.

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

BUT (without this Multitude of Arguments) if we are to take the Scripture in its plain and literal Senſe, read we over the Story of *Saul* and the Witch of *Endor* never ſo often, we ſhall not ſo much as once find the Devil mention'd in it. And therefore 'tis ſomewhat wonderful, that he ſhould be brought upon the *Stage* by many learned Men, merely to ſolve a *Difficulty*, which, upon Examination, appears to be none at all. But now, on the other Hand, it appears, that, thro' the whole Narration, *Samuel* is the only Thing that is mention'd. 'Tis *Samuel*, whom *Saul* deſires to be call'd up; *Samuel*, who appear'd to the Woman; *Samuel*, whom the Woman deſcribes; *Samuel*, whom *Saul* perceives and bows himſelf to, with whom he converſes ſo long, and, *becauſe of whoſe Words, he was* afterwards ſo ſore afraid.

But Samuel;

THE Scripture indeed ſpeaks ſometimes according to the *Appearance of* Things, and may call that by the Name of *Samuel*, which was only the *Semblance*, or

(*n*) *Saurin*, Vol. IV. Diſſert. 36.

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or *Phantom* of him: But, that this cannot be the Senſe of the Matter here, we have the Teſtimony of the wiſe Son of *Sirach*, (an excellent Interpreter of *canonical* Scriptures) who tells us expreſſly, that (*o*) Samuel, *after his Death, prophesied, and ſhewed the King his End*; purſuant to what we read in the Verſion of the *Septuagint*, viz. that, (*p*) Saul *aſked Counſel of one, that had a familiar Spirit, and* Samuel *anſwered him.* So that, upon the whole, we may be allow'd to conclude, that it was the real Soul of *Samuel*, cloath'd in ſome viſible *Form*, which, at this Time, appear'd to the King of *Iſrael:* But by what *Means*, or for what *Purpoſes*, it appear'd, is the other Queſtion, we are now to determine.

That Samuel *was not rais'd up by the Devil.*

3. Several of the (*q*) *Fathers* of the *Chriſtian* Church were of Opinion, that the Devil had a certain *limited* Power over the Souls of the Saints, before *Jeſus Chriſt deſcended into Hell*, and reſcued them from the Tyranny of that Prince of Darkneſs. (*r*) St *Auſtin*, in particular, thinks, that there is no Abſurdity in ſaying, that the Devil was as able to call up *Samuel*'s Soul, as he was to preſent himſelf *among the Sons* of God, or ſet our Saviour *on one of the Pinacles of the Temple*; and a (*s*) learned *Jewiſh* Doctor ſuppoſes, that Devils have ſuch a Power over human Souls, for the Space of a Year after their Departure, as to make them aſſume what Bodies they pleaſe; and thereupon he concludes, (but very erroneouſly) that it was not a Year, from the Time of *Samuel*'s Death, to his Appearance. But theſe are ſuch wild and extravagant Fancies, as deſerve no ſerious Confutation. 'Tis abſurd to ſay, that the Souls of Saints (ſuch as we are now ſpeaking of) were ever in *Hell*, and more abſurd to ſay, that, if they are in Heaven, it is in the Power of any *magical*, nay, of any *diabolical* Incantations to call them down from thence. (*t*) Great, without all doubt, is the Power of *apoſtate* Angels; but miſerable, we may ſay, would the State of the Bleſſed be, if the other had any Licence to diſturb their Happineſs, when, and as long, as they pleas'd: For *God forbid*, (*u*) ſays *Tertullian, that we ſhould believe, that the Soul of any holy Man, much leſs of a Prophet, ſhould be ſo far* under his Diſpoſal, *as to be brought up* at Pleaſure *by the Power of the Devil.*

(*t*) From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

Nor by the Witch's Enchantments, but by God's Direction.

Since the *Devil* then has no Power to diſturb the Happineſs of *Souls* departed, this Apparition of *Samuel* could not proceed from any *magical* Enchantments of the Sorcereſs, but muſt have been effected by the ſole Power and Appointment of God, who is the ſovereign Lord both of the Living and of the Dead: And, accordingly, we may obſerve from the Surpriſe, which the Woman diſcover'd upon *Samuel*'s ſudden appearing, that the Power of her *Magick* was not concern'd therein, but that it was the Effect of ſome ſuperior Hand. The Scripture relates the Matter thus: (*x*) *When the Woman ſaw* Samuel, *ſhe cried with a loud Voice; and the Woman ſpake unto* Saul, *ſaying, Why haſt thou deceived me, for thou art* Saul? *And the King ſaid unto her, Be not afraid: What ſaweſt thou? And the Woman ſaid unto* Saul, *I ſaw Gods aſcending out of the Earth.* Now, it is plain, from this Narration, that the Woman ſaw ſomething ſhe was not accuſtom'd to ſee. (*y*) Her *Necromancy* had *ordinarily* Power over *Dæmons* only, or ſuch wretched Spirits, as were ſubmitted to the Devil's Tyranny; but, on this Occaſion, ſhe ſaw an Object, ſo auguſt, ſo terrible, ſo majeſtick, ſo contrary indeed to any Thing ſhe had ever rais'd before, and that coming upon her before ſhe had begun her Enchantments, that ſhe could not forbear being frighten'd, *and crying out with a loud Voice*, as being fully

(*o*) Eccluſ. xlvi. 20. (*p*) 1 Chron. x. 13. (*q*) *Juſtin Martyr*, in Dial. cum Tryph. and *Origen*, in 1 Reg. Cap. xxviii. (*r*) De Diver. Quæſt. lib. ii. p. 4. (*s*) *R. Manaſ. Ben Iſrael*, de Reſurr. Mort. (*t*) *Saurin*, Vol. IV. Diſſert. 36. (*u*) De Anima, c. 57. (*x*) 1 Sam. xxviii. 12, 13. (*y*) *Calmet*'s Diſſert. ſur l'Apparit. de *Samuel.*

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fully ſatisfy'd, that the Apparition came from God.

An Objection.

"BUT, ſince the Scripture aſſures us, "that God had wholly withdrawn him- "ſelf from *Saul*, and would anſwer him "neither by *Prophets*, nor by *Dreams*; "how can we imagine, that he ſhould, "all on a ſudden, become ſo kind, as to "ſend *Samuel* to him, or that *Samuel* "ſhould be in any Diſpoſition to come, "when it was impoſſible for him to do "any Good by his coming."

Anſwer'd, by Reaſoning upon what Accounts God ſent a Meſſenger to Saul.

(*z*) NOW there ſeems to be ſome *Analogy* between God's dealing with *Saul* in this Particular, and his former Treatment of the Prophet *Balaam*. *Balaam* was for diſobeying the Orders which God had given him to bleſs the *Iſraelites*; and was ſearching into *magical* Secrets for what he could not obtain of God, *viz.* a Power to change into Curſes the Bleſſings, which God pronounc'd by his Mouth. In this Caſe there was but ſmall Likelihood, that God would continue to communicate himſelf to a Perſon ſo unworthy of any extraordinary Revelation; and yet he did it: But then it was with a Deſign to reveal to him thoſe very Miſeries, from which his *mercenary* Mind was ſo deſirous to reſcue the *Midianites*. The Application is eaſy: And it farther ſuggeſts this Reaſon, why God appointed *Samuel*, at this Time, to appear unto *Saul*, *viz.* that, thro' him, he might give him a *Meeting* where he leaſt of all expected one; and might ſhew him, that the Fate, which his own Diſobedience had brought upon him, was determin'd; that there was no reverſing the Decrees of Heaven, no procuring Aid againſt the *Almighty*'s Power, no *fleeing* (tho' it were to *Hell*) *from his Preſence*, no hiding himſelf in *Darkneſs* from his Inſpection, (*a*) *with whom Darkneſs is no Darkneſs at all, but the Night is as clear as the Day, and the Darkneſs and Light are both alike.*

And why it was Samuel.

(*b*) THAT the Souls of Men *departed* have a *Capacity*, and, no doubt, an *Inclination* to be employ'd in the Service of Men *alive*, as having the ſame Nature and Affections, and being more ſenſible of our Infirmities, than any *pure* and *abſtracted* Spirits are, can hardly be conteſted; that, in their abſent State, they are embodied with *aërial*, or *ætherial* Vehicles, which they can condenſe, or rarify at Pleaſure, and ſo appear, or not appear to human Sight, is what ſome of the greateſt Men, both of the *Heathen* and *Chriſtian* Religion, have maintain'd; and that frequent Apparitions of this Kind have happen'd, ſince the World began, cannot be denied by any one, that is converſant in its Hiſtory. If therefore the Wiſdom of God (for Reaſons already aſſign'd) thought proper to diſpatch a Meſſenger to *Saul*, upon this Occaſion; there may be ſome Account given, why the Soul of *Samuel* (upon the Suppoſition it was left to its *Option*) ſhould rather be deſirous to be ſent upon that Errand: For, whatever may be ſaid in Diminution of *Saul*'s religious Character, 'tis certain, that he was a brave Prince and Commander; had liv'd in ſtrict Intimacy with *Samuel*; profeſs'd a great Eſteem for him in all Things; and (*c*) was, by *Samuel*, not a little lamented, when he had fallen from his Obedience to God. Upon theſe Conſiderations we may imagine, that the Soul of *Samuel* might have ſuch a Kindneſs for him, as to be ready to appear to him in the Depth of his Diſtreſs, in order to ſettle his Mind by telling him the *Upſhot* of the whole Matter, *viz.* that he ſhould loſe the Battle, and he and his Sons be ſlain; that ſo he might give a Specimen (as the *Jews* love to ſpeak in Commendation of him) of the braveſt Valour, that was ever atchiev'd by any Commander; fight boldly when he was ſure to die; and ſell his Life at as dear a Price as poſſible; that ſo in his Death, he might be commemmorated with Honour, and deſerve the *Threnodia*, which his *Son-in-law* made on him; (*d*) *The Beauty of* Iſrael *is ſlain upon*

From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

(*z*) *Saurin*, Vol. IV. Diſſert. 36. Triumphatus.

(*a*) Pſal. cxxxix. 12.

(*b*) Vide *Glanvil*'s Sadducismus Triumphatus.

(*c*) 1 Sam. xvi. 1.

(*d*) 2 Sam. i. 19.

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upon the high Places. How are the Mighty fallen! From the Blood of the Slain, from the Fat of the Mighty, the Bow of Jonathan *turned not back, and the Sword of* Saul *turned not empty. How are the Mighty fallen in the Midst of the Battle!* From 1 Sam. i. to the End.

CHAP. IV.

From the Death of SAUL, *to that of* ABSALOM. *In all Thirty Three Years.*

The HISTORY.

A. M. 2949, &c. Ant. Christ. 1055, &c.

Upon the Death of Saul, David *is proclaim'd King of* Judah, *and* Ishboseth *has the other Tribes.*

DAVID was at *Ziklag*, when News was brought him of the Defeat of the *Israelitish* Army, and of the Death of *Saul*. The Messenger was an *Amalekite*, † who pretended that he was the Person who dispatch'd the King, after he found himself mortally wounded; and (however he came by them) produc'd *Saul*'s Crown and Bracelet to verify what he said. He expected, no doubt, an ample Compensation for this Message and Present; but, instead of that, *David* order'd his Guards to fall upon him, becaufe (according to his own Declaration) he had been accessary to the King's Death. From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

UPON this Conjuncture, *David*, † by God's Directions, remov'd with his Family and Forces † to *Hebron*, whither the Princes of *Judah*, in a short Time, came to congratulate his Return into his *native* Country, and to offer him the Crown of their particular Tribe; for, by this Time, *Abner*, the late King's Uncle, and General of his Army, who had proclam'd his Son *Ishbosheth* Successor to the Throne,

† By the Account, which we have of King *Saul*'s Death, in the Conclusion of the foregoing Book, *viz.* that he *fell upon his own Sword*, and expir'd, 1 *Sam.* xxxi. 4. it seems very evident, that the whole Story of this *Amalekite* was a Fiction of his own inventing, on Purpose to ingratiate himself *with* David, the presumptive Successor to the Throne: But then the Question is, how he came by *Saul*'s Crown and Bracelet, since it is incongruous to think that he would ever wear them in the Time of Action, and thereby expose himself as a publick Mark? As therefore it is presum'd, that they were carry'd into the Field of Battle by some of his Attendants, in order to be put on, in Case he had obtain'd the Victory, and return'd in Triumph; so the *Jews* have a Conceit, that *Doeg*, the infamous Murtherer of the Priests at *Nob*, 1 Sam. xxii. 18. who, at this Time, was his Armour-Bearer, had them in his Possession, and, before he killed himself, gave them to his Son, (this young *Amalekite*) and order'd him to carry them to *David*, but to his Cost found, that *David*'s Reception was quite different to what he expected. For, being shortly to ascend the Throne himself, he was willing to have it believ'd, that to slay *the Lord's anointed*, upon any Account whatever, was in itself an execrable Crime, and therefore, to clear himself from the Imputation of being any Ways accessory to so foul a Fact, (as his Enemies would have been apt to imagine, had he given countenance to this pretended King-killer) he order'd him immediately to be put to Death, and therein, at least, acted the Part of a good Politician, if not of a righteous Judge. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries on 2 *Sam.* i.

† Though *David*, after *Saul*'s Demise, had a Right to the Kingdom by Virtue of God's *Designation*; yet, as God had no where declar'd, at what Time he was to make use of this *Right*, he would not enter into Possession, nor take the Administration of publick Affairs upon him, without having first consulted him. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† *Hebron* was situate in the Midst of the Tribe of *Judah*; and, as it was a very ancient City, the *Metropolis* of the whole Tribe, and the Possession of those Priestly Familes, who espous'd *David*'s Interest. It was a very commodious City for him to make the Place of his Residence at this Juncture; as being not unsensible, that the Determination of the Metropolis in his Favour would be of great Weight to influence the whole Tribe. And, accordingly, we find, that he was soon invested with the Sovereignty thereof. *For the Men of* Judah (saith the Text) *came, and there they anointed* David *King over the House of* Judah, 2 *Sam.* ii. 4. The History of the Life of King *David*. Vol. II.

A. M. 2949, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1055, &c.

Throne, had taken up his Reſidence at † *Mahanaim*, on the other Side of *Jordan*, and, by his Intereſt and great Authority, prevail'd with all the other Tribes to *recognize* him.

A Battle between the two Rival Kings.

DAVID however, at the Requeſt of the Princes of his own Tribe, was anointed King of *Judah*. For two Years there were no Hoſtilities on either Side, but, not long after this, a War commenc'd between the two *Rival Princes*, in which there were ſeveral Engagements, but none ſo remarkable, as that, which was occaſion'd by *Abner*'s ſending *Joab* (who was the General of *David*'s Forces) a Challenge † to fight twelve Men with an equal Number of his in ſingle Combat. The Men met, and (to a Man) kill'd one another upon the Spot; whereupon a fierce Battle enſu'd, in which *Abner* and his Men were defeated, and put to Flight. In the Purſuit, *Aſahel*, a younger Brother of *Joab*'s, being very nimble and ſwift of Foot, made after *Abner*. When he came up with him, *Abner*, who knew him, deſir'd him to deſiſt, and not pretend to attack him, becauſe he was loth to kill him; but the young Man, ambitious of taking a *General* Priſoner, preſs'd ſo hard upon him, that, † with a Back-ſtroke of his Spear, *Abner* gave him a Wound, whereof he immediately died.

THE victorious Army, when they came to the Place, where *Aſahel*'s Body lay ſlain, ſtood ſtill, and ceas'd their Purſuit; ſo that *Abner* had an Opportunity to rally his ſcatter'd Forces, and making a Stand upon an advanc'd Ground, where he could not well be attack'd, ſounded a Parly, and reminded *Joab*, that they were all Brethren, of the ſame *Nation*, of the ſame *Religion*, ſo that if they perſiſted in *Hoſtilities*, both Armies would have Reaſon to rue it. Whereupon they parted, *Abner* (who had loſt *three hundred and ſixty* Men in the Engagement) to *Mahanaim*, on the other Side of *Jordan* and *Joab*, who (except his Brother *Aſahel*) had loſt no more than *nineteen*, to *Hebron*. From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

DURING the Courſe of this *Civil* War, which laſted for ſome Years, *David*'s Forces, in moſt *Rencounters*, had the Advantage, and his Intereſt in the Nation increas'd, as that of *Iſhboſheth* ſenſibly declin'd. *Abner* indeed, as being both a brave and experienc'd Warrior, and a Man of great Power and Influence in all the Tribes, more eſpecially in that of *Benjamin*, was his main Support; but with him he unhappily differ'd, upon Account of *Rizpah*, one of *Saul*'s Concubines, whom *Abner* had debauch'd. To have any Commerce with the *Relicts* of Princes (of what Denomination ſoever they were) was, in theſe Days, look'd upon as an Indignity offer'd to the royal Family, and an † Affectation of the Kingdom. For this Reaſon *Iſhboſheth* remonſtrated

Joab kills Abner very baſely, which highly diſpleaſes David.

† This was a Place in the Tribe of *Gad*, which had its Name from the Appearance of an Hoſt of Angels to *Jacob*, as he came, with his Family and all his Subſtance to *Padan-aram*, Gen. xxxii. 1. and the Reaſons for *Abner*'s retreating hither, in the Beginning of the new King's Reign, were, that he might ſecure the People on that Side of the *Jordan*, and eſpecially the gallant Inhabitants of *Jabeſh-gilead*, who were great Lovers of *Saul*, and attach'd to his Family; that he might prevent the *Philiſtines* from falling upon the King, whom he had under his Protection, in the Infancy of his Reign; and chiefly, that he might be at a great Diſtance from *David*, have the new King more abſolutely under his Command, and a better Opportunity of raiſing Recruits among a People, not only brave and courageous, but very well affected to the Cauſe, which he had eſpous'd. *Calmet*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

† The Expreſſion in the Text is, *Let the young Men now ariſe, and play before us:* By which *Abner* ſeems to have meant, not that they ſhould fall upon, and deſtroy one another, but merely, that they ſhould practiſe a little their military Exerciſes, or *play at Sharps*, as *Gladiators* antiently at *Rome*, and now among us, are wont to do, not with any Purpoſe to kill one another, but only to *divert* the Spectators. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† The Expreſſion in the Text is, ——— That, *with the hinder Part of the Spear, he ſmote him under the fifth Rib*; which *Virgil*, ſpeaking of a mortal Wound, has not unhappily imitated:

——— ——Haud multa moratus
Excipit in latus, &, quà fata celerrima, crudum
Tranſadigit coſtas & crates pectoris enſem. Æn. xii.

† What Notion the World, at this Time, had of marrying any *Royal* Relict, is evident from the Caſe of *Adonijah*, whom *Solomon* put to Death for deſiring but to aſk for *Abiſhag*, one of *David*'s Concubines, tho' he had employ'd *Bath-ſheba*, the King's Mother, to be his Interceſſor, and was himſelf his Brother, 1 *Kings* ii. 17. It may be ſaid,

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ſtrated the Matter to *Abner*; but *Abner*, who was an hot Man, and impatient of Reproof, was ſo incens'd at what he ſaid, that he upbraided him with Ingratitude, and threaten'd not only to † withdraw his own Allegiance from him, but, as far as in him lay, to carry all *Iſrael* over to *David*'s Intereſt. And as he threaten'd, ſo he did. From that very Moment he enter'd into a *private* Correſpondence with *David*, and, not long after, had a *publick* Interview with him. At this Interview *David* entertain'd *Abner* and his Attendants (which were in all but twenty Perſons) very ſplendidly; and, in Return, *Abner* aſſur'd him, that he would uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to prevail with the other Tribes to come over to his Side. But, no ſooner was he gone, than *Joab*, returning from an Expedition againſt the *Philiſtines*, wherein he had been ſucceſsful and taken Abundance of Spoil, and being ſoon inform'd, that *Abner* had been there, and how kindly the King had receiv'd him, he not only expoſtulated the Matter with the King in high Terms, as having entertain'd a Man that came only as a *Spy* upon him, but ſent likewiſe a Meſſenger after *Abner*, deſiring him to return, becauſe the King had ſomething more to communicate to him; and ſo, having *way-laid* him, under Pretence of ſaluting him he ſtabb'd him to the Heart, * out of Jealouſy partly, and partly in Revenge of the Blood of his Brother *Aſahel*.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

DAVID was extremely diſpleas'd at this cruel and inhoſpitable Action; but his Affairs were in ſo unſettled a State, and *Joab*, at that Time, had ſo much Credit with the Army, that he could not call him to an Account for what he had done: And therefore contented himſelf with declaring publickly † his Deteſtation of it, and with making a magnificent Funeral for *Abner*, wherein he himſelf follow'd the *Corps*, as chief Mourner.

DAVID

perhaps, that *Adonijah* was at this Time aſpiring at the Throne, which *Solomon* perceiving, took Occaſion from this his Requeſt to fall out with him, and prevent it. But, however this be, a general Rule it was, not among the *Jews* only, but among other Nations, that no private Perſon ſhould preſume to marry the King's Widow; for this made him appear as a *Rival*, and Competitor for the Crown. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† *Abner* is an Inſtance of what a ſtrange Alteration the Study of Revenge will work in a Man. It was but juſt lately, that we found him going about the Country to confirm the *Iſraelites* in their Attachment to the Houſe of *Saul*, and Oppoſition to *David*; but now, upon a ſlight Diſguſt, he is not only for deſerting himſelf, but for carrying all the Strength of his Intereſt over to the oppoſite Party: For *ſuch is the Genius of many great Miniſters*, ſays one, *that, upon ſlight Occaſions, they are irritated, and do rather rule over Kings, than are ruled by them.* *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* *Abner* was a Man longer vers'd in *military* Affairs than himſelf, who, in the Time of *Saul*'s Diſtraction, had been *Regent* of the Nation, and ſince the Time, that he had ſet up *Iſhboſheth* to be King, Prime Miniſter: And therefore *Joab* had Reaſon to ſuſpect, that, in Caſe he once got into *David*'s Favour, (as the Service, he was able to do him, gave him a Title to it) it would not be long before he would gain a ſuperior Aſcendant; and therefore he took this wicked Method to prevent him. For (to uſe the Reflection, which *Joſephus* makes upon this Occaſion) *What will not Men dare to do, who are covetous, ambitious, and will be inferior to none?* They preſs forward to the *End*, without ever conſidering the *Means*, and *will commit a Thouſand Crimes in Purſuit of what they deſire. Nor are they leſs bold in maintaining, than they were in acquiring their Places and Preferments by evil Practices; inſomuch that, rather than ſuffer the Diſgrace of loſing what they have unjuſtly gotten, they will plunge themſelves ſtill deeper and deeper in Wickedneſs, to retain it.* *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vii. c. 1.

† And Reaſon good he had to expreſs his Deteſtation of ſo foul a Fact. For, beſides that, *Abner* was himſelf a Man of great Power and Authority, and, at this Time, the Head of the contrary Party, it carry'd an Air of Suſpicion, that *David* might have ſome Concern in the Murder; eſpecially ſince *Joab*, his Firſt Miniſter, and General of his Forces, was the wicked Inſtrument of it. *Abner* had been reconcil'd to *David* indeed, but this made the Matter ſtill worſe, and added the Breach of Faith and Hoſpitality to the Sin of Murder, which was enough to alienate the Minds of the *Iſraelites* from him for ever: And therefore *Joſephus* gives us this Account of *David*'s Behaviour, upon ſo critical an Occaſion, not only to teſtify his Abhorrence of ſo baſe a Practice, but to purge himſelf likewiſe, upon the ſtricteſt Niceties of Faith and Honour, that he had been true to *Abner*. "The Moment he heard of *Abner*'s "Death, he ſtretch'd out his Right-Hand towards Heaven in an Appeal, and Proteſtation, that *he was neither privy, "nor conſenting to the Fact*, and curs'd moſt bitterly the *Aſſaſſin*, (whoever he was) his Family, and Accomplices. He "appointed, by *Proclamation*, a publick Mourning for him, with all the *Solemnities* of tearing Garments, and putting "on Sack-Cloth, &c. Himſelf, with his great Miniſters, and Officers, aſſiſted at the Funeral, and gave ſufficient "Demonſtration, by wringing their Hands, beating their Breaſts, and other Expreſſions of Sorrow, both of the Ve-"neration they had for *Abner*'s Memory, and the Senſe they had of ſo ineſtimable a Loſs; ſo that, in the Concluſion, "all the People were perfectly ſatisfy'd, that *David* was far, either from approving, or conſenting to ſo execrable a "Deed." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vii. c. 1. and *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2949, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1055, &c.

Upon the Death of Iſhboſheth, David *is made King of all* Iſrael.

DAVID indeed had Reaſon to lament the Death of *Abner*, which, in all Probability, had defeated the Meaſures that were concerted for the *Union* of the two Kingdoms, had not the ſudden and untimely Death of *Iſhboſheth*, pav'd the Way for it afreſh. *Iſhboſheth*, upon the Loſs of *Abner*, began to deſpair of his Affairs, grew negligent of himſelf, and fell under the Contempt of his Subjects; ſo that *Rechab* and *Baanah*, † two *Benjamites*, that were of his Houſhold, came upon him, as he was aſleep in the Heat of the Day, and, having cut off his Head, †. carry'd it as a Preſent to *David* at *Hebron*; but, inſtead of the Reward which they expected, he * rebuk'd them ſeverely, and order'd their Hands and Feet to be cut off, and themſelves hung up in a publick Place, for the Terror of all *Regicides*; but the Head of *Iſhboſheth* was honourably interr'd in *Abner*'s Tomb. From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

WHEN *Iſhboſheth* was dead, all the Tribes of *Iſrael* ſent their Deputies to *David*, acknowledging his Title, and promiſing him their Allegiance, upon Condition that he would reign *righteouſly* † over them; ſo that now he was anointed King over all the Tribes, after that he had reign'd at *Hebron*, over That of *Judah* only, for the Space of ſeven Years and ſix Months.

BEING

† This is added, to ſhew us, that theſe two *Regicides* were not only Officers in the King's Army, but of the ſame Tribe with *Saul*, and therefore had more Ties than one upon them, to be honeſt and faithful to his Family. For there is Reaſon to believe, that *Saul*, who liv'd in the Borders of *Benjamin*, conferr'd more Favours upon that Tribe, than any other, and might therefore juſtly expect, both to him and his, a greater Eſteem and Fidelity from thoſe of his own Tribe, than from others. This *Patronymick* is therefore very properly prefix'd to the Names of *Rechab* and *Baanah*, to ſhew what vile ungrateful Villains they were, and how juſtly they deſerv'd the ſevere, and *exemplary* Puniſhment, which *David* inflicted on them. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that theſe two *Ruffians* were not diſcourag'd by *David*'s puniſhing the *Amalekite* for killing of *Saul*, and by the Deteſtation, he had publickly ſhewn of *Joab*'s Baſeneſs in murthering *Abner*: But the *former* of theſe Caſes, they might think, was not parallel to theirs; becauſe *Saul* was anointed King by God's immediate Direction, whereas *Iſhboſheth*, having never had ſuch *ſacred* Unction, was no more than an *Uſurper*: And, as for the *latter*, they might think, that *David*'s Conduct, in Relation to *Abner*'s Death, proceeded from Art and Policy, rather than any ſerious Diſlike of the Thing itſelf; and, in this Opinion, they might the rather be confirm'd, when they ſaw *Joab*, inſtead of being puniſh'd, continuing in the very ſame Poſt and Power that he had before. *Pool*'s Annotations.

* The Manner in which *Joſephus* makes *David* expreſs himſelf upon this Occaſion, is to this Effect: ——— "Wicked Wretches that you are! prepare yourſelves immediately to receive the juſt Reward of your Villainy. Do "not you know that I requited the Murder of *Saul*, when he, who had taken away that ſacred Life, had the Con- "fidence to bring me his golden Crown, for an Oſtentation of the Service he had done me in it? And yet it was at "the Inſtance of *Saul* that he did it, and to prevent the Indignity of his being taken alive by his Enemies. And am "not I the ſame Man now that I was then? Or do you think that I am turn'd ſo abandon'd a Wretch ſince, as to "countenance the moſt profligate of Men and Actions, or to account myſelf under any Obligation to you, for dipping "your Hands (upon my Account, as you would have it thought) in the Blood of your Lord? For cutting the Throat "of a Perſon (and in his Bed too) ſo juſt, that he never did any Man Wrong, and ſo generous a Patron and Bene- "factor to your ungrateful Selves, that all the Advantages you can pretend to in this World, are but what you ſtand "indebted for to his Bounty and Goodneſs. You ſhall therefore now be ſure to pay, both for your Breach of Faith "to your Maſter, and the Scandal you have caſt upon me. For what greater Wound can any Man give me in my "Reputation, than to expoſe me for a Perſon, that can take Pleaſure in the Tidings, or give Countenance to the "committing of ſo barbarous an Aſſaſſinate?" *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vii. c. 2. Which Speech of *David*'s has a good deal of the Spirit of *Alexander the Great* in it, whoſe exacting of Puniſhment of *Beſſus* for his Murder of *Darius*, drew from the *Hiſtorian* this Reflection. Reputabat enim, *non tam hoſtem ſuum fuiſſe* Darium, *quam Amicum ejus, à quo eſſet occiſus*. Juſtin, lib. xii. c. 6.

† This was *David*'s Part of the Covenant, which the Elders of *Iſrael* ſuggeſted to him in a very elegant *Metaphor*, which here occurs the firſt Time, though afterwards it is frequently us'd in *ſacred* Writ, eſpecially in the *Prophets*, as well as ſome profane Authors. The Expreſſion is, ——— *Thou ſhalt feed my People* Iſrael; which was the rather made uſe of, to put *David* in Mind, that he was created a King, not ſo much for the Advancement of his own Honour and Intereſt, as for the Good and Benefit of the Community, which he was to rule with all Tenderneſs, and watch over with all Diligence. The very Manner of the Expreſſion implies, that Kings ought to have the ſame Care of their People, as the Shepherd has over his Flock; and that, as the Shepherd is not the Owner of the Sheep he keeps, ſo ſhould no King look upon his Subjects as his own *Peculium*, but as a Flock committed to him by the only true Lord of all Mankind, and to whom he muſt give an Account of his Adminiſtration. For *this is the greateſt Grace of a King, that he certainly believes himſelf to be made a King by God for the Sake of the People; and let him often call to Mind, that the People were not created, or ordain'd by God for the King*, ſays *Conradus Pelicanus* upon theſe Words. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

A. M. 2949, &c. Ant. Christ. 1055, &c.

He takes Jerusalem, and enlarges it.

BEING thus invested with full regal Power, and having ‡ a Multitude of brave and gallant Soldiers to attend him, he made his first Expedition against *Jerusalem*, to dispossess the *Jebusites* of the Fort of *Zion*, which commanded the City, and was thought so impregnable, that, when he summon'd the Besieg'd to surrender, they, in Derision, reply'd, that the Meanest of them all († their *Blind* and *Lame*) were able to defend it against all he could do. This incens'd *David* to such a Degree, that he caus'd Proclamation to be made through the Camp, that, whoever first took the Fort, should be made *Captain-General* of all his Forces; whereupon *Joab*, who was a bold, pushing Man, undertook to storm it, and carry'd it Sword in Hand. After this, *David*, for the Reception of his Guards and Domesticks, enlarg'd the Buildings of the Place, and made it his Royal Palace; while *Joab* repair'd, and beautify'd the old City *Jebus*, or *Jerusalem*, for the more commodious Habitation of his Subjects.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

Subdues the Philistine Princes.

† *HIRAM*, who had lately made himself King of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, hearing how prosperous *David* was in all his Affairs, sent an Embassy to congratulate his Accession to the Throne, and withal a Present of Cedar-Trees, with Carpenters and other Artificers to assist him in his Buildings. But the *Philistine* Princes had other Notions of *David*'s growing Greatness, which they took for a sure *Presage* of their own Downfal; and therefore, to put a Stop to it as soon as possible, they rais'd one great Army, which (as they approach'd to *Jerusalem*) he defeated; and, the next Year, when they came † with a much larger, God manifestly interpos'd in his Favour. For, instead of advancing directly upon them, he order'd him to take a Compass round by a Wood of *Mulberry-Trees*, which would cover and conceal his March, and, when he heard a Sound, or Rushing in the Trees, (which would affrighten the *Philistines*) then to fall upon them; which he accordingly did, and gave them so total a Defeat,

‡ In this Account of *David*'s *Worthies*, which are mention'd both in the second Book of *Samuel*, and the first of *Chronicles*, there is a great Difference of Names, and the Reason is, because the *Catalogue* in *Chronicles* was made in the Beginning of *David*'s Reign, that in *Samuel*, at the latter End; and so the former mentions those Men, who had help'd *David* to his Settlement in the Kingdom, whereas the *latter* takes Notice of those, who had stuck to him all the Time of his Reign, and died in his Service. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, lib. v. c. 5.

† *The Blind and the Lame*, says *Luther* upon this Place, *were the Idols of the* Jebusites, *which, to irritate* David, *they set upon their Walls, as their Patrons and Protectors*; and these they call *blind* and *lame sarcastically*, and with Respect to *David*'s Opinion: As if they had said, "These Gods of ours, whom ye *Israelites* reproach, as *blind* and "*lame*, and so unable to direct or defend us, will secure us against you, and, to your Cost, make you find, that "they are neither *blind* nor *lame*, but have Eyes to watch for us, and Hands to fight against you, so that you must "conquer and subdue them, before you take this Place." But this Interpretation seems to be a little too *metaphorical* and forc'd, for which Reason we have rather chosen the Construction which *Josephus* (lib. vii. c. 2.) puts upon this Passage, *viz.* that they imagin'd their Fortress to be so impregnable, that, by Way of Contempt, they told *David*, that their very *Blind* and *Lame* would be able to defend it against him and all his Forces: And this is a Sense so extremely plain and obvious, that the renown'd *Bochart* wonders, why any Man of Learning should seek for any other. The only Exception to it is, that these *Blind* and *Lame* (which were rather Objects of Compassion) are said to have been *extremely hated by* David. But we may observe, that *David* here retorts the *Sarcasm* upon them; *The Lame and Blind*, i. e. those who are set to defend the Place, and who, as they pretended, were to be only the *Lame* and the *Blind*. And these were hateful to *David*, because they had wickedly and insolently defy'd the Armies of the living God. *Pool*'s Annotations, *Patrick*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries.

† *Abibalus* was his primitive Name, but before he enter'd into a League of Amity with *David*, he chang'd it to *Hiram*, that so it might be the standing Name of him and his *Successors*, as *Pharaoh*, and after that *Ptolemy* in *Egypt*, *Abimelech* among the *Philistines*, and *Cæsar* among the *Roman* Emperors. The Name, in their Language, signifies, *he lives that is exalted*; or, *let him live who is exalted*, i. e. *Let the King live for ever*; and his sending to *David* only under this Name, is the true Reason why no other Name is mention'd in Scripture. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, lib. v. c. 4.

† It cannot well be suppos'd, that the *Philistines*, out of their small Territories, could produce such vast Numbers of Men as they brought against the *Israelites*; and therefore the Remark, which *Josephus* makes, helps to explain this Matter, *viz. that* Syria *and* Phœnicia, *as well as several other warlike Nations, were engaged in this Confederacy*: But this cannot be meant of *Hiram*, who was in a League of the strictest Amity with *David*, but of such *Phœnicians* only as would not submit to him, and therefore join'd with the *Philistines*, first to subdue his *Ally*, and then to subdue him, before his Government could be settled. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, lib. v. c. 4.

A. M. 2949, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1055, &c.

And brings home the Ark to Jeruſalem; *but is not allow'd to build a Temple.*

feat, that, for many Years after, they never pretended to give *Iſrael* any more Diſturbance.

THIS Time of Reſt, and publick Security *David* thought a proper Seaſon, where in to bring home the Ark of God (which for almoſt fifty Years had continu'd in the Houſe of *Abinadab*) into a Place which he had prepar'd for it in his own City. To this Purpoſe, attended with the † *principal* Men of the Nation, and the chief Officers of his Court, together with a ſtrong Guard for the Convoy of the Ark, in caſe any Enemy ſhould attempt to ſurpriſe them, he came to *Kirjath-jearim*: But, either through Inadvertency, or Neglect of the (*a*) Divine Law, which oblig'd them to carry it upon Men's Shoulders, they, in Imitation of the *Philiſtines*, put it in a *Cart*, and when the Cart had like to have been overturn'd, *Uzzah*, who was one of its Drivers, taking hold of the Ark to prevent its falling, was immediately ſtruck dead upon the Spot; ſo that, *David*, terrify'd at this Judgment, durſt not at that Time carry it into *Jeruſalem*, but left it near the City, in the Houſe of *Obed-Edom*, a *Levite*, whom God bleſſed with a large Increaſe of all his Subſtance, for the little Time that it continu'd with him. In the Space of three Months, the King recollecting that none were to carry the Ark, but the *Levites*, tho' they themſelves were expreſſly forbidden (*b*) *to touch it*, he adventur'd to remove it from *Obed-Edom*'s, which he did in great Form and Solemnity. The *Levites*, who were to bear the Ark on their Shoulders, he caus'd to be *ſanctify'd*; Himſelf, cloth'd in a *Linnen Ephod*, and † dancing before it, brought it into a convenient Place, which he had prepar'd for it; offer'd a great Quantity of * Sacrifices upon this Occaſion; and, with the reſt of the Company that attended this Solemnity, feaſted and rejoic'd.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

† HIS

† It is ſuppos'd by ſome, that this bringing back of the Ark was appointed to be on one of the three great *Feſtivals*; and the Reaſon, why *David* might ſummon ſo many of his principal Miniſters and Officers to accompany him in the Expedition, might be, to poſſeſs the young People, who perhaps had heard little or nothing of the Ark, by Reaſon of its having been abſent ſo long, with a mighty Veneration for it, when they ſaw the King, and ſo many of the chief Nobility waiting on it, with ſuch a Variety of Muſick, and ſuch publick Declarations of Joy. *Millar's* Hiſtory of the Church.

(*a*) Numb. iv. 15. (*b*) Numb. iv. 15. and xviii. 3.

† *Strabo* tells us, that it was cuſtomary among the *Greeks*, as well as other Nations, to uſe Muſick and Dancing in the Proceſſions before their Gods, lib. x. *Callimachus* mentions the *Chori*, and Dancings of the Youth at the Altar of *Apollo*; *Plato* obſerves, that, among the *Egyptians*, all Kinds of Muſick, Songs, and Dances, were conſecrated to their Gods, *De Legibus*, lib. iii. And even *Lucian* (*de Saltatione*) expreſsly ſays, that among the Ancients, no Ceremonial of Religion, no Expiation, no Atonement was accounted rightly accompliſh'd without Dancing. So that *David* was far from being *ſingular* in his Behaviour upon this Occaſion; nor was his Behaviour in this particular any Diſparagement to his *Regal* Dignity. His *Dancing*, i. e. his moving in certain ſerious and ſolemn Meaſures, ſuited to Muſick of the ſame Character and Tendency, was an Exerciſe highly conducive to the Purpoſes of Piety, and his mixing with the publick Feſtivities of his People, was a Condeſcenſion (as *Tacitus* relates of *Auguſtus* the *Roman* Emperor) not unbecoming the greateſt Monarch. *Policy* taught *Auguſtus* to put himſelf upon a Level with his Subjects, in their publick Rejoicings; *Piety* taught *David*, that all Men are upon a Level in the Solemnities of Religion. So that *David* was not ſingular in his Behaviour upon this Occaſion. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*. Vol. II.

* The Words in the Text are, ——— *And it was ſo, that, when they, that bare the Ark of the Lord, had gone ſix Paces, he ſacrificed Oxen and Fatlings*, 2 Sam. vi. 13. From which Words ſome would infer, that *David*, having meaſur'd the Ground between *Obed-Edom*'s Houſe, and the Place he had built for the Reception of the Ark, had Altars rais'd, at the Diſtance of every *ſix Paces*, whereon he caus'd Sacrifices to be offer'd, as the Ark paſs'd by. But it is eaſy to imagine, what a World of Confuſion this would create in the Proceſſion; and therefore the more rational Conſtruction is, that, after thoſe, who carry'd the Ark, had advanc'd ſix Paces, without any ſuch Token of Divine Wrath as *Uzzah* had undergone, then did they offer a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving to God, which might conſiſt of ſeveral living Creatures, all ſacrificed and offer'd up at once. But even ſuppoſing, that, at ſet Diſtances, there were Sacrifices all along the Way that they went; yet we are to know, that it was no unuſual Thing for *Heathens* to confer on their Gods, nay, even upon their Emperors, the ſame Honours, that we find *David* here beſtowing upon the Ark of the God of *Iſrael*. For in this Manner (as *Suetonius* tells us) was *Otho* receiv'd, *cum per omne Iter, dextrâ ſiniſtrâque, oppidatim Victimæ cæderentur*: And the like he relates of *Caligula*: *Ut a Miſeno movit, inter Altaria, & Victimas, ardenteſque tædas, denſiſſimo obviorum agmine inceſſit*. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2949, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1055, &c.

† His Wife *Michal*, who was *Saul*'s Daughter, and proud perhaps upon Account of her Pedigree, † upbraided him, upon this Occaſion, with his Humility, as a Diminution of his *regal* Dignity; but he, in Reply to the *ſarcaſtick* Manner wherein ſhe ſpake it, only told her, "That, "what he had done was in Honour of "that God, who had choſen him to go-"vern *Iſrael*, rather than any of her "Family; and that ſuch Condeſcenſions "as theſe, would never bring him under "any juſt Contempt."

By this Time, the Palace, which *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, had furniſh'd *David* with Men and Materials to build, was finiſh'd; and, as he was reflecting upon the Meanneſs of God's Habitation in Compariſon of his own, it came into his Mind to build a noble Fabrick for his religious Worſhip, which Deſign he communicated to † *Nathan*. *Nathan*, at firſt, approv'd of it; but, the Night following, he was commanded to forbid it, with this Aſſurance, that God accepted of his ſincere Intentions; promis'd that his Son ſhould ſucceed him, and build him a Temple; and that his Poſterity ſhould reign † for many Generations. From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

His Victories abroad.

DAVID was a Man of War, and therefore, ſince God had refus'd him the Privilege of building him a Temple, and had reſerv'd that Work for his Son *Solomon* (whoſe Name denotes *peaceable*) to execute, he thought himſelf bound to ſubdue all his Enemies on every Side, that, when his Son came to undertake that great Affair, he might meet with as little Moleſtation as poſſible.

In the Beginning of his Reign, the *Philiſtines* had twice invaded him, and therefore he began with them. Their royal City of *Gath*, which was call'd *Metheg-Ammah*, or the *Bridge of Ammah*, (becauſe it ſtood upon an Hill of that Name, and was a *Bridle* to curb the Tribe of

† After that, *David* was by *Saul* baniſh'd from Court, and forc'd to ſeek for Shelter in foreign Countries: *Saul*, to caſt the more Contempt upon him, gave his Wife away to one *Phalti*, (or *Phaltiel*) Son of *Laiſh* of *Gallim*; but *David*, when he came to the Crown of *Judah*, had her reſtor'd to him again; for which Purpoſe, he ſent Meſſengers to *Iſhboſheth*, who then reign'd over the *Eleven* Tribes at *Mahanaim*, to demand her, and who, according to that Demand, took her from *Phaltiel*, and ſent her back to *David*. The *Hebrews* pretend that *Phaltiel* never came near *Michal*, who, in Strictneſs, could not be his Wife, becauſe ſhe had never been divorc'd by *David*; but others believe, that ſhe had five Sons by *Phaltiel*, which were given up to the *Gibeonites* to be executed, as is related, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 8, 9. But, in this Place, there ſeems to be an Error crept into the Text, which ſhould be read *Merob*, inſtead of *Michal*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Michal*.

† The Words of *Michal*, wherein ſhe upbraids *David*, are theſe: —— *How glorious was the King of* Iſrael *to Day, who uncovered himſelf to Day, in the Eyes of the Handmaids of his Servants, as one of the vain Fellows ſhamefully uncovereth himſelf!* 2 Sam. vi. 20. At firſt reading, they ſeem to intimate, that *David*, in his Dancing, had expos'd his naked Body, and acted, ſome Way or other, immodeſtly: But theſe Words, we are to conſider, were ſpoken in a Fit of Paſſion, and when *Michal* was minded to aggravate Matters; for it is not to be doubted, but that *David* kept himſelf within the Bounds of Modeſty, how joyous ſoever he might be. It was a Command which God gave the *Iſraelites*, that they ſhould rejoice in their Feaſts, *Deut.* xii. 7. but then, their Joy was not to be laſcivious or petulant, but pious and moderate. In the Caſe before us, *David* was in the more immediate Preſence of God, and about a very ſacred Buſineſs; and therefore it is incongruous to think, that he would commit any Thing immodeſt: And, that he could not expoſe his Nakedneſs (as his Wife would inſinuate) is evident from his having, not only an *Ephod* on, but *being clothed with a Robe of fine Linnen*, beſides his uſual Under-garments, 1 *Chron.* xv. 27. and therefore, tho' his putting off his *Regal* Robes might give ſome Occaſion to *Michal*'s Expreſſion of his *uncovering himſelf*, yet it muſt be own'd, that this opprobrious Term proceeded from nothing, but the overflowing Spleen of a proud paſſionate Woman. *Calmet*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

† At what Time this Prophet began to appear in *Iſrael*, we are no where inform'd. This is the firſt Time, that the Scripture makes mention of him. He was a Man of great Temper, Prudence, and fine Addreſs, who knew how to mitigate the Rigour of his Reproofs with a great deal of Sweetneſs and Wiſdom, which qualify'd him ſo well for the Converſation of Kings, and other great Perſons. He was always equally eſteem'd, and belov'd by *David*, and, in his Conduct towards him, maintain'd a juſt Medium, between an inflexible Auſterity, and a ſervile Flattery. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† The Words in the Text are, —— *I will eſtabliſh the Throne of his Kingdom for ever*; which, in their primary Senſe, do relate to the terreſtrial Kingdom of *David*'s Family, and the long Duration of it, enough to juſtify the Expreſſion *for ever*, taken in a leſs ſtrict Signification: But if we take it in a more ſublime and abſolute Senſe, it can belong to none, but that Son of *David*, to whom God the Father gave an *eternal* Kingdom (properly ſo called) over all Things both in Heaven and Earth, which, tho' it was not ſo well known in the Times, when this Prophecy was utter'd, was, by the Event afterwards, made plain and evident. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2949, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1055, &c.

of *Judah*, and keep them in Obedience) he took, and made it a Barrier againſt themſelves. The *Moabites* he utterly ſubdu'd; and, having diſmantled all their ſtrong Places, he † ſlew the greater Part of them, reſerving ſuch only, as were requiſite to till the Ground. From hence he march'd his Army to ſecure his Territories, which border'd upon the *Euphrates*. The *Syrians* of *Zobah*, under the Command of † *Hadadezer*, came with a ſtrong Force, and gave him Battle; but he ſoon routed them, and, beſides a great Number of Foot-Priſoners, took *a thouſand Chariots, and ſeven thouſand Horſemen* that attended them; but, reſerving to himſelf no more Horſes, than were neceſſary for an hundred Chariots, the reſt he *ham-ſtring'd*, to make them unſerviceable for War. † The *Syrians* of *Damaſcus*, hearing of *Hadadezer*'s ill Succeſs, came to his Aſſiſtance: But *David* put them to the Rout likewiſe, and, having ſlain two and twenty Thouſand of them, he became Maſter of their Country; put Garriſons into their fortify'd Cities, and made them *Tributary*; and (what was another Victory in this Expedition) in his Return from *Syria*, he engag'd a great Body of *Edomites* † in the *Valley of Salt*; ſlew eighteen Thouſand of them, and brought them under the like Subjection. From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

THUS loaded with Honours and Spoils *David* return'd from this Campaign; but all the rich Materials, that he had compil'd together, *viz.* Gold, Silver, and Braſs, he dedicated to the Lord, or laid them up for the future Uſe of the Temple: And (what was no ſmall Addition to his Store) *Toi*, the King of *Hamah*, hearing of his Victories, ſent his own Son to congratulate him thereupon, and, in a large Preſent of Veſſels of Gold, and Veſſels of Silver, &c. to acknowledge his Kindneſs in breaking

† There is no ſmall Obſcurity in the Words of the Text, which are theſe: ——— *He ſmote* Moab, *and meaſured them with a Line, caſting them down to the Ground; even in two Lines meaſured he to put to Death, and with one Line to keep alive:* Which Words ſeem to allude to a Cuſtom among the Kings of the *Eaſt*, when they were throughly incens'd againſt any Nation, *viz.* to make the Captives all come together in one Place, and proſtrate themſelves upon the Ground; that, being divided into two Parts, as it were with a Line, their Conqueror might appoint which Part he pleas'd, either for Death, or Life, which was ſometimes determin'd by caſting of Lots. Some are of Opinion that *David* made three Lots, or Parts of theſe *Moabites*, two of which he order'd to be ſlain, and one Part only to be kept alive. The Reaſon of this his Severity againſt theſe miſerable People, the *Rabbins* aſſure us, was, becauſe they had ſlain his Parents, and Brethren, whom he had committed to the Cuſtody of the King of *Moab*, during his Exile. But of the Reality of this *Motive*, there is no Manner of Appearance; and ſince this Execution, which *David* inflicted, may relate either to the whole Nation, or the Army only, to clear *David* from the Imputation of too much Cruelty, we ſhould rather conceive it of the Third, or Half Part at moſt of the Army. *Le Clerc*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

† In the Fragment of *Nicholaus Damaſcenus*, which *Joſephus* has preſerv'd, this Prince is ſimply called *Adad*, which was the common Name of the Kings of *Syria*, who, according to the Manner of other *eaſtern* Princes, took their Titles from the *celeſtial* Bodies, and, in their Language, *Adad* ſignifies the *Sun*. The Fragment, recorded by *Joſephus*, is to this Effect: ——— *A long Time after, one* Adad, *a valiant Man, and a Native of the Place, had the Command of* Damaſcus *and* Syria, Phœnicia *only excepted. There happened to be a War between the ſame* Adad, *and* David, *the King of the* Jews, *and ſeveral Encounters between them; but, in the End,* Adad *was overcome at* Euphrates, *behaving himſelf* with the Reſolution of a brave Prince, *and a great Captain.* The ſame Author, ſpeaking farther of his Poſterity, ſays, ——— *That the Government was handed down, from Father to Son, to the Tenth Generation, and that the Succeſſor ſtill received the Father's Name with the Empire, as the* Ptolemies *did among the* Egyptians. *Jewiſh* Antiq. Lib. vii. c. 6.

† *Aram Damaſek*, which we tranſlate *Syria of Damaſcus*, was that Part of *Syria*, which lay between *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, whoſe chief City was *Damaſcus*, ſituate in a Valley, called by ſeveral Names in Scripture, and water'd by five Rivers, the two principal of which, *viz. Abana and Pharphar* (mention'd in 2 *Kings* v. 12.) deſcended from Mount *Hermon*; whereof the latter waſh'd the Walls of *Damaſcus*, and the other ran through it, and divided the City into two Parts. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† *The Valley of Salt* here is thought by many to be the Places adjoining to the *Dead Sea*: But, as the Country of the *Edomites*, whom *David* ſubdu'd in his Return from his Expedition into *Syria*, muſt neceſſarily lie towards the *Eaſt of Canaan*, we muſt look for ſome other *Valley of Salt* in the Confines of that Country. Now, about a League ſouthward from the City of *Palmyra*, or *Thadmor*, in the Road to *Edom*, we find a large Plain, abounding with Salt-Pits, whence a great Part of *Syria* is furniſh'd with that Commodity; and therefore 'tis very probable, that the Battle between *David*'s Generals, and the *Edomites*, was fought in this Plain; which is about two Days Journey from *Bozrah*, the capital City of the *eaſtern Edom*, whence the People might march out to meet *David*'s Forces, and oppoſe them in their Return home. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

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ing the Power of his moſt inveterate Enemies.

And chief Miniſters at home.

ALL the while that *David* was thus engag'd in *foreign* Wars, he took Care to have Juſtice adminiſter'd to his Subjects at *home*, and had a certain Number of very great Men employ'd in the higheſt Offices of Truſt. *Joab* (as we ſaid before) was *Captain-General*; *Jehoſaphat* † *Chancellor* of the Kingdom; *Abiathar* was *High-Prieſt*; *Sezaiah*, Secretary of State; *Benaioh*, † Captain of his Guard; and his own Sons, the *prime* Miniſters of his Houſhold, ſuch as Lord *Chamberlain*, Lord *Treaſurer*, Lord *Steward*, as we call them; and to theſe he added one more, *Mephiboſheth*, the Son of *Jonathan*, to whom he reſtor'd all his Grandfather *Saul*'s Eſtate; and, tho' he was a Cripple, † and lame of both his Feet, yet, (for the Love he had for his Father) he entertain'd him with great Kindneſs, and order'd him to ſit with his own Sons at the *royal* Table every Day.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

His ſubduing the Ammonites, *and their Confederates.*

DAVID, not long after this, hearing that his † old Friend *Nahaſh* was dead, ſent his Compliments of Condolence to his Son and Succeſſor *Hanun*; but the great Men that were about the young King, made him believe, that the ſole Intent of *David*'s ſending this Embaſſy was to ſpy out the Weakneſs of the City, and in what Place it might moſt advantageouſly be aſſaulted: So that the too credulous Prince order'd the Ambaſſadors to be treated in the moſt ignominious Manner, and, with * their Beards half-ſhav'd, and their Clothes cut ſhort even to the Middle of * their

† The Word, in our Tranſlation, is *Recorder*, which, in the *Marginal* Note, is *Remembrancer*, or *Writer of Chronicles*; an Employment of no mean Eſtimation in the *Eaſtern* World, where it was cuſtomary with Kings to keep daily Regiſters of all the Tranſactions of their Reigns; and a Truſt, which whoever diſcharg'd to Purpoſe, muſt be let into the true Springs, and Secrets of Action, and conſequently, muſt be receiv'd into the inmoſt Confidence. For whether the Office of a *Lord Chancellor*, was conſiſtent with the Conſtitution of the *Jewiſh* State, a modern Author ſeems to doubt. Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*, Vol. II.

† Theſe Guards are called in the Text the *Cerethites, and the Pelethites*, but who they were, is variouſly conjectur'd. That they were Soldiers, is evident, from their being mention'd as preſent at the Proclamation of King *Solomon* againſt *Adonijah*, which could not conveniently have been done without ſome arm'd Force, to protect the Perſons, that proclam'd him: And that they were not common Soldiers, but the conſtant Guards of *David*'s Perſon, is manifeſt from the Title of Σωματοφύλακες, *Keepers of the Body*, which *Joſephus* gives them. Some are of Opinion, that they were Men of a *gigantick* Stature; but we find no Ground for that, tho' they were doubtleſs proper and robuſt Men, (as we ſpeak) and of known Fidelity to their Prince, 2 *Sam.* xv. 18. and xx. 7. Others again think, that they were *Philiſtines*; but it is hardly ſuppoſeable, that *David* would have any of theſe hated, uncircumcis'd People to be his Body-Guard; neither can we believe, that the *Iſraelitiſh* Soldiers would have took it patiently, to ſee Foreigners of that Nation put in ſuch Places of Honour and Truſt. *Cherethite* however, is certainly but another Name for *Philiſtine*, as appears from *Zephaniah* ii. 5. and therefore the Queſtion is, how came any of *David*'s Subjects to be called after that Name? And the Anſwer to this is obvious. ——— They were ſo called, becauſe they went at firſt with him into *Philiſtia*, and continu'd there with him all the Time, that he was under the Protection of *Achiſh*. Theſe were the Perſons, who accompany'd him from the Beginning, in his utmoſt Diſtreſs, and clave to him in all Calamities; and therefore it is no Wonder, if Men of ſuch approv'd Fidelity were made Choice of for his *Body-Guard*; nor is it any uncommon Thing in Hiſtory, for *Legions*, or Bands of Soldiers to take their Names, not from the Place of their *Nativity*, but their *Reſidence*, and very frequently from the Name of their Captain, or Commander. Since therefore, in 1 *Chron.* xii. 3. we find mention made of one *Pelet*, the Son of *Azmaveth*, who reſorted to *David*, while he was at *Ziklag*, but ſtill under the Protection of *Achiſh*; 'tis but ſuppoſing him to be their Captain, and then we come to the Reaſon, why they were called *Pelethites*, unleſs we ſuppoſe them rather denominated from *Peleth*, Son of *Jonathan*, who was of the King's own *Tribe*. *Patrick*'s Commentary, *Pool*'s Annotations, and The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*.

† *Mephiboſheth* was very young, when his Father *Jonathan* was killed at the Battle of *Gilboa*, which put his Nurſe into ſo great a Conſternation, that ſhe let the Child fall, as ſhe was making haſte to eſcape with him, and from that Time, he was lame of both Feet ever after, 2 *Sam.* iv. 4.

† What the particular Benefits which *David* had receiv'd from *Nahaſh* were, we are no where told in Scripture; but ſome of the *Jews* ſay, that he fled to him, when he durſt ſtay no longer with *Achiſh* King of the *Philiſtines*, and that he receiv'd him very kindly; others, that he entertain'd his Relations, when the King of *Moab*, to whom he had committed them, ſlew ſome of them: But the moſt likely Opinion is, that, as he was a bitter Enemy to *Saul*, who had given him a great Overthrow, he, for that very Reaſon, became a Friend to *David*, when he perceiv'd how *Saul* perſecuted him, and thereupon might ſend him Relief and Aſſiſtance, and perhaps offer him Protection in his Kingdom. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* This was one of the greateſt Indignities that the Malice of Man could invent, in thoſe Countries, where all

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their Buttocks, to be ſent about their Buſineſs.

THE Ambaſſadors being aſham'd to return home, were order'd to continue at *Jericho*, until their Beards grew again; but, as for the Indignity put upon them, *David* gave them Aſſurance, that he would reſent it in a proper Manner. Accordingly he ſent an Army under the Command of *Joab*, to call theſe unhoſpitable *Ammonites* to an Account. The *Ammonites* were appriz'd of his Deſign, and therefore provided againſt the worſt, by procuring three and thirty thouſand *Mercenaries* of the *Syrians*, who lay encamp'd at ſome Diſtance in the Fields, whilſt their own Forces cover'd the City.

UPON this Situation of the Enemy, *Joab* divided his Army into two Bodies, one of which he gave to his Brother *Abiſhai*, to keep the *Ammonites in Play*, while himſelf with the other, which conſiſted of his choice Men, attack'd the *Syrians*. Their Agreement was to relieve each other, in caſe there was Occaſion: But *Joab*, at the firſt Onſet, charg'd the *Syrians* ſo home, that, as they were but *Mercenaries*, and thought not the Cauſe their own, they ſoon gave Way, which made the *Ammonites*, who depended much upon their Courage, endeavour to ſecure themſelves by retreating into their City; for the Seaſon of the Year being too far advanc'd, made it impracticable for *Joab* to beſiege it.

HADADEZER had aſſiſted the *Ammonites* with ſome Forces the laſt Campaign; and being apprehenſive, that *David* would fall foul upon him, he reſolv'd to be beforehand with him. To this Purpoſe levying a vaſt Army, not only in *Syria*, but in *Meſopotamia* likewiſe, he ſent it, under the Command of *Shobach* his General over the River *Euphrates*, as far as *Helam*, a Town in the Borders of the half Tribe of *Manaſſeh*. This *David* had ſoon Intelligence of, and therefore uniting all his Forces, he march'd with the utmoſt Expedition, and coming upon the Enemy ſooner than was expected, ſlew ſeven thouſand Men, who attended ſeven hundred Chariots; which ſo diſhearten'd the reſt, that he ſoon diſpatch'd forty Thouſand more, together with their *General*, who fell in the Action, and died upon the Spot. Upon this Succeſs, ſeveral *petty* Kings, who had aſſiſted *Hadadezer* in this Expedition, fearing ſome worſe Conſequences, made a Peace with *David*, and became Tributary to him; and even *Hadadezer* himſelf, being thus forſaken by his Confederates, gave him Aſſurance that he would no longer eſpouſe the Cauſe of the *Ammonites*, but leave them to ſhift for themſelves: Whereupon *David* ſent *Joab* againſt them with a powerful Army, who laid the Country waſte, deſtroy'd all that came in his Way, and (to make ſhort of the Matter) laid Siege to their royal City of *Rabbah*.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

His falling in Love with Bathſheba, *and murthering her Huſband* Uriah.

WHILE *Joab* was carrying on the Siege of *Rabbah*, *David* continu'd in *Jeruſalem*, and walking one Evening † on the Top of

People thought their Hair ſo great an Ornament, that ſome would have rather ſubmitted to die, than part with it. What a foul Diſgrace, and heavy Puniſhment this was accounted in antient Times, we may learn from *Nicholaus Damaſcenus*, as mention'd by *Stobæus* (Tit 42.) who ſays, that among the *Indians*, the King commanded the greateſt Offenders to be *ſhaven*, as the heavieſt Puniſhment that he could inflict upon them; and, to the like Purpoſe, *Plutarch* (in *Ageſil.*) tells us, that, whenever a Soldier, among the *Lacedemonians*, was convicted of *Cowardice*, he was oblig'd to go with one Part of his upper Lip ſhav'd, and the other not. Nay, even at this Day, no greater Indignity can be offer'd to a Man of *Perſia*, than to cauſe his Beard to be ſhav'd; and therefore, *Tavernier*, in his Travels, relates the Story, that when the *Sophi* caus'd an Ambaſſador of *Aureng-zeb*'s to be us'd in this Manner, telling him, that he was not worthy to wear a Beard, the Emperor (even in the Manner as *David* here did) moſt highly reſented the Affront, that was done to him in the Perſon of his Ambaſſador. And, as ſhaving *David*'s Ambaſſadors was deſervedly accounted a grievous Affront, ſo the cutting off half the Beard (which made them look ſtill more ridiculous) was a great Addition to it, where Beards were held in great Veneration; and, where long Habits down to the Heels were worn (eſpecially by Perſons of Diſtinction) without any Breeches or Drawers, the cutting their Graments, even to the Middle, thereby to expoſe their *Nakedneſs*, was ſuch a brutal and ſhameleſs Inſult, as would badly become a Man of *David*'s martial Spirit, and juſt Sentiments of Honour, to have tamely paſs'd by. *Patrick*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

† The Manner of Building, in all *eaſtern* Countries, was to have their Houſes *flat-roof'd*, with a *Terraſs*, and *Parapet*

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of his *Palace* to take the freſh Air, he chanc'd to * eſpy a beauteous Woman bathing herſelf in her Garden. The unguarded King, as ſoon as he ſaw her, was ſmitten; and, enquiring who ſhe was, was inform'd, that ſhe was *Bathſheba*, the Daughter of *Ammiel*, and Wife of *Uriah* † the *Hittite*, an Officer in his Army, who was then with *Joab* at the Siege of *Rabbah*. *David* ſent for her, lay with her, and diſmiſs'd her: But, in a ſhort Time, finding herſelf with Child, ſhe appriz'd him of it, and deſir'd him withal to conſult her Honour and Safety in deviſing ſome Means to conceal it. Hereupon he ſent a Diſpatch to *Joab* for *Uriah* to come to him, as if he had ſomething particular to enquire of him; but his whole Intent was to give him an Opportunity of lying with his Wife, that ſo the Child, when it was born, might be reputed his. *Uriah* came; and after the King had aſk'd him ſome few Queſtions concerning the Condition of the Army, and the Advances of the Siege, he order'd him to go home, † and refreſh himſelf after his Journey, and ſent an handſome *Collation* after him for his Entertainment: But ſo it was, that, inſtead of going near his Wife, he choſe to ſleep in the *Guard-Room*.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

DAVID was inform'd of this the next Morning; and was therefore reſolv'd to make uſe of another Expedient. He invited him to ſup at his own Table, and prevail'd with him to drink to ſuch a Pitch, that he did not doubt but that the *Heat* of the Liquor would have inflam'd his *Appetite*, and made him go home to his Wife; but ſtill he lay in the *Guard-Room*, and, in Excuſe to the King, ſaid, that he thought it was his Duty ſo to do, while the reſt of the Soldiers were encamp'd: So that, finding himſelf ſtill diſappointed, the King order'd him at laſt back to the Army, and * ſent with him Letters

Parapet Wall, for the Convenience of walking in the cool Air; and, as *David*'s Palace was built on one of the higheſt Places of Mount *Sion*, he might eaſily look down upon the lower Parts of the Town, and take a View of all the Gardens, that were within a due Diſtance. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

* Thus *Jupiter* is ſaid to have ſeen *Proſerpina* waſhing herſelf, and expoſing her whole Body to his View, which inflam'd his Luſt after her:

Λουμένης ὅλον εἶδε· ἐδέρκετο Περσεφονείης.

But whether it was in her Garden, or Court-Yard, overlook'd by the Palace, or in ſome Apartment in her Houſe, whoſe Windows open'd that Way, that this Woman bath'd herſelf, is not ſo certain. Tradition points out the Place of a Fountain ſtill called after her Name, which would make it probable, that ſhe bath'd in a Garden, did not *Joſephus* expreſsly declare, that it was in her own Houſe, as indeed the natural Modeſty and Decency of her Sex, as well as the Circumſtance of the Time (for then it was *Evening*) make his Account more probable; nor can it be doubted, but that the declining Rays of the Sun, ſhooting into the inmoſt Receſſes of her Chamber, and throwing a great Luſtre around her, might diſcover her very clearly to very diſtant Eyes, without the leaſt Suſpicion, on her Part, of any Poſſibility of being ſeen, and, conſequently, with all the Reſerve of Modeſty proper to her Sex. The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*, Vol. III.

† *Uriah*, though an *Hittite* by Nation, was *proſelyted* to the *Jewiſh* Religion, and ſo, marrying with a *Jewiſh* Woman, liv'd in *Jeruſalem*; or, as he was one of the King's *Life-Guard*, which, for Reaſons above-mention'd, ſeem to have been all *Natives*, and of the Tribe of *Judah*, this additional Name might perhaps be given him, for ſome gallant Action atchiev'd againſt the *Hittites*, in the ſame Manner as a *Roman*, in After-Ages, came to be called *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, *Parthicus*, &c. upon Account of Victories obtain'd over the *Africans*, *Germans*, or *Parthians*. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† The Words in the Text are, ——— *Go down to thy Houſe, and waſh thy Feet*, 2 Sam. xi. 8. for in theſe Countries, where it was not the Cuſtom to wear Shoes, but *Sandals* only, and, in ſome Places, to go *bare-foot*, waſhing the Feet was a great Refreſhment after a Journey, and a common Compliment, that the Maſter of the Houſe uſually made to any Stranger at his firſt Entrance. But this Cuſtom of waſhing the Feet, was not only after a Journey, to cleanſe them from Dirt and Duſt, but very much us'd likewiſe, before People ſet down to Meat; and therefore *David*'s Meaning in the Expreſſion is, that *Uriah* ſhould go down, and feaſt with his Wife (for which Reaſon he ſent a *Collation* to his Houſe) and, after ſo long an Abſence, indulge himſelf in her Company. For *David*'s Intention hitherto was, neither to murther *Uriah*, nor marry his Wife, but only to ſkreen her Honour, and his own Crime. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

* It may be thought perhaps, that *Uriah* ſuſpected ſomething of his Wife's Adultery, and therefore, reſolving that it ſhould be diſcover'd, would not be perſuaded to go down to his Houſe: But if he did, he certainly acted the Part of a truſty Servant, when he would not open the King's Letter to know what was in it, though, upon Suppoſition that he ſuſpected his *criminal Commerce* with his Wife, he had Reaſon to expect no Good. This puts one

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Letters to *Joab*, wherein he commanded him to manage Matters ſo, that *Uriah* might be kill'd by the *Ammonites*, which accordingly came to paſs: For, in an Aſſault upon the Town, *Uriah*, being deſerted by the other Soldiers, who had private Orders to retire when the Onſet began, * fell immediately by the Enemies Sword.

His taking of Rabbah, *and cruelly uſing it.*

As ſoon as *Uriah* was dead, *Joab* ſent an Expreſs thereof to the King, who return'd him Orders to carry on the Seige with more Vigour, until he had made himſelf Maſter of it; and then to raze it even with the Ground, and to put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, without ſparing ſo much as one Man. Upon this Order, *Joab* advanc'd his Approaches, and renew'd his Aſſaults every Day, until he had got Poſſeſſion of * the *Water-Works*, which ſupply'd the Town; and then ſent a Courier to acquaint the King, that the City was reduc'd to the utmoſt Extremity; was in no Condition to hold out much longer, and therefore he deſir'd him to come *in Perſon*, that he might have the Honour of taking it. The King, according to his *General*'s Deſire, went with a ſtrong Re-inforcement, took the Place by Storm, gave the Plunder of it to his Soldiers, but reſerv'd to himſelf what belong'd to the King, among which was the Crown of ineſtimable Value. Having thus waſted the City, and divided the Spoil, he put the Men, who had held it out againſt him, to the moſt exquiſite Torments; and other Places, that would not immediately ſurrender, he treated with the ſame Severity.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

UPON the Death of *Uriah*, his Wife * *Bathſheba* pretended to mourn for him; but

Nathan *reproves him, and threatens God's Puniſhments upon him for his Sins, which accordingly were executed.*

naturally in Mind of the Story of *Bellerophon*'s carrying Letters from *Prætus* to his Father-in-law *Jobates*, King of *Lycia*, with an Order to kill him; from whom it came into a Proverb, *to carry* Bellerophon's *Letters*, or a *Death-Warrant* againſt one's ſelf, according to that Paſſage in *Plautus*:

Aha! *Bellerophontem* jam tuus me fecit Filius,
Egomet Tabellas detuli ut vincirer. *Bacchid.*

For the Fate of *Uriah* and *Bellerophon* are ſo very much alike, that the Fable of the *latter* ſeems to be founded upon the Story of the *former*. *Bellerophon*, who, as ſome *Scholiaſts* think, ſhould be read *Boulepheron* (a Council-Carrier) was a Stranger at the Court of *Prætus*, as *Uriah* (being an *Hittite*) was at the Court of *David*. He declin'd the Embraces of *Sthenobæa*, as *Uriah* did the Bed of *Bathſheba*; and was, for that Reaſon, ſent to *Jobates*, General of *Prætus*'s Army, with Letters, which contain'd a Direction to put him to Death, as *Uriah* was ſent to *Joab*, *David*'s General. By *Jobates* he was ſent, with a ſmall Guard, upon an Attack, in which it was intended he ſhould be ſlain, as *Uriah* was by *Joab*, to that, in which he fell. The main of the Hiſtory is the ſame in both; the Similitude of *Jobates* and *Joab*'s Name is very remarkable; and the Variation in the whole only lies in ſome ſuch *Ornamental* Embelliſhments, as might well be expected in a *Poetical* Compoſition. *Calmet*'s Commentary, and The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*.

* The Fate and Fall of the gallant *Uriah* is thus related by *Joſephus*: —— "*Joab* put *Uriah* upon a deſperate "*Forlorn*, and, to cover his Deſign, gave him ſeveral brave Men to back him, with a Promiſe to ſupport him with "the whole Army, in Caſe there were any Poſſibility of entering the Town; and, at the ſame Time, recommended "it earneſtly to him, to maintain the Reputation he had already acquir'd with the King and the Army, by ac- "quitting himſelf gallantly upon this Occaſion. *Uriah*, with great Chearfulneſs, undertook the Poſt, while *Joab* "gave his Companions private Orders to withdraw, and leave him, as ſoon as they found themſelves in Danger. "The *Hebrews* preſs'd hard upon the Wall, and put the *Ammonites* under a dreadful Apprehenſion, that they would "force the Town; whereupon the *Beſieg'd* threw open their Gates, and made a deſperate Sally, which was as good "as a Signal to thoſe, that were with *Uriah*, to abandon him; which accordingly they did, and left him to be cut "to Pieces. He did all the Execution, that was poſſible to be done by one ſingle Man againſt Numbers, and, after "ſeveral Wounds receiv'd, fell, like a Man of Honour, with his Face to the Enemy." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vii. c. 7.

* Some learned Men are of Opinion, that this royal City of *Rabbah* was likewiſe called *the City of Waters*, either becauſe it ſtood upon a River, or was encompaſs'd with Water both for its Defence and Delight. But *Junius* renders it, that *he cut off the Waters, which ſupply'd the Town*; which Tranſlation not only *Joſephus* ſeems to favour, by telling us, that *Joab* ſeiz'd on all the *Aqueducts* which led into the City; but *Polybius* (lib. v.) likewiſe, ſpeaking of the Siege of this ſame Place by *Antiochus*, relates the Story, how a certain *Deſerter* diſcover'd to that Prince a ſubterraneous Paſſage, through which the *Beſieg'd* came to draw Water, which *Antiochus* ſtopp'd up, and, by Reaſon of their Thirſt, compell'd them to ſurrender. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Calmet*'s Commentary.

* How long Widows were to mourn for their Huſbands, there is no expreſs Precept in the Law; but the uſual Time for common Mourners was no more than ſeven Days; and we cannot ſuppoſe that *Bathſheba* was much longer, conſidering the Reaſon we have to apply to her the Words of *Lucan*:

—— Lacrymas non ſponte cadentes
Effudit, gemituſque expreſſit pectore læto.

A. M. 2949, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1055, &c.

but it was not long before *David* ſent for her, † and declar'd her his Wife: And in this State he continu'd without any Moleſtation, or Apprehenſion of having done wrong for the Space of ſeveral Months, till at length God ſent † *Nathan* the Prophet to rouze him out of his *adulterous* Lethargy, and, by * an elegant *Parable*, to repreſent the Baſeneſs and Wickedneſs of what he had done, and to make him pronounce Sentence againſt his guilty ſelf. From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

DAVID accordingly condemns himſelf, and confeſſes his Guilt, and humbly begs Pardon for what he had done: Whereupon *Nathan* was ſent again to inform him, that † God had pardon'd his Tranſgreſſion,

† According to the *Jewiſh* Doctors, it was utterly unlawful for any to marry another Man's Wife, in Caſe he had *defil'd* her before. The *canonical* Law declares ſuch Marriages null and void, as are contracted between an adulterous Man, and a Woman, that was Partner with him in the Crime; and, tho' the Law of *Moſes* does not expreſsly forbid them, yet we may not thence infer, that they were permitted among the *Jews*. For theſe Reaſons, ſome have thought, that this Marriage of *David* and *Bathſheba* was null and invalid; but others, upon better Gounds, have ſuppos'd, that, though there were many criminal Circumſtances attending it, yet theſe did not vacate its Effect, and, in ſhort, though it ought not to have been done, yet, being done, the Marriage was good, and the Children, which were afterwards born, were legitimate. *Calmet*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

† We learn little more of this great Man in the ſacred Writings, but that he was *David*'s Prophet, intimate Counſeller, and Hiſtoriographer. *Joſephus* ſays of him, that he was a *polite* and a *prudent* Man, one, who knew how to temper the Severity of Wiſdom, with Sweetneſs of Manners. And *Grotius* compares him to *Manius Lepidus*, of whom *Tacitus* ſays, that he had a Talent of turning away *Tiberius*'s Mind from thoſe cruel Purpoſes, to which the vile Flattery of others inclin'd him, and was, at the ſame Time, in equal Favour and Authority with him. *Nathan*, certainly knew the Art of reproving Kings with Authority, and yet, without giving Offence. So far from that, he grew in his Prince's Favour and Eſtimation, as long as he liv'd; *inſomuch*, that *David* (as *Tradition* tells us) called one Son after his Name, and committed another (even his belov'd *Solomon*) to his Care and Tuition. The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*, Vol. III.

* There is a Paſſage of *Seneca*, (Epiſt. 59.) where he treats of the Stile fit for philoſophick Writing, which ſuits ſo well with this Parable of *Nathan*'s, that I chuſe to give it in his own Words, as a fit Preamble to the ſhort Comment, which follows, of it. *Invenio*, inquit *Imagines, quibus ſi quis nobis uti vetat, & Poetis illas ſolis judicat eſſe conceſſas, neminem mihi videtur ex antiquis legiſſe, apud quos nondum captabatur plauſibilis Oratio. Illi, qui ſimpliciter, & demonſtrandæ Res causâ loquebantur, Parabolis referti ſunt, quas exiſtimo neceſſarias, non ex eadem Causâ, quâ Poëtis, ſed ut Imbecilitatis noſtræ adminicula ſint, & ut diſcentem & audientem in rem preſentem adducant:* For Parables, like Hiſtories, wherein we have no Concern, are heard with more Attention, and are ſo contriv'd, as to give no Offence, even tho' they provoke the Man, to whom they are addreſs'd, to condemn himſelf. *There were two Men in one City, the one rich, and the other poor: And the rich Man had exceeding many Flocks and Herds*; as *David* had many Wives and Concubines, with whom he might have well been ſatisfy'd, without violating another Man's Bed; *but the poor Man had nothing, ſave one little Ewe Lamb, which he had bought and nouriſhed up. Bathſheba*, very likely, was the only Wife that *Uriah* had, with whom he was highly pleas'd and delighted, and ſhe very probably with him, until *David*'s Temptations had perverted her Mind. *And it grew up together with him, and with his Children; it did eat of his own Meat, and drink of his own Cup, and lay in his Boſom, and was unto him as a Daughter. Nathan*, in his Reſemblance, cannot be ſaid to have ſurpaſs'd the Truth, conſidering how fond many Perſons were anciently, not only of Lambs, but of ſeveral other Creatures, which they ſuffer'd to eat with them at their Tables, and lie with them in their Beds; and that even at this Day it is a Cuſtom in *Arabia*, (which is contiguous to *Judæa*) to have one of the fineſt Lambs in the Flock brought up in the Houſe, and fed with the Children. And *there came a Traveller to the rich Man:* This denotes *David*'s ſtraggling Appetite, which he ſuffer'd to wander from his own home, and to covet another Man's Wife: And of this Appetite the *Jewiſh* Doctors have this Obſervation, that "In the Beginning it is "but a Traveller, but in Time it becomes a Gueſt, and in Concluſion is the Maſter of the Houſe." *And he ſpared* to take of his own Flock, *and his own Herds*, wherewith he might have ſatisfy'd his Appetite, *but took the poor Man's Lamb, and dreſſed it for the way-faring Man, that was come to him.* Moſt Commentators here take Notice, that *Nathan* did not go ſo far in the Parable, as to ſay any Thing of the rich Man's killing the poor Man. This certainly would have made the Reſemblance more compleat, but it is therefore omitted, that *David* might not ſo readily apprehend *Nathan*'s Meaning, and ſo be induc'd unawares to pronounce a Sentence of Condemnation upon himſelf; whereupon the Prophet had a fair Opportunity to ſhew him, that, if the rich Man, who took away the poor Man's Lamb, deſerv'd Death, according to his own Judgment, how much more did he deſerve it, who had not only taken another Man's Wife, but caus'd him to be ſlain likewiſe by the Enemies of *Iſrael*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† It may very well be aſk'd, how God ſo readily came to forgive *David*, when he acknowledg'd his Tranſgreſſion, and yet did not forgive *Saul*, tho' he made the like Confeſſion, *I have ſinned?* But the Anſwer is obvious, that, be the Form of Expreſſion what it will, unleſs it proceeds from the Sincerity of the Heart, the great Searcher of Hearts will not regard it. The true Reaſon therefore, why *Saul* could not obtain a Revocation of his Sentence of Rejection, was, becauſe his Repentance was not ſincere; it did not proceed from an humble and contrite Spirit. At the ſame Time that he acknowledg'd his Sin, he deſir'd *Samuel to honour him before the People*, and perſiſted in his Diſobedience ever after: Whereas *David*, on the contrary, humbled himſelf, wept, and lamented for his Sin, and of his Penitence

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Tranſgreſſion, *viz.* the eternal Puniſhment due to his Tranſgreſſion God had remitted, but the * *temporal* ſhould be inflicted on him: That therefore the Son (for by this Time *Bathſheba* was brought to-bed of a Son) begotten in this *adulterous* Congreſs, ſhould not live; that ſeveral of his Family ſhould come to an untimely Death; that ſome one of his Sons ſhould riſe up in Rebellion againſt him; and his own Wives be defil'd publickly, and in the Sight of all the World, becauſe he had given ſuch Scandal to his own People, and † ſuch Occaſion to the Enemies of God to *blaſpheme*. From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

NOR was it long before Part of this Sentence began to be executed upon him: For the Child, which he had by *Bathſheba*, was taken ſick and died. While it was ſick, * *David* faſted and pray'd, if

has left us a perpetual and eternal Monument in *Pſalm* li. *Have Mercy upon me, O God, after thy great Goodneſs; according to the Multitude of thy Mercies, do away mine Offences, waſh me thoroughly from my Wickedneſs, and cleanſe me from my Sin*, &c.

* In the Threats, which God orders *Nathan* to denounce againſt *David*, the Expreſſions are, ——— *I will raiſe up Evil againſt thee out of thine own Houſe, and I will take thy Wives before thine Eyes, and give them unto thy Neighbour, and he ſhall lie with thy Wives in the Sight of the Sun; but thou didſt it ſecretly, but I will do this Thing before all* Iſrael, *and before the Sun*, 2 Sam. xii. 11, 12. Where the Words, *I will raiſe up, I will take, I will do*, do not denote any poſitive Actions of God, as if he prompted wicked Men to do the ſame Things, wherewith he threatens *David*, inſomuch that, without ſuch prompting, they would not have done them, but by it were neceſſitated to do them: Such a Conſtruction as this is injurious to the Divine Attributes, and makes God the Author of Evil. But the true Meaning is, ——— That God, at that Time, ſaw the perverſe Diſpoſition of one of his Sons, and the crafty Wilineſs of one of his Counſellors, which, without reſtraining them, would not fail to create *David* no ſmall Uneaſineſs: And therefore, becauſe *David* had violated his Law, and, to gratify his Luſt, had committed both Adultery and Murther, God would not interpoſe, but ſuffer'd the Tempers of theſe two wicked Perſons to follow their own Courſe, and have their natural Swing; whereupon the one, being ambitious of a Crown, endeavours to depoſe his Father, and the other, willing to make the Breach irreparable, adviſ'd the moſt deteſted Thing he could think of. This indeed was the very Thing that God had foretold, but, without any Imputation upon his Attributes, we may ſay, that God can ſo diſpoſe and guide a Train of Circumſtances, that the Wickedneſs of any Action ſhall happen in this Manner rather than another, tho' he do not infuſe into any Man the *Will* to do wickedly. *Torrenti nequitiæ, ut ſic loquar*, (for I give you the Commentator's own Words, becauſe there is ſomething very accurate in them) *nullas vires addit, ſed impedit, ne hac, potius quam illac, perumpat; circumſtantiaſque omnes (quæ nihil vitii in ſe habent) ita dirigit, & moderatur, ut certum quendam eventum conſequantur. Sunt autem innumeræ ejuſmodi circumſtantiæ, quibus nihil ineſt mali, & quibus tamen res, pro Dei arbitrio, variantur; deoque ſunt non pauciores viæ, quibus omnia regat, ſine ullâ virtutum ſuarum imminutione, & ità, ut libertatem interèa peccandi aut parendi hominibus relinquat.* So that from ſuch Scripture-Phraſes as theſe, we may not infer, that God either does, or can do Evil, but only, that he permits that Evil to be done, which he foreknew would be done, but might have prevented, had he pleas'd; or, in other Terms, that he ſuffers Men, naturally wicked, to follow the *Bent* of their Tempers, without any Interpoſition of his Providence to reſtrain them. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

† *David*'s Crime, which at firſt was ſecret, was in Time diſcover'd, and the Report of it carry'd to the neighbouring Nations. The *Syrians*, the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, the *Edomites*, the *Philiſtines*, People whom he had ſubdu'd, and who, out of pure Malice, had always a jealous Eye upon his Conduct, would not fail upon this Occaſion to murmur, and ſay, "How could God thus favour an Adulterer and Murtherer? Where is his Juſtice, and "his Providence? Is this the God, who is ſaid to be ſo equitable in his Dealings with Men, and ſo ſevere an Avenger "of Iniquity, and yet makes Choice of ſuch a Monſter as this to govern his People? This is the *David, the Man "after God's own Heart*, whom he preferr'd before *Saul*, on whom he hath pour'd down innumerable Bleſſings, and "for whom he hath many rich Promiſes in Reſerve; and yet did *Saul* ever commit ſuch horrid Enormities as this "Man has done, and ſtill continues to be the Favourite of God?" Such Reflections (we may reaſonably imagine) would *David*'s Tranſgreſſions have occaſion'd among Strangers, and Enemies, who might thence be induc'd to deſpiſe a Religion they were acquainted with, and which he, who ſhould have been its main Support, ſo little regarded. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

* *David*'s Acts of Humiliation for his Sins are thus deſcrib'd by *Salvian (de Gubern. Dei)* "He put off his Purple, "threw away his Royal Ornaments, laid down his Diadem, wholly ſtripp'd himſelf of his Kingſhip, and appear'd as "a Penitent, in a ſqualid, rueful Garb, faſting, lying on the Ground, confeſſing, mourning, repenting, deprecating, "&c. and yet, with all his Humiliation and Compunction, he could not obtain a Revocation of this Puniſhment." But why ſhould the Death of this Child, who, had he liv'd, would have been a perpetual Monument of Guilt, and a Brand of Infamy upon his Parents be accounted by *David* ſo great a Puniſhment? The true Way to account for this, is to aſcribe it to *David*'s Exceſs of Paſſion for *Bathſheba*, which ſo ſtrongly attach'd him to every Offspring of her's, and made him forget every Thing in this Child, but that Motive of Endearment. Beſides this, there is ſomething in human Nature, which prompts us to rate Things after a Manner ſeemingly unaccountable; and to eſtimate them, not according to their real Worth, but according to the Expence or Trouble, or even the Diſtreſs they coſt us. Nor

ſhould

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if poſſibly he might appeaſe the divine Wrath, and intercede for its Life; but when it was dead, he acknowledg'd the Juſtice of God, and, chearfully ſubmitting to his Will, made his ardent Supplications to him, that the Remainder of his Afflictions might be mixed with Mercy. This in ſome Meaſure was done; for, in a proper Space of Time, he had another Son † by *Bathſheba*, who was nam'd † *Solomon*, in Confidence of the Promiſe which God had made; that his Reign ſhould be crown'd with *Peace:* But this did not hinder the Divine Juſtice from being true to its *Threats*, as well as its *Promiſes*.

Solomon *is born.*

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

Amnon *raviſhes his Siſter* Tamar.

DAVID had ſeveral Sons, but only one Daughter that we read of, whoſe Name was *Tamar*, (Siſter to *Abſalom*, by *Maacha*, the Daughter of *Talmai* King of † *Geſhur*) a Princeſs of excellent Beauty, and with whom *Amnon*, his eldeſt Son by another Queen, fell deſperately in Love, and pin'd away with an † hopeleſs Deſire of obtaining her; till at Length, by the Advice and Contrivance of *Jonadab*, his intimate Friend, and † *Couſin-german*, he found Means to *decoy* her into his Apartment, where, † notwithſtanding all her Intreaties and Expoſtulations with him, he firſt raviſh'd her, and, when his bruti ſh Paſſion was ſatisfy'd, in a ſullen Humour † bid

ſhould it be forgot, that this exceſſive Mourning did not proceed ſimply from the Fear of the Loſs of the Child, but from a deep Senſe of his Sin, and of the divine Diſpleaſure manifeſted in the Child's Sickneſs, and particularly from a juſt Apprehenſion of the Injury, which he had done the *Infant* by his Sin, and which he thought himſelf bound in Juſtice, by Prayer and Interceſſion, as much as he was able, to repair. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Poole*'s Annotations.

† It is very obſervable, that in the whole Compaſs of this Story, there is not a Word ſaid either of *Bathſheba*'s Guilt or Puniſhment; but this might be, becauſe, as to the Matter of her Huſband's Death, ſhe was innocent; to the *Adultery*, which ſhe committed, ſhe was entic'd by the Offers of a powerful King; and in the *Calamities* which befel him, ſhe, no doubt, had her Share, and felt her Puniſhment. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† The Word *Solomon* is properly deriv'd from *Schalom*, which ſignifies *Peace*, intimating, that his Reign ſhould be *peaceable*; but, by God's Appointment, *Nathan* gave him another Name, *viz. Jedidiah*, i. e. *the Beloved of God*. The Scripture however, never calls him by this Name, but only by that of *Solomon*; for what Reaſon we cannot tell, unleſs we may ſuppoſe, that the People, being long harraſs'd in War during his Father's Reign, might be pleas'd with this Name, and uſe it rather than the other, to intimate their Hopes and longing Deſire of *Peace*. And for this Reaſon (among others) it may be inferr'd, that *Solomon* was born after the Concluſion of the *Ammoniti ſh* War, tho' the ſacred Hiſtory takes Occaſion from the Death of *Bathſheba*'s *Firſt-born*, to relate that Event firſt. Not long after this, *David* had another Son by *Bathſheba*, (2 Sam. v. 14. and 1 Chron. iii. 5.) whom he called *Nathan*, after the Name of the Prophet; and of theſe two *Chriſt* was born, tho' in different Lines: For *Joſeph*, his ſuppos'd Father, came from *Solomon*, as *Matthew* (Chap. i. Ver. 6, 7.) relates it; and *Mary*, his real Mother, came from *Nathan*, as it is in St *Luke*, Chap. iii. Ver. 31. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, lib. v. c. 4.

† The Borders of the *Geſhurites* and *Maacathites* (as we read *Joſh.* xiii. 11, 13.) were given by *Moſes* to the *Iſraelites*, that ſeated themſelves on the *Eaſt* of *Jordan*; nevertheleſs *the Children of* Iſrael *expelled not the* Geſhurites *and* Maacathites, *but they dwelt among the* Iſraelites *unto this Day:* From whence it is evident, that the Cities of *Geſhur* and *Maacah*, the two *Capitals* of two ſmall Kingdoms, lay within the Borders of the Land of *Iſrael:* And tho' it does not appear how they were ſituated in reſpect of each other, yet it is certain, that they both lay on the *South* Side of Mount *Libanus*, in the *North* Part of the *Half Tribe* of *Manaſſeh*, and on the *Eaſt* Side of the River *Jordan*. *Well*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III.

† Virgins of the *Blood-royal* were kept ſecluſe in Apartments ſeparate from the Commerce of Men, into which not only Strangers, but even their own Fathers were not permitted to enter. *Amnon* however, at ſome Time or other, had ſeen the beautiful *Tamar*, or otherwiſe he could not have conceiv'd ſo ſtrong a Paſſion for her. Upon ſome certain *Ceremonial* Occaſions indeed, it was cuſtomary for the young Women to walk out, and ſhew themſelves; but, conſidering their cloſe Confinement at other Times, it was hardly poſſible for *Amnon* to find an Opportunity of declaring his Paſſion, much more of gratifying it; and therefore, out of pure Deſpair, he pin'd himſelf into a *Conſumption*. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† *Jonadab* was the Son of *Shimeah*, the Brother of *David*.

† There is ſomething ſo moving, and the Arguments are ſo ſtrong, in *Tamar*'s Speech to *Amnon*, that one would almoſt wonder why it did not prevail with him to deſiſt. *Nay, my Brother, do not force me.* Here ſhe reminds him of his *Relation* to her, for which ſhe hop'd he would have ſuch a Reverence, as not to meddle with her, tho' ſhe herſelf were willing, much leſs to offer Violence to her, which it was abominable to do even to a Stranger, much more to one of the ſame Blood. *For no ſuch Thing ought to be done in* Iſrael. Whatever other Nations did, who had not the Knowledge of God's Laws, ſhe begs of him to conſider, that they both belong'd to a Nation, which was God's *peculiar People*, had been inſtructed better, and therefore ſhould act otherwiſe. *Do not thou this Folly.* She prays him (beſides the Scandal it would give) to recollect with himſelf on the Heinouſneſs of the Crime, and how highly offenſive it

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For which he is murther'd by her Brother Abſalom.

† bid her be gone; and when ſhe remonſtrated the ill Uſage, had her turn'd out by main Force.

* IN this mournful and diſtracted Condition *Tamar* repairs to her Brother *Abſalom*, and tells him the whole Tranſaction of her *Rape:* But her Brother, tho' naturally a Man of an high Spirit, advis'd her to be ſilent in Point of Prudence, becauſe her *Raviſher* was Heir apparent to the Crown; and himſelf ſo † artfully conceal'd his own Reſentment, that every one believ'd he had taken no Notice of it. But about two Years after, under the Pretence of a Sheep-ſhearing Entertainment, (which, in thoſe Countries, us'd to be attended with great Mirth and Jollity) he invited his Friends and Relations, and, with the King's Conſent (tho' himſelf declin'd going) all the Princes of the *Blood*, and more eſpecially his Brother *Amnon*, to his Country-Seat at *Hazor*; where, while they were engag'd in Feaſting and Drinking, his Servants, by his Direction, and through the Promiſe of an Impunity, fell upon *Amnon*, (as *Abſalom* gave the Signal) and immediately diſpatch'd him. This put the reſt of the Princes into ſuch a Conſternation, that they made the beſt of their Way from the Houſe, as expecting the like Fate; and the King, when he heard the firſt News of the Thing, (ſuppoſing that *Abſalom* had kill'd all the reſt of his Brothers) was thrown into

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

would be to the Divine Majeſty. *And I, whither ſhall I cauſe my Shame to go?* She beſeeches him (beſides the Sin againſt God) to conſider the Diſgrace it would be to her, who, after ſuch a *foul* Act, muſt be aſham'd to look any one in the Face. *And as for thee, thou ſhalt be as one of the Fools in* Iſrael. Laſtly, She puts him in Mind of his own Reputation, which ſo vile an Action would tarniſh for ever, and make him be look'd upon as a Man void of all Senſe, Religion, Honour, and Humanity. *Now therefore, I pray thee, ſpeak to the King; for he will not with-hold me from thee.* It is a common Opinion among the *Jewiſh* Doctors, that, in the War which King *David* had with the King of *Geſhur*, he took *Maacah*, his Daughter captive, and (as they fancy their Law allows, *Deut.* xxi. 11.) lay with her for once only, and then begat this Daughter; but that, upon her becoming a *Proſelyte* to the *Jewiſh* Religion, he marry'd her, and afterwards had *Abſalom*. *Tamar* therefore being born while her Mother was a *Gentile*, they ſuppoſe that ſhe was not *David*'s *legal* Child, and that *Amnon* conſequently might marry her: But all this is meer Talk, without any Shadow of Proof. The moſt probable Opinion is, that ſhe was neither ignorant of the Law, (*Levit.* xviii. 11.) which prohibited ſuch inceſtuous Marriages, nor thought her Father's Power ſo great, as that he might *diſpenſe* with the Law upon this Occaſion, but merely that ſhe ſaid any Thing, which ſhe thought would pleaſe him, to ſtop his Sollicitations, and rude Attempts, and to eſcape, for the preſent, out of his Hands. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Jewiſh* Antiquities, lib. vii. c. 8.

† Interpreters ſeem to be at a great Loſs to find out the Reaſon, why *Amnon*'s Love to his Siſter ſhould ſo ſoon be converted into ſuch an Hatred, as to make him act ſo rudely, ſo brutally towards her; but it is no uncommon Thing for Men of violent and irregular Paſſions to paſs from one *Extreme* to another. The Shame, which accompanies every baſe Action, the Remorſe, and Repentance, and many bad Conſequences, that immediately purſue it, make a Recoil in every Man's Temper; and therefore it is no Wonder, that a *libidinous* young Man, who would not ſpare ſo much as his own Siſter, ſhould, after Fruition, and when the Ardour of his Luſt was ſatisfy'd, be ſeiz'd with a contrary Paſſion, and hate the Object he lov'd ſo much before, when he came coolly to compare the *Pleaſure* and the *Sin* together, the *Shortneſs* of the one, and the *Heinouſneſs* of the other. He *hated his Siſter*, when he ſhould have hated himſelf; and, as this outrageous Treatment of her made it impoſſible for his Guilt to be conceal'd, ſo God ſeems to have abandon'd him to the Tumult of his intemperate Mind, on purpoſe to make this Puniſhment of *David*'s Adultery more flagrant, and the Prophet's Prediction of *raiſing up evil to him out of his own Houſe*, 2 Sam. xii. 11. more conſpicuous. *Calmet*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries, and The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*.

* The Manner of *Tamar*'s ſignifying her Vexation for the Injury and Diſgrace, which her Brother had put upon her, is expreſs'd by her *putting Aſhes upon her Head*, 2 Sam. xiii. 19. and that this was an antient Cuſtom, whereby to denote one's Grief and Concern for any great Loſs or Calamity, is evident from that Paſſage of the Prophet, concerning the People of *Tyre: They ſhall cry bitterly, caſt Dirt upon their Heads, and wallow themſelves in the Aſhes*, Ezek. xxvii. 30. from *Achilles*'s Behaviour upon the Death of *Patroclus*, we have it in *Homer:*

Ἀμφοτέρῃσι δ' χερσὶν ἑλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλοεσσαν
Χεύατο κασσιτέρης, χάριεν δ' ἤσχυνε πρόσωπον. Iliad. xviii.

And from what *Mezentius* did, upon the Death of his *Lauſus*, according to *Virgil:*

Canitiem immundo deformat pulvere, & ambas
Ad cœlum tendit palmas——— Æneid x.

† By this Means *Amnon* was lull'd aſleep into a Belief, that *Abſalom* would not trouble him for what he had done, becauſe he did not threaten, nor ſo much as expoſtulate with him, or take any Notice of what had paſs'd, tho', in Reaſon, he ought to have been more afraid that he was meditating a terrible Revenge: According to the Leſſon which the *Mouſe* gave her *young one*, when ſhe perceiv'd her affrighted at the Noiſe of the crowing *Cock*, but regardleſs of the ſly Approaches of the *Cat*, *viz.* "That there was no Danger to be fear'd from the *fluttering Cock*, but from the "*ſilent Cat*, preſent Death. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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into the utmoſt Grief and Deſpair, till, by the Information of *Jonadab*, (who ſeems to have been privy to the Deſign) and the ſafe Arrival of the other Princes, he was certify'd that *Ammon* only was dead; but his Death alone was Matter of Sorrow and Lamentation enough.

Who thereupon is baniſh'd, but afterwards reſtor'd to his Father's Favour.

ABSALOM, who knew very well how highly his Father would reſent this treacherous and barbarous Murther, † fled to his Mother's Relations, and was entertain'd by his Grandfather *Talmai*, at *Geſhur*, for three Years. But, Length of Time having worn out *David*'s Grief, and *Joab*, perceiving that he had a ſecret Deſire to ſee *Abſalom* again, (if he could but find out an handſome Excuſe for ſuch a Purpoſe) procur'd a good artful Woman † from *Tekoah*, who, † in a Speech, which he had contriv'd for her, was to convince the King, that in ſome Caſes the Life of a Murtherer might be ſav'd. The Woman *Joab* introduc'd; and when ſhe had told her Tale, ſo as to induce the King to a Compliance with her feign'd Petition, ſhe gave him at length to know, that the Caſe ſhe had been ſtating was *Abſalom*'s; and that, if in a private Man, the King was diſpos'd to be merciful, there was much more Reaſon for his pardoning his own Son, whoſe Abſence the People lamented, and for whom they had ſo general an Affection. From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

THE King, being appris'd that *Joab* had put the Woman upon this Artifice, order'd him to recal *Abſalom*, but † confin'd him to live in his own Houſe, and, as yet, would not ſeem ſo far reconcil'd to him, as to admit him into his Preſence. But, at the End of two Years, *Abſalom* prevail'd with *Joab* to intercede farther for a full Pardon, and to introduce him to the King,

† In the Caſe of *wilful* Murther, the Law is, *That the Avenger of Blood ſhall ſlay the Murtherer; when he meeteth him he ſhall ſlay him*, Numb. xxxv. 21. From whence it ſeems to follow, that it was not in any Man's Power to protect the *wilful* Murtherer, becauſe the *Avenger of Blood*, i. e. the neareſt Relation of the Perſon murther'd, might, with Impunity, wherever he met him, kill him. As *Abſalom* therefore had committed a deſign'd Murther, his own Life was every Moment in Danger; and as there were no Cities of *Refuge* in his own Country, that, in this Caſe, would yield him Protection, he was forc'd to flee out of the Kingdom, to his Mother's Father. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† *Tekoah* was a City in the Tribe of *Judah*, which lay *South* of *Jeruſalem*, and about twelve Miles diſtant from it. And herein does *Joab*'s Cunning appear not a little, that he made choice of a *Woman* rather than a *Man*, becauſe Women can more eaſily expreſs their Paſſions, and ſooner gain Pity in their Miſeries; a *Widow*, which was a Condition of Life proper to move Compaſſion; a *grave Woman*, (as *Joſephus* calls her) which made her better fitted for addreſſing the King; and a Woman, *not known at* Jeruſalem, but living at ſome Diſtance in the Country, that the Caſe, which ſhe was to repreſent, might not too readily be enquir'd into. *Poole*'s Annotations.

† The Art and Contrivance of this Widow of *Tekoah*'s Speech is very remarkable. *When the Woman of* Tekoah *ſpake to the King, ſhe fell on her Face to the Ground, and did Obeiſance, and ſaid, Help, O King! And the King ſaid to her, What aileth thee? And ſhe ſaid, I am indeed a Widow-Woman, and my Huſband is dead, and thy Handmaid had two Sons, and they two ſtrove together in the Field, and there was none to part them, but the one ſmote the other, and ſlew him; and behold this Family is riſen againſt thine Handmaid, and they ſay, Deliver him that ſmote his Brother, that we may kill him, for the Life of his Brother, whom he ſlew, and we will deſtroy the Heir alſo: And ſo they ſhall quench my Coal that is left*, (i. e. deprive me of the little Comfort of my Life which remains, and is, as it were, a *Coal* buried in the *Aſhes*) *and leave to my Huſband neither Name nor Remainder upon the Earth*, 2 Sam. xiv. 4, &c. Now the Scope of all this Speech was to frame a Caſe, as like to *David*'s as ſhe could deviſe, that, by prevailing with him to determine it in her Favour, he might be convinc'd, how much more reaſonable it was to preſerve *Abſalom*. But, how plauſible ſoever the *Likeneſs* might be, there was a wide Difference between her Caſe and his: For her Son (as ſhe pretended) was ſlain in a *Scuffle* with his Brother; whereas *Amnon* was taken off by a premeditated Murther: He was ſlain in the Field, where there were no Witneſſes, whether the Fact was wilfully done or no; whereas all the King's Sons ſaw *Amnon* barbarouſly murther'd by his Brother: And, laſtly, he was her only Son, by whom alone ſhe could hope to have her Huſband's Name perpetuated; whereas *David*'s Family was in no Danger of being extinct, even tho' he had given up *Abſalom* to Juſtice. But there was a great deal of Policy in not making the *Similitude* too cloſe and viſible, leſt the King ſhould perceive the Drift of the Woman's *Petition*, before ſhe had obtain'd a *Grant* of Pardon for her Son, and came to make the *Application* to the King: And tho', upon her making the Application, the King might have argu'd the *Diſparity* of the two Caſes, yet he thought proper to wave this, and admit her Reaſoning to be good, becauſe he was as deſirous to have *Abſalom* recall'd, as were any of his Subjects. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† This ſmall Severity to *Abſalom*, ſmall in Compariſon of the Heinouſneſs of his Crime, *David* might think neceſſary, not only to put him upon a ſincere Humiliation and Repentance for what he had done, when he found that the King (indulgent as he was) had not fully pardon'd him; but to convince the People likewiſe, how deteſtable his Crime was in the King's Eſteem, and how averſe *he* would be to paſs by the like in another Perſon, who could not endure the Sight of a Son, whoſe Hand was defil'd with a Brother's Blood. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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King, who, upon his humbling himſelf and begging Pardon, took him up from the Ground, where he lay proſtrate, and gave him a Kiſs, as a Token of his Forgiveneſs and royal Favour.

His Beauty, Popularity, and Rebellion againſt his Father.

ABSALOM was certainly one of the moſt comely Perſons in all *Iſrael*, without the leaſt Blemiſh from Top to Toe, and with an Head of Hair (which in thoſe Days was thought a great Beauty) prodigiouſly long and thick, ſo that his Perſon drew every one's Eye to him, as ſoon as he was reſtor'd to Favour at Court: But, as *Amnon*, his eldeſt Brother, was ſlain, and *Chileah*, his *ſecond*, by this Time dead, he began to look upon himſelf as preſumptive *Heir* to the Crown, and thereupon to affect a State and Equipage greater than uſual. He provided himſelf with Chariots and Horſes, and had a Guard of fifty Men to attend his Perſon: But, notwithſtanding this, he would be * ſo obſequious and humble, as to ſtoop to the meaneſt People, that had any Thing to ſay to him; would offer his Service to ſollicit every one's Cauſe, that had any Buſineſs at Court; and, upon proper Occaſions, not fail to inſtil into the Peoples Minds a bad Opinion of the preſent *Adminiſtration*, as if the *publick* Affairs were neglected, but that, if he were at the Helm, Things ſhould be conducted at an other-guiſe Rate. From 2 Sam. i. to xx.

† By theſe Arts and Inſinuations, which were advantageouſly ſeconded by the Comelineſs of his Perſon, (as we ſaid) and the Familiarity of his Addreſs, he gain'd to himſelf the Affections of the People, and inſenſibly alienated them from *David*. ‡ When therefore he imagin'd that Matters were ripe for his Purpoſe, he deſir'd Leave of his Father to go to *Hebron*, pretending

* It is an Obſervation of *Plato*, that, when any one intends to make himſelf a *Tyrant* in a *popular* State, he no ſooner enters on the Government, but, προσγελᾶ, τε κ) ἀσπάζεται τὰ τυχόντα, ὥ ἂν πλησιάσῃ, *he ſmiles upon, and kindly ſalutes all Sorts of People, wherever he meets them*; avowing, that he hates Tyranny, promiſing great Things, both in private and publick, κ) πᾶσιν ἵλεω τε κ) πατρῴω εἶναι προσποιεῖται, and making, as if he would be mild, and gentle, and fatherly to all; even as *Tacitus* relates of *Otho*, that *protendens manum, adorare vulgum, jacere oſcula, & omnia ſerviliter pro dominatione*; that he us'd to kiſs, and ſhake Hands with any one, court and adore the *Mob*, and do every little ſervile Thing, to get Poſſeſſion of the Government. *Plato* de Repub. l. 8. and *Tacit.* Hiſt. lib. i.

† It is an Obſervation of *Ariſtotle* in his *Politicks*, (lib. v. c. 4.) that all Changes and Revolutions in Government are made by one of theſe two Ways, ὅτε μὲν διὰ βίας, ὅτε δὲ δι' ἀπάτης, *either by Force and Violence, or elſe by Deceit and Craft*: Nor ever was there a Man better form'd by Nature to manage Matters in this *latter* Way, than was *Abſalom*, who was a Perſon of Courage and Gallantry, of Civility and Courteſy, young, and wonderfully beautiful, deſcended from Kings, both by Father's and Mother's Side, and prodigal enough of large and magnificent Promiſes, if ever he came to be King; a Character not unlike that of *Turnus* in *Virgil*:

Hunc decus egregium formæ movet, atque juventæ,
Hunc atavi reges, hunc claris dextera factis. Æneid. lib. vii.

‡ This is ſaid in the Text, to have been *after forty Years*, 2 Sam. xv. 7. but where to date the Beginning of the *forty Years* has occaſion'd much Diſagreement among Commentators. Some compute them from the Time, that the *Iſraelites* demanded a King of *Samuel*; others, from the firſt Time, that *David* was anointed King; others, from the firſt Commencement of his Reign over *Judah*; and others again, from the Time, that he took Poſſeſſion of the whole Kingdom. The two latter of theſe Opinions are inſupportable, becauſe *David* reign'd but forty Years in all, and was now ſo hail and hearty, as to be able to walk on Foot; whereas, in the latter End of his Life, he was very infirm and *Bed-rid*. The learned *Uſher* indeed, makes theſe forty Years to commence from the Time of *David*'s firſt Unction, that therefore he was threeſcore Years old, when this Rebellion broke out, and liv'd ten Years after it: But (with all due Deference to ſo great Authority) both *this*, and the other Opinion, that computes from the Time that the Demand of a King was made, are forc'd, and unnatural; have no Affinity to the Text, nor do they ſuggeſt any Reaſon, why the ſacred Hiſtorian ſhould begin his Account of this unnatural Rebellion, with an *And it came to paſs, that after forty Years*: Whereas, if we conſider the Account of what went before; how *Abſalom*, by all the Arts of Popularity, a ſplendid Equipage, condeſcenſive Behaviour, large Promiſes, and flattering Speeches, had alienated the Hearts of the People from his Father, we cannot but be tempted to think, that there is an Error crept into the Text; that inſtead of *Arbaim*, *forty*, as our Copies have it, the Word ſhould be *Arba*, *four*, only, *i. e.* four Years after that *Abſalom* was re-eſtabliſh'd in *Jeruſalem*, and had us'd all his alluring Arts to gain the Nation's Affections, the firſt Step that he took, was to go to *Hebron*. This makes the Senſe eaſy and entire, and is confirm'd by the Authority of the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Verſions, the Judgment of ſeveral able Criticks, and the Teſtimony of *Joſephus* himſelf, whoſe Words are, μετὰ δὲ τὸν πατρὸς καταλλαγὴν τεσσάρων ἐτῶν ἤδη παρελθόντων, that *four Years after his Father was reconciled to him*, this Conſpiracy broke out. *Calmet*'s Commentary, *Howell*'s Hiſtory, in the Notes, and *Joſephus*'s *Jewiſh* Antiquities, lib. vii. c. 8.

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ing that he had vowed a Vow in his *Exile*, that, whenever it ſhould pleaſe God to bring him back to *Jeruſalem*, he would offer, in that Place, a ſolemn Sacrifice of Thankſgiving. The King little ſuſpecting his hidden Deſign, and being deſirous that all religious Services ſhould be punctually perform'd, gave him free Leave to go, and wiſh'd him a good Journey. *Hebron* was the Place of his own Nativity, and where the Royal Seat had been, in the Beginning of *David*'s Reign; and therefore he thought it the propereſt for his wicked Enterpriſe: And no ſooner was he ſettled there, but he ſent his *Emiſſaries* about to ſound the Inclinations of the ſeveral Tribes, and to exhort thoſe, whom they ſhould gain over to his Party, to be ready to take up Arms, † as ſoon, as they ſhould hear that he was proclaim'd King.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

THIS occaſion'd a general Inſurrection. *Abſalom* was the Nation's *Darling*; and, upon this Summons, † People flock'd to him from every Part: So that *David*, who had Intelligence of all this, thought it not ſafe for him to continue any longer in *Jeruſalem* †, but, leaving the Place, with a Deſign to retire beyond *Jordan*, he was attended by his Guards, his beſt Troops, and principal Friends. *Zadok* and *Abiathar* the Prieſts, underſtanding that the King was departed from *Jeruſalem*, brought *the Ark of the Covenant* to accompany him in his Diſtreſs; but † he deſir'd them to carry

The King leaves Jeruſalem, *and, in his Retreat, meets with various Kinds of Uſage.*

† The Expreſſion in the Text is, *as ſoon as you hear the Sound of the Trumpet*, 2 Sam. xv. 10. which looks as if *Abſalom* had planted Trumpeters at proper Diſtances to take the Sound from one another, and diſperſe it over all the Kingdom, that ſo they, who were Lovers of his Cauſe, might inſtantly reſort to his Aſſiſtance and Support; to which they were encourag'd, no doubt, by the Suggeſtions of his *Emiſſaries*, who might perſuade the People, that all this was done by the King's Conſent and Approbation, who, being aged and infirm himſelf, was willing to reſign his Kingdom to his eldeſt and moſt noble Son, who was deſcended from a King by both Parents. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

† It would really make one wonder, how any People could ſo eaſily abandon a Prince, ſo brave, ſo happy, and ſucceſsful as *David* had been; how they could forget his excellent Qualities, or be unmindful of the Services he had done the Nation; but for this there may be ſome Reaſons aſſign'd. In every Nation there are always ſome turbulent and diſcontented Spirits, who are uneaſy with the preſent State of Things, and promiſe themſelves ſome Benefit from a Change. *Saul*'s Party was not as yet entirely extinct, and *Joab*, who was *David*'s *Prime Miniſter*, behav'd with an inſufferable Pride and Inſolence. His Crimes, which were very black, and which the King durſt not puniſh, redounded upon him; and the King himſelf had given his Enemies Umbrage enough againſt him, in living with *Bathſheba*, after he had murther'd her Huſband: But, what gave the faireſt Pretence of all, was the Obſtruction of *Juſtice* in the *Civil* Adminiſtration: For had there not been ſomething of this, *Abſalom* could have had no Grounds for making ſo loud Complaints. Theſe were ſome of the Cauſes of ſo general a Revolt in the People: And yet, after all, there might be ſomething in what *Abarbinel* imagines, *viz.* That neither *Abſalom*, nor the Elders of *Iſrael*, nor the reſt of the People, who were miſled by them, had any Intention to diveſt *David* of his Crown and Dignity, much leſs to take away his Life; but only to ſubſtitute *Abſalom*, as *Coadjutor* to him, for the Execution of the Royal Authority, during his Life-time, and to be his *Succeſſor* after his Death. For, as it would have been monſtrouſly wicked in *Abſalom* to have deſign'd the Deſtruction of ſo kind a Father; ſo it is hard to conceive, how he could have gain'd to his Party ſuch a Multitude of *Abettors* in ſo villainous an Enterpriſe. This however we may obſerve, that *David* look'd upon their Proceedings (2 *Sam.* xv. 14. and xvi. 11.) as an Attempt upon his Life; and that (whatever their firſt Intentions were) they came at laſt to a Reſolution to have him killed, to make way for their own better Security: Which may be a ſufficient Warning to all Men, never to begin any Thing that is wrong, for fear that it ſhould lead them to the Commiſſion of that, which they at firſt abhorr'd, when they find they cannot be ſafe in one Wickedneſs, without perpetrating a greater. *Calmet*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

† Tho' the Fort of *Sion* was very ſtrong and impregnable, yet there are ſeveral Reaſons which might induce *David* to quit *Jeruſalem*. He had not laid in Proviſions for a long Siege, nor was *Jeruſalem*, in every Part of it, *defenſible*; and if *Abſalom* had once took it, as it was the *Capital*, he would ſoon have been Maſter of the whole Kingdom. There was ſome Reaſon to ſuſpect likewiſe, that the Inhabitants were faulty, and ſo much addicted to the contrary Party, that had he ſtood a Siege, and been reduc'd to Straits, they might poſſibly deliver him up to *Abſalom*. Nor was the Preſervation of the City itſelf, which *David* had beautify'd, and adorn'd with a fine and ſtately Palace, and where God had appointed to put his Name and Worſhip, the leaſt Part of his Concern; and therefore he thought it more conducive to his Intereſt in all Reſpects, rather than be *cooped* up in a Place, which he deſired to preſerve from being the Seat of War, to march abroad into the Country, where he might probably raiſe a conſiderable Army, both for his own Defence, and the Suppreſſion of the Rebels. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† This he might do for ſeveral Reaſons; for either he might think it not decent to have the *Ark* wander about with him he knew not whither, and to expoſe it to all the Hazards and Inconveniencies, which he himſelf was like to undergo; or he might ſuppoſe, that this would be a Means to expoſe the Prieſts to the Violence of *Abſalom*'s Rage,

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carry it back, and to continue in *Jeruſalem*, becauſe they might be of Uſe to gain him Intelligence of the Enemies Motions and Deſigns, and their Character was too ſacred, to fear any Violence from the *Uſurper*. *Huſhai*, † the *Archite*, his faithful Friend and Counſellor, came likewiſe to attend him, and, with all Expreſſions of Sorrow, to ſee his royal Maſter in ſuch Diſtreſs, offer'd to ſhare his Fortune: But *David* enjoin'd him to return, and told him, that he would be more ſerviceable to him in the City, by pretending to adhere to *Abſalom*, and by defeating the Counſels of *Ahitophel*, who, as he underſtood for Certainty, was † engag'd in his Son's Meaſures, and whoſe great Abilities (which the King was not unacquainted with) gave him no ſmall Uneaſineſs.

DAVID had ſcarce paſs'd over Mount *Olivet*, which lies to the *Eaſt* of *Jeruſalem*, when *Ziba*, whom he had made Steward to *Mephibоſheth* his Friend *Jonathan*'s Son, came, and preſented him with a ‡ conſiderable Quantity of Wine, and other Proviſions; but, upon the King's enquiring for his Maſter, who he thought above all Men, in Point of *Gratitude*, ſhould have kept firm to his Intereſt, the perfidious Wretch accus'd him of ſtaying behind in *Jeruſalem*, in Hopes that himſelf might be made King; and the too *credulous* King, in this general Diſtraction of his Affairs, believing the Accuſation to be true, made an haſty *Grant* of all *Mephibоſheth*'s Eſtate to this baſe Servant, and treacherous *Sycophant*.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

As *David* drew near to *Bahurim*, a City in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, † one *Shimei*, a Deſcendant from the Family of *Saul*, and who dwelt in that Place, came out, and *threw Stones at him*, and, in the Hearing of the whole Company, loaded him with the bittereſt Reproaches and Execrations, ſo that *Abiſhai* deſir'd Leave of the King to go and diſpatch the inſolent Rebel: But, by no Means, would the King permit him, but bore all with an admirable Patience, † and Reſignation to

(as he had before expos'd them to *Saul*'s Fury upon another Occaſion) if God, in his Judgment, ſhould permit him to prevail; or this might look as a Diſtruſt of the Divine Goodneſs, and that he plac'd more Confidence in the *Token* of God's Preſence, than he did in God himſelf, who had preſerv'd him in the long Perſecution of *Saul*, when he had no Ark with him. But what ſeems the chief Reaſon, at that Time, for his ſending back the Ark, was, —— That the Prieſts and *Levites*, (of whoſe Fidelity he was ſufficiently ſatisfy'd) by giving him Intelligence of the Enemies Motions, might do him more Service in *Jeruſalem*, than they could do in his Camp. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† This Man might be of the antient Race of the *Archites*, Deſcendants from *Canaan*, of whom *Moſes* ſpeaks, *Gen.* x. 17. but ſince the Name of theſe antient People is differently written, I ſhould rather think, that this additional Name was given him from the Place of his Nativity, *viz. Archi*, a Town ſituated on the Frontiers of *Benjamin* and *Ephraim*, to the *Weſt* of *Bethel*, Joſh. xvi. 2.

† The *Jews* are of Opinion, that *Ahitophel* was incens'd againſt *David*, and therefore ready to go over to the adverſe Party, becauſe he had abus'd *Bathſheba*, whom they take to have been his *Grand-daughter*, becauſe ſhe was the Daughter of *Eliam*, 2 Sam. xi. 3. and *Ahitophel* had a Son of that Name, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 34. for this Reaſon they imagine, that he adviſ'd *Abſalom* to lie with his Father's *Concubines*, that he might be repaid in Kind; tho' the Scripture aſſigns another, *viz.* that he and his Father might thereby become irreconcileable Enemies. *Pool*'s Annotations.

‡ And yet the Text tells us, it was but *one Bottle:* But what we render *Bottle*, was, in thoſe Times, a *Bag*, or Veſſel made of Leather, which might contain a great deal of Wine; becauſe we cannot ſuppoſe, but that the *Liquor* was proportionate to the reſt of the Preſent. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† Whether this Man had been a perſonal Sufferer in the Fall of *Saul*'s Family, or what elſe had exaſperated him againſt *David*, it no where appears; but it ſeems, as if he had conceiv'd ſome very heinous Offence againſt him, when neither the Preſence of a King, nor the *Terror* of his Guards, could reſtrain him from throwing Stones, and bitter Speeches at him: And it looks, as if the King were fallen into the utmoſt Contempt, when one private Man could think of venting his Malice at him, in ſo groſs a Manner, with Impunity. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, in the Notes.

† The Words of *David* upon this Occaſion are, *So let him curſe, becauſe the Lord hath ſaid unto him, curſe* David: *Let him alone, let him curſe, for the Lord hath bidden him*; not that God commanded it by his Word, for that ſeverely forbids curſing, *Exod.* xxii. 28, nor mov'd him to it by his Spirit; for neither was that poſſible, becauſe God *tempteth no Man*, James i. 13. But the Meaning is, that the ſecret Providence of God did over-rule, and determine him ſo to do, *i. e.* God did not put any Wickedneſs into *Shimei*'s Heart (for he had, of himſelf, an Heart full of Malignity and Venom againſt *David*) but only left him to his own Wickedneſs; took away that common Prudence, which would have reſtrain'd him from ſo dangerous an Action; directed his Malice, that it ſhould be exercis'd againſt *David*, rather

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to the Will of God, as being conſcious of his own Guilt in the Caſe of *Uriah*, and of the divine Juſtice in thus afflicting him.

Abſalom *enters* Jeruſalem.

WHILE *David* continu'd at *Bahurim*, *Abſalom* and his Party entering *Jeruſalem*, were receiv'd with the general *Acclamations* of the People, and *Huſhai*, not forgetful of the King's Inſtructions, went to compliment him, and offer'd him his Service. *Abſalom* knew that he was his Father's intimate Friend and *Counſellor*, and therefore banter'd him at firſt, upon his pretending to deſert his old Maſter; but *Huſhai* † excus'd himſelf in ſuch a Manner, and anſwer'd all his *Queſtions* with that Subtilty, that he paſs'd upon the Prince for a worthy Friend, and accordingly was receiv'd into his *Privy-Council*.

Ahitophel's *Counſel, upon the Rejection of which, he hangs himſelf.*

A *COUNCIL* was preſently call'd, wherein *Ahitophel*, who was *Preſident*, and ſtood higheſt in *Abſalom*'s Eſteem, ſpake firſt; and the two chief Things, which he advis'd him to do, were, firſt to place a Tent on the Top of the Palace, (for by this Time he had taken Poſſeſſion of his Father's Palace) and to lie *publickly* with his Father's *Concubines*, that all the Soldiers might ſee, and conclude that, after ſuch an Indignity, there could be no Hopes of a Reconciliation, and thereby be incited to fight more deſperately to ſecure him in the Poſſeſſion of the Throne. This Advice was ſuitable perhaps to the young Man's vicious Inclinations, and therefore he delay'd not to put it in Execution: But, as for the *ſecond* Thing, which *Ahitophel* propos'd, *viz.* "To "take twelve Thouſand choice Men, "and purſue after *David* that * very "Night, and to fall upon his *Guards*, "which were fatigu'd with their March, "and unable to make Reſiſtance, and ſo "ſurprize the King, and kill him," he deſir'd to conſult *Huſhai* herein; who, ſeeming not to ſlight *Ahitophel*'s Propoſal, advis'd *rather* to delay the Attempt, until he had got all the Forces of the Kingdom together. "For, as *David*, and his "Men were known to be brave, and, at "that Time, both † exaſperated, and, "deſperate, in Caſe they ſhould worſt "the Party ſent againſt them, this would "be

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

rather than any other Man; and brought him into ſo diſtreſs'd a Condition, that he might ſeem a proper Object of his Scorn and Contempt, which is enough to juſtify the Expreſſion, *The Lord hath bidden him*; in the ſame Manner that we read of his *commanding the Ravens*, 1 Kings xvii. 4. and ſometimes inanimate Creatures, *Pſal.* cxlvii. 15, 18. The ſhort is, *David* look'd upon *Shimei* as an Inſtrument in God's Hands, and therefore took all his Abuſes patiently, out of a Conſciouſneſs of his Sinfulneſs, and a Reverence to that Deity, who had brought him ſo low, as to deſerve the Inſults of this vile *Benjamite*. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† The Manner, in which *Joſephus* makes *Huſhai* anſwer *Abſalom*, is artful enough, tho' hardly becoming an honeſt Man. "There is no contending, *ſays he*, with the Will of God, and the Conſent of the People; and ſo long as you "have them on your Side, you may be ſecure of my Fidelity. It is from God, that you have receiv'd your "Kingdom; and if you can think me worthy of a Place in the Number of thoſe, you will vouchſafe to own, you "ſhall find me as true to yourſelf, as ever I was to your Father. No Man is to account the preſent State of Things "uneaſy, ſo long as the Government continues in the ſame Line, and a Son of the ſame Family ſucceeds to the "Throne." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vii. c. 8.

* It is a wiſe Obſervation in *Tacitus*, *Nihil in diſcordiis civilibus feſtinatione lætius, ubi facto, potius quam conſulto opus eſt: Ahitophel* therefore thought it highly neceſſary to make Diſpatch upon this Occaſion; becauſe he knew, that if he ſhould give the People, that had revolted from their Allegiance, Leiſure to think of what they were doing againſt their lawful Prince, he would give that Prince Time to raiſe ſome regular Troops, and thoſe, that were about him, Space to recover from their firſt Fright; *Abſalom*'s Party would dwindle into nothing, and *David*'s grow ſtronger and ſtronger: *Daret malorum pœnitentiæ, daret bonorum conſenſui; ſcelera impetu, bona concilia morâ valeſcere*, Tacit. Hiſt. lib. i. And therefore he advis'd marching immediately againſt him, without giving him a Moment's Time to recover himſelf. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† There is ſomething very plauſible, and elegant too, in the Advice, which *Huſhai* gives *Abſalom*, not immediately to purſue, and fall upon *David*; *Thou knoweſt thy Father and his Men, that they be mighty Men, and they be chafed in their Minds, as a Bear robbed of her Whelps in the Field*, 2 Sam. xvii. 8. Every one knows, that a Bear is a very fierce Creature; but She-Bears (as *Ariſtotle* tells us) are more fierce than the *Male*, particularly when they have young Ones, but moſt of all, when theſe young Ones are taken from them. For this Reaſon the Scripture makes frequent Uſe of this Similitude: *I will be unto them as a Lion*, ſays God, in Relation to the People of *Iſrael, and as a Leopard by the Way; I will meet them as a Bear, that is bereaved of her Whelps, and will rent the Caul of their Hearts*, Hoſea xiii. 7, 8. Vid. Prov. xvii. 12, &c. So that the Purport of *Huſhai*'s Advice is founded on this Maxim, "That we ſhould not drive an Enemy to Deſpair, nor attack thoſe, who are reſolv'd to ſell their Lives at as dear a "Rate as poſſible." *Calmet*'s Commentary.

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" be a Means to diſcourage others, and be " thought a very inauſpicious Beginning: " Whereas, if they ſtaid till a numerous " Army were come together, † they " might be aſſur'd of Victory." *Abſalom*, and the reſt of the *Council* approv'd of this laſt Advice, and *Huſhai* immediately diſpatch'd two Meſſengers to *David*, acquainting him with what had paſs'd in *Council*, and adviſing him inſtantly to paſs the *Jordan*, leſt *Abſalom* ſhould change his Mind, and come and fall upon him on a ſudden.

THE *Meſſengers*, as they were making the beſt of their Way, happen'd to meet ſome of *Abſalom*'s Party, but had the good Fortune to conceal themſelves in a *Well*, until their Purſuers were return'd; and then proceeding on their Journey, came and deliver'd their Diſpatches to the King, who decamp'd by Break of Day, paſs'd the *Jordan*, and came to *Mahanaim*, a City of *Gilead*, where he was kindly receiv'd. As ſoon as *Ahitophel* heard that *David* was out of Danger, either taking it amiſs that his Counſel was ſlighted, or perceiving, by *Abſalom*'s weak Conduct, that Things were not likely to ſucceed, and he, conſequently, * liable to be expos'd to *David*'s hotteſt Indignation, for the Counſel he had already given; partly out of *Pride*, and partly out of *Fear* of worſe Torments, he went to his own Houſe, where he firſt made his *Will*, and then hang'd himſelf.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

An Engagement between the King's and Abſalom's *Party, wherein* Abſalom *is vanquiſh'd, and ſlain.*

DAVID had not not been long at *Mahanaim*, before *Abſalom*, having got together a numerous Army, which was commanded by *Amaſa*, the Son of *Ithra*, a Relation of *Abſalom*'s by Marriage, left *Jeruſalem*, and paſs'd the *Jordan*, in Purſuit of his Father. The King, hearing of the Approach of his Rebel Son, and foreſeeing that a Battle was unavoidable, divided his Army into three Bodies. The firſt to be commanded by *Joab*, the ſecond by his Brother *Abiſhai*, and the third by † *Ittai*, the *Gittite*, and, himſelf intended to go in Perſon with them. But, by the Importunity of the People about him, he was prevail'd with not to hazard his Perſon in Battle; and perhaps was more eaſily diſſuaded from it, becauſe the Battle was to be againſt a Son, for whom he ſtill retain'd ſo tender an Affection, that he gave the three *Generals* a ſtrict Charge, in the Hearing of the Soldiers, that (for his Sake) they ſhould uſe *Abſalom* kindly, in caſe he ſhould fall into their Hands.

THE

† The Benefits which *Huſhai* ſuggeſts from *Abſalom*'s having a large Army, are thus expreſs'd in an *hyperbolical* Way, ſuitable to the *Genius* of that inſolent young Man, to whom he gave his Advice, and therefore more likely to prevail with him: *Moreover, if he be gotten into a City, then ſhall all* Iſrael *bring Ropes to that City, and we will draw it into the River, until there be not one ſmall Stone found there*, 2 Sam. xvii. 13. Where his Meaning is, that if *David* ſhould quit the open Field, and betake himſelf to the ſtrongeſt of their Cities, encompaſs'd with high Walls and deep Ditches, ſuch a numerous Army (as he propos'd) would be ſufficient to begirt it round, and, by Ropes put about the Walls, draw them down, and all the Houſes of the City into the Ditch, that ran about it: Not that any ſuch Practice was ever us'd in War, and therefore the Words muſt be look'd upon as merely *Thraſonical*, and calculated to pleaſe *Abſalom*; unleſs we will ſay with ſome, that the Word in the Original may denote ſuch *Machines* as are work'd by *Ropes*, and were, at that Time, in uſe to batter down Walls. *Calmet*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

* *Joſephus* thus relates the Matter: —— " When *Ahitophel* was come home to *Galmon*, he called his Family " together, and told them the Advice, which he had given *Abſalom*, but that he would not follow it, and that, in " a ſhort Time, that Refuſal would be his Ruin; for *David* would certainly baffle him, and ſoon recover his King- " dom. Now it is more honourable for me, *ſays he*, to die, aſſerting my Liberty like a Man, than to wait ſneaking " till *David* comes in again, and to be flay'd at laſt for the Services I have done the Son againſt the Father." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vii. c. 9.

† In 2 *Sam.* xv. 18. we read, that *all the* Gittites, *ſix hundred Men, which came after him* (viz. *David*) *from* Gath, *paſſed on before the King*; but who thoſe *Gittites* were 'tis hard to determine, becauſe we have no Mention made of them, in any other Part of Scripture. Some imagine, that they were Natives of *Gath*, who, taken with the Fame of *David*'s Piety, and happy Succeſſes, came along with *Ittai*, (whom the *Jews* ſuppoſe to have been the Son of *Achiſh*, King of *Gath*) and, being *proſelyted* to the *Jewiſh* Religion, became Part of *David*'s Guard, and attended him in his Wars. But others rather think, that they were Men of *Jewiſh* Extract, but had this *additional* Name, from their fleeing unto *David* (probably under the Conduct of *Ittai*) *while he was at* Gath, and accompanying him ever after, not only in the Time of *Saul*'s Perſecution of him, but even after his Acceſſion to the *united* Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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THE two Armies met in the † Wood of *Ephraim*, which belongeth to the Tribe of *Manaſſeh*, where *Abſalom*'s Army, tho' much ſuperior in Number, was defeated, and put to Flight: For the *Loyaliſts*, upon this Occaſion, behav'd ſo gallantly, that they kill'd † twenty Thouſand of the Rebels upon the Spot, and would doubtleſs have carry'd the Slaughter farther, had not *Abſalom* (the chief Cauſe of all this Miſchief) been taken, and ſlain.

HIS Hair (as we ſaid before) was of a prodigious Length, and Largeneſs; and, as he was now in Flight from the Enemy, and riding with great Speed, under the Trees, it happen'd to * entangle itſelf on one of the Boughs in ſuch a Manner, that it lifted him off his Saddle, and his Mule running from under him, left him there hanging in the Air, and unable to diſengage himſelf.

IN this Condition a private Soldier found him, and told it unto *Joab*, who blam'd him for not having kill'd him; and when the Man, in Excuſe, urg'd the Command, which he heard the King give the *Generals*, to be very tender and careful of his Son's Life, *Joab*, looking upon all this as nothing, or as a Command fitter for a Parent, than a King, went to the Place where he was * hanging, and, having firſt given him his Death's Wound himſelf, order'd the People, which were by, to diſpatch him; and ſo went, and ſounded a Retreat to prevent any farther Effuſion of Blood, and to give *Abſalom*'s Party an Opportunity of eſcaping to their reſpective Homes. From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

THUS died the wicked and rebellious *Abſalom*, and, inſtead of an honourable Interment, fit for a King's Son, his Body was taken down, and thrown into a Pit, and cover'd with an * Heap of Stones.

The

† This Wood was ſo called, (as ſome imagine) becauſe the *Ephramites* were wont to drive their Cattle over *Jordan* to feed them in it; but others (with more Probability) ſuppoſe, that it had its Name from the great Slaughter (related in *Judg.* xii.) which *Jephthah* had formerly made of the *Ephramites* in that Place. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, in the Notes.

† The Expreſſion in the Text is, *The Wood devoured more People that Day, than the Sword devoured*, 2 Sam. xviii. 8. which ſome think was occaſion'd by their falling into Pits, preſſing one another to Death in ſtrait Places, creeping into lurking Holes, and there being ſtarv'd to Death, or otherwiſe devour'd by wild Beaſts, which met them in their Flight: But the moſt eaſy and ſimple Meaning of the Paſſage is, that there were more ſlain in the Wood, than in the Field of Battle. The Field of Battle (as *Joſephus* tells us, *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vii. cap. 9.) was a *Plain*, with a Wood contiguous to it; and therefore, when *Abſalom*'s Army was put to the Rout, and betook themſelves to the Wood for Refuge, their Purſuers made a greater Slaughter of them *there*, than they otherwiſe would have done, becauſe they could not run away ſo faſt in the Wood, as they might have done in the open Field. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* The Words in the Text, indeed, make no Mention of *Abſalom*'s Hair in this Place: They only inform us, that *Abſalom rode upon a Mule, and that Mule went under the thick Boughs of a great Oak, and his Head caught hold of the Oak, and he was taken up between the Heaven and the Earth, and the Mule, that was under him, went away*, 2 Sam. xviii. 9. From whence ſome infer, that the Meaning of the Hiſtorian is, not that *Abſalom* hung by his Hair, but that his Neck was ſo wedged between the Boughs, by the ſwift Motion of the Mule, that he was not able to diſengage himſelf. For it is hardly to be queſtion'd, *ſay they*, but that, when he went to Battle, he had an Helmet on; and an Helmet, which cover'd his Head, would have hinder'd his Hair from being intangled in the Boughs: But 'tis only ſuppoſing, either that his Helmet was ſuch, as left a great deal of his Hair viſible and uncover'd, or that, if it was large enough to encloſe the whole, he might, upon this Occaſion, throw it off, (as well as his other heavy Armour) to make himſelf lighter, and expedite his Flight; and then there will be no Incongruity in the common, and receiv'd Opinion, to which the Authority of *Joſephus* adds ſome Confirmation, *viz.* "That, as *Abſalom* was "making his Eſcape, upon the whiffling of the Air, a ſnagged Bough of a Tree took hold of his Hair, and the "Mule, running forward from under him, left him dangling in the Air." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vii. c. 9.

* *Commentators* have obſerv'd the Juſtice of God, in bringing *Abſalom* to a condign Puniſhment, and ſuch a Kind of Death, as was ordain'd by the Law for Offences, like unto his. For whereas, in the firſt Place, he was *hanged* as it were, this was declar'd by the Law to be *an accurſed Death*, Deut. xxi. 23. and was, afterwards, in ſome Meaſure, *ſtoned*; this was the particular Kind of Death, that the Law preſcribed for a ſtubborn and rebellious Son, *Deut.* xxi. 21.

* In the Deſcription of the *Holy-Land*, ſome Geographers tell us, that this Heap of Stones remain'd even to their Days, and that all Travellers, as they paſs'd by it, were wont to throw a Stone to add to the Heap, in Deteſtation of his Rebellion againſt his Father. For, though it became a Cuſtom among the *Greeks* to raiſe an Heap of Stones in the Place where any great Perſon was interr'd, as a Monument of Honour and Reſpect; yet it is plain, that none of *David*'s Army intended any Honour to *Abſalom*'s Memory in accumulating Stones upon him, nor can we think, that *David* himſelf (though too fond of this Rebel-Son) made any Alteration afterwards in the Form of his Burial, for

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From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

The OBJECTION.

" THIS indeed was the woful End " of *David*'s favourite Son and " Heir, but to his own Miſ-conduct the " *Father* might impute the Irregularities " of his Children, ſince, either by an " *over-weening* Fondneſs to them, a *tacit* " Connivance at what they did amiſs, or " an *exemplary* Encouragement given to " it by himſelf, he ſuffer'd Iniquity to " abound among them. For, after his " Adultery with *Uriah*'s Wife, (and yet, " one would think, he had Women " enough of his own) and the baſe Mur- " ther of her gallant Huſband, for which " no Excuſe, no Colour of Apology can " be made, with what Face could he re- " prove, much more chaſtize (as it de- " ſerv'd) the *inceſtuous* Rape of his Son, " *Amnon* upon the beauteous *Tamar*, or " the barbarous and bloody Revenge, " which *Abſalom* took upon this Brother " for violating his Siſter's Honour?

" HAD *David* interpos'd but his " *paternal* Authority, and puniſh'd *Am-* " *non*'s Crime with the Severity it re- " quir'd, *Abſalom*'s Reſentment had per- " haps never broke out into ſuch Violence " as it did; but where do we read of any " Puniſhment, any Diſgrace, nay, even " of any Diſcountenance, put upon *Am-* " *non* for his brutal and impious Uſage of " his Siſter? All that the Hiſtorian tells " us of the Matter is, that, (*c*) *when* " *King* David *heard of theſe Things, he* " *was very wroth:* But his Wrath, it " ſeems, he kept to himſelf; he ſhew'd " no Tokens of it to the *Offender*; and " therefore *Abſalom*, when he ſaw his " Father conniving at the Thing, under- " took to do himſelf Juſtice, and to " avenge the Diſhonour done to his " Family.

" IN this however he acted very wick- " edly: But then, why did not his Fa- " ther call him to an Account for it? " Why did he ſuffer him (*d*) to eſcape " into *Geſhur*, and not immediately ſend " Meſſengers to apprehend him? Inſtead " of demanding him of the King of *Ge-* " *ſhur*, in order to bring him to Juſtice, " the Hiſtorian tells us, that (*e*) the *Soul* " *of King* David *long'd to go forth unto* " Abſalom; and that, not long after, " upon a very frivolous Pretence, *viz.* the " falſe and impertinent Tale of a canting " old Woman, he took Occaſion to re- " call him; and, when he was recalled, " ſuffer'd him to launch into greater Ex- " travagancies, than ever *Prince* had done " before.

" IT is not much to be wonder'd at, " that a young Prince, of a proud, am- " bitious Spirit, with all this Impunity " and Encouragement, ſhould come at " laſt to affect the Government, and de- " poſe his Father; but certainly *David* " appears to be a very weak Man, when " he gives his *Generals* this Charge con- " cerning a Rebel in Arms againſt him; " (*f*) *Deal gently, for my Sake, with the* " *young*

Fear of enraging the People againſt him. Some, however, are of a quite contrary Opinion, *viz.* that *David*, who lamented him with ſuch Exceſs, remov'd him from this Pit, in order to have him laid in the Sepulchre belonging to the Kings, or perhaps ſomewhere about the Place, where the *Monument*, which goes under his Name, and, even to this Day, is ſhewn to Travellers, was dug in a Rock. It is a little Chamber, wrought with a Chiſel, out of one Piece of Rock, which ſtands at ſome Diſtance from the reſt of the Mountain, and is a Square of eight Paces from Out to Out. The *Inſide* of this Chamber is all plain, but the *Outſide* is adorn'd with ſome Pilaſters of the ſame Kind of Stone. The Upper Part, or Covering is made in the Form of a *Conick Pyramid*, pretty high and large, with a Kind of *Flower-Pot* on its Top. The Pyramid is compos'd of ſeveral Stones, but the Monument itſelf is ſquare, and all cut out of one Block. In the Time of *Joſephus*, the Monument, which was ſaid to be *Abſalom*'s, was nothing more, than one Marble Pillar, widely different from what, at preſent, goes under his Name, and which therefore muſt be accounted a more *modern* Building. *Le Clerc*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries, *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vii. cap. 9. and *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Abſalom*.

(*c*) 2 Sam. xiii. 21. (*d*) Ver. 37. (*e*) Ver. 39. (*f*) Ibid. xviii. 5.

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" *young Man*, even with *Abſalom:* And " *Joab* ſeems to be no very good *Subject*, " when, notwithſtanding the King's " Command, (*g*) *he took three Darts in* " *his Hand, and thruſt them through the* " *Heart of* Abſalom. But in this he " might the rather preſume upon being " pardon'd by a *Man*, who had paſs'd " by his baſe and treacherous Murther " of *Abner*, without the leaſt Cenſure, " or Rebuke.

" To be a *Terror to Evil-workers*, " even tho' they be our neareſt Friends " and Relations, and to be kind and " merciful to ſuch, as behave gallantly, " even tho' they be our greateſt Enemies, " are no improper Rules of Conduct in " any great Prince: And yet how very " reverſe were *David*'s Actions to theſe, " when we find him winking at Murther " at *home*, and purſuing, with the moſt " exquiſite Tortures, ſuch People, as " oppos'd his Meaſures by fighting for " their Liberty, *abroad*.

" For what can we ſay, for his put- " ting the Inhabitants of *Rabbah*, as " well as the other Cities of the *Ammo-* " *nites*, (*h*) *under Saws, and under Har-* " *rows, and under Axes, and making them* " *paſs through the Brick-kiln?* What ſhall " we ſay, to his making War againſt " *Iſhboſheth*, *Saul*'s Son and Heir, when " himſelf (*i*) had ſworn to the Father, " that he would *not cut off his Seed*, or " deſtroy any of his Family? What ſhall " we ſay, to his taking the Advantage of " *Abner*'s Reſentment (*k*) to draw him " aſide from his Maſter's Service, and " to enter into *League* (for the Promotion " of his own Cauſe) with a very wicked " Man? And laſtly, what ſhall we ſay, " (*l*) to his obliging *Huſhai* to uſe all " Manner of Falſehood to *Abſalom*; to " act the *Hypocrite*, and tell innumerable " Lies, on purpoſe to get into his Confi- " dence, and ſo betray his Counſels? " Theſe, and ſeveral other Inſtances, " that might be produc'd in this Period of " Hiſtory, are enough to convince us, " that, how much ſoever *David*'s Piety " and Righteouſneſs may be extoll'd by " ſome; in his *publick* Capacity he was a " *weak* Prince, and, in his *private*, a *bad* " Ruler of his Family; *partial* to his " Friends, *cruel* to his Enemies, *falſe* to " his Promiſes, *unjuſt* in his Diſtributions, " and *deceitful* in his Tranſactions with " Mankind; *guilty* of Murther and " Adultery himſelf, and a *tame* Con- " niver at thoſe, who committed the like " Offences.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

" But well may the *Hiſtorian* leave " theſe Imputations upon *David*'s Cha- " racter, when he is not afraid to load " *Almighty* God with an Accuſation of " *captious* Cruelty. For what leſs can " we call (*m*) his *ſtriking* Uzzah *dead* " upon the Spot, merely for putting out " his Hand, and laying hold on the Ark, " (which, ſome would be apt to think, " proceeded from Reſpect and Reverence, " more than any Profanation of it) when, " by the Stumbling of the Oxen, it was in " Danger of being overturn'd; and when " he is not aſham'd to relate ſuch incon- " gruous and incredible Things, (*n*) *as* " *the Sound of Men*'s marching upon the " *Tops of Mulberry-Trees*; as (*o*) the ex- " travagant Story of a *Crown, (worn by the* " *King of* Rabbah, and afterwards by " *David)* which weigh'd an hundred and " twenty-five Pounds, more than any " human Neck could bear; and of (*p*) " an Head of Hair belonging to *Abſalom*, " whoſe very *Clippings* came to no leſs " than four Pounds, and two Ounces of " our Weight; with ſome other *Abſur-* " *dities* of the like Nature?"

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing why David *had many Wives.*

DAVID, no doubt, was a very fond Father to his Children, and a tender Huſband to his Wives: Of theſe, it muſt be own'd, he had too many, *eighteen* in Number, if we will reckon his *Concubines* into that *Relation*, which, in thoſe Days, did not much differ from the *other*, except in ſome Rites and Solemnities of Marriage.

(*g*) 2 Sam. xviii. 14. (*h*) Ibid. xii. 31. (*i*) 1 Sam. xxiv. 21, 22. (*k*) 2 Sam. iii. 13. (*l*) Ibid. xv. 34. (*m*) Ibid. vi. 7. (*n*) Ibid. v. 24. (*o*) Ibid. xii. 30. (*p*) Ibid. xiv. 26.

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riage. But, as *Polygamy* was then tolerated among the *Jews*, (*q*) and the Prohibition of *a King's multiplying Wives to himſelf* does no where limit the Number of them, *David* might conceive, that this *Polygamy* was no Tranſgreſſion of the Law, and thence be induc'd more readily to comply with it, in order to enlarge his Family, and attach the principal Nobility of his own Nation, as well as ſome foreign *Potentates* more cloſely to his Intereſt. (*r*) For it was always look'd upon as a Piece of *political* Wiſdom in Princes to endeavour to have many Children, that, by matching them into ſeveral powerful Families, they might have more *Supporters* of their Authority, and more Aſſiſtance, in Caſe of any Invaſion of it.

His Indulgence to his Children excus'd.

THIS however is no Part of *David*'s Commendation, how much ſoever it might tend to his Security: But that a Father ſhould be *fond* of a Son, and, in ſome Inſtances, carry that Fondneſs to Exceſs; that he ſhould be blind to his *leſſer* Faults, and always inclinable, upon proper Tokens of Repentance, to forgive the *greater*; that he ſhould love to ſee every Thing look *gay* and *handſome* about him, be liberal to his decent *Expences*, and ready to overlook ſome little *Extravagances*; that he ſhould be *uneaſy* in his Abſence, *joyous* to ſee him, and when he is in any imminent Danger, very *ſollicitous* for his Preſervation (which are all the Articles, brought againſt *David*, in Relation to his Son *Abſalom*): Theſe are Faults (if Faults they be) which every *good-natur'd* Parent, who feels the tender Propenſities of human Nature towards thoſe of *his own Fleſh*, will eaſily be induc'd to forgive: And well were it for *David*, if we could make the like *Apology* for that great Enormity of his, in the Matter of *Uriah*; but, * inſtead of attempting any Extenuation of it, we ſhall rather take Notice of the ſeveral Aggravations, which *Moraliſts* have diſcover'd in it, and of the Reaſons, for which the Spirit of God thought proper to record it in Holy Writ.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

The ſeveral Aggravations of his Crime.

TO this Purpoſe, ſome have obſerv'd, 1ſt, That, (*s*) as *David tarried at* Jeruſalem, *at the Time, when Kings went forth to Battle*, he there indulg'd himſelf in Eaſe and Luxury, (which are the Bane and Ruſt of the Mind) and ſo inſenſibly fell into thoſe looſe Deſires, which drew him into ſuch vile Perpetrations; ſo that the firſt Cauſe of his Sin was *Idleneſs*. 2d, They obſerve it, as an Aggravation of his Crime, (*t*) that he certainly knew that *Bathſheba* was another Man's Wife, and yet deliberately and adviſedly committed the Sin; nay, that ſhe was the Wife of one, who was a *Proſelyte* to the *Jewiſh* Religion, and therefore added Scandal to his Wickedneſs, or (as the Text expreſſes it) (*u*) *gave great Occaſion to the Enemies of the Lord to blaſpheme*. 3d, They obſerve, that there was Perfidy added to this Guilt, and a ſinful Contrivance, (*x*) in cauſing *Uriah* to be ſent for home; in receiving him with great Tokens of his Favour; and in entertaining him with *good Cheer*, that he might be the more deſirous to enjoy the Company of his Wife, and ſo have the Child, which was got in Adultery, reputed his own. 4th, They obſerve, (*y*) from *Uriah*'s Anſwer, that, had not *David*'s Heart been ſear'd, he could not but have felt a ſtrong Remorſe upon thinking how he had abus'd ſo brave a Man, and how he indulg'd himſelf in ſinful Pleaſures, while this Man, and the reſt of his Army glorioufly endur'd all Manner of Hardſhips, for

(*q*) Deut. xvii. 17. (*r*) *Patrick*'s Commentary on 2 *Sam.* v. 13.

* But, contrary to this, the *Jewiſh* Writers have endeavour'd to juſtify *David* in this whole Tranſaction; and, to this Purpoſe, have invented Laws and Cuſtoms, that are no where to be found, either in the Books of *Moſes*, or in the Compaſs of their Hiſtory. They pretend that *David* was marry'd to *Bathſheba* before her Huſband was dead, becauſe it was a Cuſtom (as they ſay) for Soldiers, whenever they went to the Wars, to give their Wives a Bill of *Divorce*, and conſequently, a full Licence to marry whom they pleas'd. But 'tis in vain to attempt to excuſe this black and crying Sin in *David*, for which God ſo ſeverely puniſh'd him, and for which he himſelf was always ready to acknowledge the Divine Juſtice in ſo doing. *Calmet*'s Commentary on 2 *Sam.* xi. 27.

(*s*) 2 Sam. xi. 1. (*t*) Ibid. (*u*) Ibid. xii. 14. (*x*) Ibid. xi. 6, &c. (*y*) Ibid. xi. 11.

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for the Service of their Country. 5th, They obſerve, (*z*) from his Deſign upon *Uriah*'s Life, when he could not otherwiſe conceal his Lewdneſs, how naturally one Sin paves the Way to another, and how, in a ſmall Compaſs of Time, the *Faſcination* of ſenſual Appetites is enough to change the very Nature of Mankind; ſince even he, who formerly ſpar'd *Saul*, unjuſtly ſeeking his Life, is now put upon contriving the Death of a very faithful Servant, in a very baſe and unworthy Manner. 6th, They obſerve it, as a farther Aggravation of his Crime of Murther, that he not only expos'd an innocent and faithful Servant to be kill'd, but that, together with him, (*a*) ſeveral more brave Men, *ſet in the Front of the Battle*, where the Service was hotteſt, muſt neceſſarily have fallen in the Attack; ſo blind was he to the *publick Good*, and ſo prodigal of his Subjects Lives, if he might but cover his Guilt, and gratify his Luſt. 7th, They obſerve, (*b*) from his Anſwer to the Meſſengers, ſent by *Joab* to acquaint him with *Uriah*'s Death, *viz. the Sword devoureth one, as well as another*, the vile Hypocriſy and Obdurateneſs of his Heart, imputing that to the *Chance* of War, or rather to the Direction of *Divine Providence*, which his Conſcience could not but tell him, was of his own *Contrivance*. 8th, and laſtly, they obſerve, (*c*) from his Marriage with *Bathſheba*, even before her Huſband was cold in his Grave, how the Eagerneſs of his indulg'd Appetite had now extinguiſh'd (what in ſome Sinners is laſt of all parted with, and for which he himſelf had lately embru'd his Hands in Blood) all Senſe of Shame and Regard to Reputation, or Decency.

Why they are recorded in Scripture.

THESE are ſome of the Aggravations obſervable in *David*'s Crime, which (beſides his Luſt and Cruelty) is loaded with too juſt an Imputation of Perfidy, of Ingratitude, of Hypocriſy, of Deliberation, of Obſtinacy, and of Shameleſſneſs in Sin: And for theſe Purpoſes were they recorded in Scripture, that they might teach us the Frailty of human Nature, and how liable the beſt of Men are, in ſome Inſtances of their Lives, to be overtaken with very groſs Faults: That they might ſhew us the natural Gradation of one Sin to another, and that, when once we have ſuffer'd our Appetites to *out-ray*, in a ſhort Time it will not be in our Power to ſet Bounds to them, would we never ſo fain: That they might caution us againſt Sloth and Idleneſs, againſt indulging any inordinate Paſſion, or gazing upon any Objects, that may endanger our Innocence: That they might remind us all, how much we ſtand in need continually of the Divine Aſſiſtance, and therefore how much we are concern'd to *pray with all Prayer and Supplication*, and to *watch*, as well as *pray*, that we *fall into no Temptation*: And laſtly, that they might inculcate that excellent Precept which the Apoſtle has laid down in theſe Words; —— (*d*) *Brethren, if any Man be overtaken in a Fault, ye, that are ſpiritual, reſtore ſuch an one in the Spirit of Meekneſs, conſidering thyſelf, leſt thou alſo be tempted.*

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

Why David *did not puniſh* Amnon.

ONE pernicious Conſequence of *David*'s Tranſgreſſion very likely was, that it made him timorous in inflicting Puniſhments upon others; but the Reaſon which *Joſephus* aſſigns for his not chaſtiſing *Amnon* for his *inceſtuous* Rape, *viz. becauſe he was his eldeſt Son, and he loved him, and would not diſpleaſe him*, is a groundleſs Calumny, and mere Fiction; for (*e*) ſince the ſacred Hiſtory has thought fit to be ſilent in this Matter, no one can tell what his Father either ſaid, or did to him. The true Reaſon therefore, as we ſuppoſe, why his Father did not proceed with Severity againſt him, was, becauſe the Caſe (as it then ſtood) was *intricate* and *perplext*, and ſuch as the Law had made no Proviſion for. The Law concerning *Rapes* is worded thus; —— (*f*) *If a Damſel, that is a Virgin, be betrothed unto a Huſband, and a Man find her in the City, and lie*

(*z*) 2 Sam. xi. 15. (*a*) Ibid. ver. 15. (*b*) Ibid. ver. 25. (*c*) Ibid. ver. 27. (*d*) Gal. vi. 1. (*e*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary on 2 *Sam.* xiii. 21. (*f*) Deut. xxii. 23, &c.

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lie with her; then ye ſhall bring them both out unto the Gate of the City, and ye ſhall ſtone them with Stones that they die: The Damſel, becauſe ſhe cried not, being in the City; and the Man, becauſe he hath humbled his Neighbour's Wife: And again, *If a Man find a Damſel, that is a Virgin, which is not betrothed, and lay hold on her, and lie with her, and they be found; then the Man, that lay with her, ſhall give unto the Damſel's Father fifty Shekels of Silver, and ſhe ſhall be his Wife, becauſe he hath humbled her; he may not put her away all his Days.* Theſe are the two principal Laws concerning this Matter, but neither come up to the Caſe now before us. For, had *David* puniſh'd *Amnon*'s Crime with Death, as the former Law requires, *Tamar*, in like Manner, muſt have ſuffer'd too, (even tho' ſhe was innocent) becauſe *ſhe cried not out*; and tho' ſhe was not a *betrothed Damſel*, (as the Caſe is put in the latter Law) yet *David* could not compel *Amnon* to marry her, becauſe ſuch a Marriage would have been *inceſtuous*; and therefore we may ſuppoſe, that tho' *David* might reprimand his Son very ſeverely for having *wrought Folly in* Iſrael, yet he could not bring him before a publick Judicature, becauſe the Law did not properly extend to his Caſe, or if he had made it extend, the Innocent muſt have ſuffer'd with the Guilty; and (*g*) a Rule of Equity I think it is, rather to let the *Guilty* eſcape, than that the Innocent and Injur'd ſhould be deſtroy'd.

Nor Abſalom *for murthering him.*

THE *ſacred* Hiſtorian has taken Care to clear *David* from any baſe Connivance at *Abſalom*'s Wickedneſs in murthering his Brother *Amnon*, by telling us, that as ſoon as he had done it, (*h*) *he fled, and went to Talmai*, his Grand-Father by his Mother's Side, who was then King of *Geſhur*. *Geſhur* was a City in *Syria*, which lay on the other Side of *Jordan*; and *Abſalom*, who meditated the Murther of his Brother, and could not but foreſee that it would be an Act of high Diſpleaſure to his Father, invited the *Princes of the Blood* to his Country-Seat, which was (*i*) near the City *Ephraim*, not far from the River *Jordan*, that he might have a better Opportunity, not only for putting in Execution his wicked Deſign, but of making his Eſcape likewiſe: So that *David* (had he been ever ſo much minded) could not poſſibly have apprehended him, before he had got to a ſafe Retreat; and where, it is eaſy to imagine, he would tell his Tale ſo well, as to gain his Grand-Father's Protection, if not Approbation of the Fact, which, with a ſmall Share of Eloquence, might be ſo ſet off, as to appear a neceſſary Vindication of the Honour of their Family, which had been ſo groſſly violated.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

THE Law of God indeed is very expreſs: —— (*k*) *Whoſoever ſheddeth Man's Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed*; (*l*) neither *ſhall ye take any Satisfaction for the Life of a Murtherer, which is guilty of Death, but he ſhall ſurely be put to Death.* Whereby it appears, that the Supreme Magiſtrate was oblig'd to execute Juſtice upon all wilful Murtherers without any Reſervation; nor had *David* any Power to diſpenſe with God's Laws, or to ſpare thoſe, whom he had commanded him to deſtroy. But then it muſt be conſider'd, that the Affront, which *Amnon* put upon *Abſalom*, was very great and heinous; that *Abſalom*, at this Time, was out of the Reach of *David*'s Juſtice, and ſo would have continu'd, had he not obtain'd a Promiſe of Impunity; that, by living an Exile in an *heatheniſh* Country, *David* had Reaſon to apprehend, that his Son was in Danger of being infected with their wicked and *idolatrous* Practices, and was therefore the rather inclin'd to recal him; and that the Clamours and Importunities of the People, which *Joab* procur'd this Woman of *Tekoah* to repreſent to the King in a very free and artful Manner, did almoſt compel him to do it: For, what he ſaid in the Caſe of *Joab*'s Murther of *Abner*, viz. that he could not revenge it, becauſe

Why he recalled him.

(*g*) The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*. (*h*) 2 Sam. xiii. 37. (*i*) Ibid. ver. 23. Vide John xi. 54. (*k*) Gen. ix. 6. (*l*) Numb. xxxv. 31.

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(*m*) *the Sons of* Zeruiah *were too hard for him*; the like, very probably, might have been ſaid in this Caſe, where the People's Hearts were ſo ſtrongly, and ſo univerſally ſet upon *Abſalom*; and that the rather, becauſe his long Baniſhment mov'd their Pity, and his Abſence made them more impatient for his Return. The Eyes of all, in ſhort, were upon him, as the next Heir, as a wiſe, and gallant, and amiable Prince, unhappy only in this Inſtance of killing *Amnon*, for which he had a ſufficient Provocation; and therefore, to ſatisfy the Cries of the People, as well as to provide for the Security of his Kingdom, which ſeem'd to depend on the Eſtabliſhment of the Succeſſion in *Abſalom*, *David* was oblig'd to forgive him, and recal him.

And let him live ſplendidly.

And, when he was recall'd, and re-inſtated in the King's Favour, 'tis no Wonder that a young Prince, of his gay Temper, ſhould multiply his *Attendants*, and ſet up a rich *Equipage*, to attract the Eyes and Admiration of Mankind; or that his Father, whoſe Riches ſo well enabled him to bear the Expence of this Magnificence, and whoſe Heart rejoic'd perhaps to ſee his Son the *Favourite* of the People, did not reſtrain him in it; becauſe a Man of an open Spirit himſelf loves to ſee his Children make a Figure in Life, which, in all *Eaſtern* Countries, was a Thing cuſtomary, and might here more eſpecially be expected in the *eldeſt*, and Heir *preſumptive* to the Crown.

And deſired his Life to be ſpar'd.

(*n*) Some of the *Jewiſh* Doctors tell us, that, how indulgent ſoever *David* might be to his Son *Abſalom*, he never intended him for his Succeſſor in the Kingdom; that he had all along made a Promiſe to *Bathſheba*, his favourite Queen, (which Promiſe, tho' (*o*) recorded later in the Hiſtory, might at firſt come to *Abſalom*'s Ear) that her Son *Solomon* ſhould ſucceed in the Regal Dignity; and that *Abſalom*, both from a Conſciouſneſs of his own Demerits, and of the *Superiority* of Wiſdom and Piety, that appear'd in *Solomon*, perceiving that his Father intended to poſtpone him, and inſtate the other, enter'd into this Rebellion, in order to aſſert his *Birth-right* to the Crown. But the Fault in *David* was not any Excluſion of Right, but too blind an Indulgence to his Son, even while he was in Arms againſt him, ready to kill, and reſolv'd to depoſe him: *Spare ye the young Man*, ſays he; and this he might deſire, partly from a Conſciouſneſs of his own Sin in the Caſe of *Uriah*, which was the *meritorious* and *procuring* Cauſe of the Rebellion, in which his Son was unhappily engag'd; partly from a Conſideration of his *Youth*, which is commonly fooliſh and giddy, and ſubject to evil Counſels, and therefore deſerves Pity; and partly from a Senſe of Piety in himſelf, as being unwilling that he ſhould be cut off in a ſinful Rebellion, without any Space, or Means of Repentance.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

And why Joab *might think proper to kill him.*

These might be ſome of the Reaſons, that made *David* give his Army ſo ſtrict a Charge, not to kill his Son, in Caſe they ſhould take him: But *Joab* had quite different Sentiments of the Matter. He perceived, that there could be no Safety to the King, nor Peace to the Kingdom, no Security to himſelf, or other loyal Subjects, as long as *Abſalom* lived; that, notwithſtanding this unnatural Rebellion, the King was ſtill inclinable to forgive him, and that there would always be ſome unquiet People, that would be moving freſh Diſturbances, in order to ſet him on the Throne. Looking upon this Charge therefore, as an Order, more proper for a *Parent*, than a *Prince*, he adventured to diſobey it. For he thought with himſelf, (*p*) that the King ought not to be obſerv'd in an Affair, wherein he ſhew'd more Regard to his *private* Paſſion, than to the *publick* Good; that Fathers ſhould always ſacrifice their *paternal* Tenderneſs to the Intereſt of the Government; and that, as *Abſalom* had forfeited his Life to the Laws upon ſeveral Accounts,

(*m*) 2 Sam. iii. 39. (*n*) *Pool*'s Annotations on 2 *Sam.* xv. 7. (*o*) 1 Kings i. 30. (*p*) *Calmet*'s Commentary on 2 *Sam.* xviii. 14.

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counts, it was but Juſtice now to take this Opportunity of diſpatching him, as an Enemy to his King and Country: But whether, in this Act of Diſobedience to the Royal Command, *Joab* is perfectly to be vindicated, we ſhall not pretend to determine. 'Tis certain, that he was a Perſon of a bold Temper, high Paſſions, and fiery Reſentments; that valued himſelf upon the Services, he had done the King, and ſeemed not to be much afraid of his Authority.

Why David *did not puniſh him for the Murther of* Abner.

THE Complaint, which *David* makes to ſome of his Courtiers, upon this *General's* murthering the famous *Abner*, declares the true Reaſon, why he could not, at that Time, put the Laws in Execution againſt him: —— (*q*) *Know ye not*, ſays he, *that there is a Prince, and a great Man fallen this Day in* Iſrael? *And I am this Day weak, tho' anointed King; and theſe Men, the Sons of* Zeruiah, *be too hard for me: The Lord ſhall reward the Doer of Evil according to his Wickedneſs.* *Joab* was *David's* Siſter's Son, or Nephew, (*r*) who had ſtuck cloſe to him in all his Adverſity, an excellent Soldier himſelf, and a Man of great Power and Authority among the Army; ſo that, had *David* immediately called him to *Juſtice* for this vile Act againſt *Abner*, ſuch was his Intereſt among the *Soldiery*, that he ſoon would have cauſed a Mutiny or Revolt, and found a Means to ſhock or unhinge the Government, that was not, as yet, ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. It was a Point of Prudence therefore in *David*, to delay the Puniſhment of ſo powerful, and ſo perilous a Man, until a more convenient Seaſon, and only, for the preſent, to expreſs his Deteſtation of the Deed, by commending the *Deceas'd*, condemning the *Murther*, and commanding the *Murtherer* (by Way of *Penance*) to attend the *Funeral* in Sackcloth, and other Enſigns of Mourning.

So far is *David* from *winking* at *Abner's* Murther, that we find him burying him with great Solemnity, and making mournful Lamentation over his Grave; praiſing his Valour, and other great Qualities publickly, and curſing the Author of his untimely Death: (*s*) *I, and my Kingdom*, ſays he, *are guiltleſs before the Lord for ever from the Blood of* Abner, *the Son of* Ner: *Let it reſt on the Head of* Joab, *and on all his Father's Houſe, and let there not fail from the Houſe of* Joab *one, that hath an Iſſue, or that is a Leper, or that leaneth on a Staff, or that falleth on the Sword, or that lacketh Bread.*

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

Why he was ſo cruel to the Ammonites.

BUT what *Apology* ſhall we make for his treating the *Ammonites* ſo inhumanly, and putting them to ſuch exquiſite Torments, only for a ſmall Indignity, which a young King, at the Inſtigation of ſome evil Counſellors, put upon his *Embaſſadors*, ſince their ſeems to be no Proportion between the *Affront*, and the *Revenge*, between the one's having their *Beards* and *Clothes* cut a little ſhorter, and the other's being *put under Saws and Harrows*, or thrown into hot burning Furnaces? Had *David* indeed been the Inventor of ſuch frightful Puniſhments, we might have juſtly reckon'd him a Man of the ſame cruel and brutal Spirit, as was *Caligula*, who, in After-Ages, (as (*t*) *Suetonius* tells us) was wont to take a great Delight in inflicting them: But, the Truth is, that theſe were the Puniſhments, which the *Ammonites* inflicted upon the *Jews*, whenever they took them Priſoners; and therefore *David*, when he conquer'd their Country, and reduc'd their *capital* City, us'd them with the like Cruelty: Not every one of them *indiſcriminately*, but ſuch only as appear'd in Arms againſt him, and had either adviſ'd, or approv'd the Advice of putting ſuch a Diſgrace upon his Meſſengers.

THE *Ammonites* 'tis certain, were early initiated into all the Cruelties of the People of *Canaan*: When they infeſted *Jabeſh-Gilead*, and the Beſieg'd made an Offer to ſurrender,

(*q*) 2 Sam. iii. 38. (*r*) *Patrick's* Commentary on 2 *Sam.* iii. 39. (*s*) 2 Sam. iii. 28, 29.
(*t*) Cap. xxvii.

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ſurrender, the eaſieſt Condition that they would grant them, was, that they might (*u*) *thruſt out all their right Eyes, and lay it for a Reproach upon* Iſrael *for ever*; which one Inſtance, as I take it, is in the Room of ten Thouſand Proofs, to demonſtrate, that theſe *Ammonites* were Monſters of Barbarity; and that therefore King *David* was no more culpable for retaliating upon them the ſame Cruelties, that they us'd to inflict on *others*, than the People of *Agragentum* were, for burning *Phalaris* in his own *Bull*, or *Theſeus* the Hero, for ſtretching *Procraſtes* beyond the Dimenſions of his own *Bed*. For even *Heathen* Caſuiſts have determin'd, that no Law can be more juſt and equitable, than that, which decreed *Artiſts of Cruelty to periſh by their own Arts*.

The particular Puniſhment of *paſſing through the Brick-Kilns*, an ingenious (*x*) Author ſeems fairly to account for, by making this Conjecture. —— "It is very "well known ſays he, that the *Jews* "were Slaves in *Egypt*, and particularly "employ'd in Brick-making. Now it is "natural for all People at Enmity to "reproach one another with the Meanneſs "and Baſeneſs of their Original. As "therefore the *Ammonites* were a cruel "and inſolent Enemy, and nothing could "be more natural for Men of their Tem-"per, when they had got any *Jews* in "their Power, than to cry out, *ſend the* "*Slaves to the Brick-Kilns, and ſo tor-*"*ture them to Death*; ſo nothing could "be more natural than for the *Jews*, "when they got an Advantage over "them, to return them the ſame Treat-"ment." However this be, 'tis certain that the Siege of *Rabbah* began before *David* had any criminal Commerce with *Bathſheba*, and if the Town was not taken till after *Solomon*'s Birth, (as the Sequel of his Hiſtory ſeems to imply) the Siege muſt laſt for about two Years; in which Time, upon the Suppoſition that *David* continu'd in an obdurate State of Sin and Impenitence, and was therefore depriv'd of that mild and merciful Spirit, for which he had formerly been ſo remarkable; there is no Wonder, if being now become cruel and hard-hearted, as well as exaſperated with the Length of the Siege, he treated the *Ammonites* in the ſame outrageous Manner, that they were accuſtom'd to treat his Subjects, not only to *retaliate* the Thing upon them, but to deter all future Ages likewiſe from violating the *Right of Nations*, by treating the Perſons of publick Embaſſadors with Contempt. From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

That the Rights of *Embaſſadors* are guarded by all Laws, both Divine and Human, and that therefore a Violation of theſe Rights is not only unjuſt, but impious, is the general Sentiments of all the moſt able (*y*) Writers upon the Laws and Conſtitutions of *Civil* Government. So tender were the *Romans* in this particular, (*z*) that they appointed twenty *Feciales* (as they call'd thoſe Officers) to inſpect their good Uſage, and preſerve their Immunities; to make them immediate Reparation, when any Injury was done them; and, in Caſe of a *perſonal* Affront or Indignity, to deliver up the Offender, even tho' he were a Noble or a *Patrician* by Birth, into the Hands of the Nation, from whence the Embaſſador came, to be treated by them, as they thought fit. And therefore, we need leſs wonder, that King *David*, who in all his Actions was a nice Obſerver of every Punctilio in *publick* Honour, ſhould reſent, in ſo high a Manner, an Indignity, the greateſt that could be offer'd, put upon his *Miniſters*, and from them reflecting upon his own Majeſty, merely for ſending a kind Complement of *Condolence* to a fooliſh Prince, (as he prov'd) upon the Death of a very worthy Father.

How he kept his Promiſe *with* Saul.

A Man ſo *zealous* for his own Honour as well as for the Right of Nations, in his *publick* Capacity, can hardly be preſum'd to be an Abettor of *Perfidy* in his more *private*. We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, that

(*u*) 1 Sam. xi. 2. (*x*) The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*. (*y*) Vide *Grotius, Selden, Pufendorf*, &c. (*z*) *Grotius*, de Jure Belli, lib. ii. cap. 18.

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that, notwithſtanding his War with *Iſhboſheth*, wherein there might happen ſome *Skirmiſhes*, he ſtill kept his Promiſe with his Father *Saul*, *not to deſtroy any of his Family*; and therefore in the whole Compaſs of the War (in which, tho' it laſted ſeven Years, we no where read of one Battle fought) he acted in the *defenſive*, not *offenſive* Part, and kept an Army by him, not to deſtroy *Saul*'s Poſterity, but merely to maintain himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of that *regal* Dignity, wherewith *Samuel*, by God's Order and Appointment, had inveſted him.

ISHBOSHETH knew very well, that *Samuel* had anointed *David*, and that God had appointed him to be his Father's Succeſſor in the whole Kingdom of *Iſrael*. And therefore his oppoſing him in an *hoſtile* Manner, was Provocation enough, one would think, had not *David* remember'd (*a*) his Oath made to *Saul*, and thereupon overlook'd this ill Treatment of his Son, and pronounc'd him a (*b*) *righteous Perſon*. The Removal of an Adverſary, and dangerous Competitor for a Crown, might be thought a meritorious Piece of Service by ſome ambitious Princes; but *David* was of another Sentiment. His Soul and his Notions were the ſame, as what inſpir'd the great *Alexander*, when he took Vengeance on *Baſſus* for having kill'd his Enemy *Darius*; (*c*) for he did not conſider *Darius*, ſo much in the Capacity of an Enemy, as *Baſſus* in that of a Friend to the Perſon, whom he had baſely murther'd. And it is not improbable, that his Reflection upon the ſad Fate of *Saul*'s unhappy Family, and the ſolemn Promiſe he had given for their Preſervation, as well as the Deſign (*d*) of clearing himſelf from the leaſt Suſpicion of having any Hand in this barbarous Regicide, prevail'd with *David* to inflict upon the Authors of it, the exemplary Puniſhment of hanging them upon Gibbets, to be a Spectacle of Abhorrence; of *cutting off their right Hands*, (*e*) wherewith they had committed this execrable Deed, and of *cutting off their Feet*, wherewith they had made their Eſcape from Juſtice.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

ABNER indeed acted very baſely, very treacherouſly, in deſerting *Iſhboſheth* (the King whom he had ſet up) upon a very ſlight Provocation; but *David* had no Concern in all this. The Kingdom belong'd to him by *Divine* Donation. *Abner* knew this, before he proclaim'd *Iſhboſheth*; and therefore all the Miſchiefs of the *civil* War are chargeable upon him: Nor can *David* be blam'd for receiving his own Right, even tho' it was tender'd to him by the Hand of a bad Man. The Truth is, *David* did not delude *Abner* from his Maſter, but *Abner* made the firſt Overture of his Service to him; and as this was no unfavourable Opportunity of uniting the two contending Kingdoms, which Providence ſeem'd to have thrown in his Way, *David* had been perfidious, not only to his own Intereſt, but to the Eſtabliſhment of the general Peace of the Nation, had he not fallen in with it. (*f*) He, no doubt, was privy to the Cauſe of *Abner*'s Diſguſt: But, without approving either of his Crime or his Treaſon, he might lawfully make uſe of the *Traitor*; nay, and confer on him ſome Tokens of his Favour too, in Conſideration of the Benefits he had receiv'd from him, and of ſome commendable Qualities, either *natural* or *political*, that he had obſerv'd in him. The Inſtrument is not to be regarded in all Actions, and even a bad Man, when he does good Services, may merit a Reward, and be receiv'd with ſome Approbation.

Why he might make uſe of Abner's *Offer.*

No Man indeed ſhould engage another in a baſe or wicked Action; (*g*) becauſe, whether he commits the Thing himſelf,

(*a*) 1 Sam. xxiv. 21. (*b*) 2 Sam. iv. 11. (*c*) Reputabat enim non tam hoſtem ſuum fuiſſe *Darium*, quam Amicum ejus, à quo eſſet occiſus. *Juſtin*, lib. xii. c. 6. (*d*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary. (*e*) *Patrick*'s Commentary. (*f*) *Calmet*'s Commentary on 2 *Sam.* iii. 12. (*g*) Nihil intereſt, utrum ipſe Scelus admittas, an alium propter te admittere velis. *Auguſt. in Moribus Manichæ.*

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or employs another to do it, the Crime is the same; but it is not so (says (*b*) *Grotius*) if a Person freely offers himself, without any Sollicitation or Persuasion to it. In this Case, it is not unlawful to use him as an Instrument, in order to execute what is confessedly lawful for us to do: And, as it is not contrary to the Laws of Arms to receive a *Deserter*, who quits the Enemy's Party and embraces Ours; so we cannot perceive, how *David* could become culpable in taking the Advantage of *Abner*'s Quarrel with *Ishbosheth*, when, without any Application of his, he voluntarily sent to him, and offer'd him his Service, and when the good Providence of God seems to have employ'd the Passion and angry Resentment of that haughty *General*, in order to bring about his wise Designs, and by the Union of the two Kingdoms, prevent the Effusion of much Blood.

His employing Hushai to supplant Absalom.

But what shall we say in Excuse for his *Perfidy*, when we find him putting his Friend *Hushai* upon acting such a Part, as but badly became a Man of Honour; upon going, and offering his Service to his Son *Absalom*, on purpose to betray him, or to give him bad Counsel. The Words of *David* are these:——(*i*) *If thou return to the City, and say unto* Absalom, *I will be thy Servant, O King; as I have been thy Father's Servant hitherto, so will I now also be thy Servant; then mayst thou for me defeat the Counsels of* Ahitophel. But *David*, by these Words, (say some Interpreters) did not advise *Hushai* to betray *Absalom*, or, for his Sake, to violate the Laws of Friendship, but purely to go and adjoin himself to *Absalom*, (who, by this Time, had assum'd the Title of King, and could not properly be address'd to without calling him so) in order to destroy the Counsels of *Ahitophel*, just as a General sends his Spies into the Enemy's Camp, to know what passes there; or as a King keeps in foreign Courts his Envoys, to gain Intelligence of the Designs, that may be form'd against him, and to defeat the Resolutions, that may be taken to his Prejudice. But (whether these Comparisons may come up to the Case before us, or no) 'twas certain, at this Juncture, *Absalom*'s Business was to be upon his Guard. The unjust War, which he had declar'd against his Father, gave his Father a Right to treat him as an *open* Enemy, and to employ either Force or Artifice against him; nor can this Conduct of his be blam'd, unless we should say, that, when Kings are engag'd in War, they are forbidden to disguise their true Designs, even tho' it be a Thing notorious, that upon this Disguise the Practice of *Stratagems* in War (which were never yet accounted unlawful) is entirely founded.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

The Truth is, (*k*) *Absalom*, as a Traitor, a Murtherer, a Rebel, and, as far as in him lay, a Parricide, had forfeited all the Rights of Society, but more especially, as a Rebel: For a Rebel, who sets himself to overturn the establish'd Government, Order, and Peace of any Community, does by that hostile Attempt actually divest himself of all social Rights in that Community. And consequently, *David* could be no more guilty of Perfidy, in forming a Design to supplant *Absalom*, nor *Hushai* guilty of Villany, in undertaking to put it in Execution, than that Man can be said to be guilty of Sin, who deceives a Mad-Man, and turns him away from murthering his best Friends.

And Hushai's undertaking to do it.

The Short of the Matter is, *Hushai*'s Instructions, were to negotiate *David*'s Interest among the Rebels, as well as he could. This he could not do without seeming to act in a contrary Character; and in Order to effect this, there was a Necessity for his concealing himself; and conceal himself he could not, without some Degree of *Dissimulation*; and therefore, the *End* which he propos'd in what he did, *viz.* the Prevention of that long Train of Mischiefs which always attends a *Civil* War, was sufficient to justify the *Means*

(*b*) De Jure Belli, lib. iii. cap. 1. Transfugam jure Belli recipimus. *Grotius*. (*i*) 2 Sam. xv. 34. (*k*) The History of the Life of King *David*, Vol. III.

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Means which he took to accompliſh it. For, tho' it is to be wiſh'd with (*l*) *Cicero*, that *all Lying* and *Diſſimulation were utterly baniſhed from human Life*; yet, as others have maintain'd, that a *beneficial Falſehood is better than a deſtructive Truth*, a Caſe may be ſo circumſtantiated, as to make Diſſimulation, which (as (*m*) Lord *Bacon* ſays) *is nothing elſe but a neceſſary Dependant upon Silence, highly neceſſary; and a Lie, which otherwiſe would be blameable in a Slave, will deſerve Commendation*, (ſays (*n*) *Quintilian*) *when a wiſe Man makes Uſe of it, to ſave his Country by deceiving his Enemy*. Now, as *Huſhai*'s whole Deſign was to deceive an open and declar'd Enemy, who can doubt, but that he was at full Liberty by his Addreſs and Subtilty to diſconcert the Meaſures of thoſe, whom all agree, that, had he been ſo minded, he had Licence to attack with open Violence? (*o*) To overcome an Enemy indeed by Valour, rather than Art, ſounds more gallant, and by ſome has been thought a more † reputable Way of Conqueſt; but, ſince the Laws of Nature and Arms have made no Difference, and thoſe of Humanity and Mercy ſeem to incline to that Side, wherein there is likely to be the leaſt Blood ſhed; *Huſhai* may be ſaid to have acted the worthy *Patriot*, as well as the faithful *Subject*, in breaking the Force of an unnatural Rebellion, and in putting it into his royal Maſter's Mouth to ſay, (*p*) *the Lord is known to execute Judgment; the ungodly are trapped in the Work of their own Hands. They are ſunk down in the Pit that they made; in the ſame Net, which they hid privily, are their own Feet taken.*

David's Character.

THUS, tho' we are not oblig'd to vindicate *David* in every Paſſage of his Life, and think ſome of the crying Sins he was guilty of utterly inexcuſable; yet (if we except theſe) we cannot but think, that, although he was a very tender and indulgent Parent, yet he was no *Encourager* of Vice in his own Family, or a tame Conniver at it in others, had he not been reſtrain'd, by *Reaſons of State*, ſometimes from puniſhing it; that he was true to his Promiſes, juſt in his Diſtributions, and *prudent*, tho' not *crafty*, in his *military* Tranſactions; "of a ſingular Pre-"ſence of Mind, (as (*q*) *Joſephus* ſpeaks "of him) to make the beſt of what was "before him; and of as ſharp a Fore-"ſight for improving all Advantages, and "obviating all Difficulties, that were like "to happen;" *tender* to all Perſons in Diſtreſs, *kind* to his Friends, *forgiving* to his Enemies; and, when, at any Time, he was forc'd to uſe Severity, 'twas only in Retaliation of what other People had done to him.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

Why God ſtruck Uzzah dead.

HAPPY were it for us, if we could account for the Operations of God with the ſame Facility, that we can for the Actions of his *Saints*; but his *Counſels are a great Deep*, and his *Judgments* (juſt tho' they be) are ſometimes obſcure, and *paſt finding out*. For, what ſhall we ſay to the Fate of *Uzzah?* Or what tolerable Cauſe can we aſſign for his ſudden and untimely End? It was now near ſeventy Years ſince the *Iſraelites* had carry'd the Ark from Place to Place, and ſo long a Diſuſe had made them forget the Manner of doing it. In Conformity to what they had heard of the *Philiſtines*, they put it into a new Cart, or Waggon; but this was againſt the expreſs Direction of the Law, (*r*) which order'd it to be borne upon Men's Shoulders. It is commonly ſuppos'd, that *Uzzah* was a *Levite*, tho' there is no Proof of it from Scripture; but

(*l*) Offic. lib. iii. c. 15. (*m*) Serm. Fidel. lib. vi. (*n*) Quintil. Inſtit. Orat. lib. xii. c. 1. (*o*) *Pufendorf*'s Law of Nature, lib. iv. c. 1. and *Grotius*'s Rights of Peace, lib. iii. c. 1.

† Thus when *Perſius*, the *Macedonian* King, was deceiv'd by the Hopes of Peace, the old Senators diſallow'd the Act, as inconſiſtent with *Roman* Bravery; ſaying, That their Anceſters proſecuted their Wars by Valour, not Craft, not like the ſubtile *Carthaginians*, or cunning *Grecians*, among whom it was a greater Glory to overcome their Enemies by Treachery, than true Valour. *Livy*, lib. xlii. c. 47. And it was a known Principle of *Alexander*'s, that he ſcorn'd to ſteal a *Victory*. *Plutarch. de Alex.* and *Q. Curtius*, lib. iv. c. 13.

(*p*) Pſal. ix. 15, 16. (*q*) Jewiſh Antiq. lib. vii. c. 12. (*r*) Numb. vii. 9.

A. M. 3949. &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1055, &c.

but ſuppoſing he was, he had no Right to attend upon the Ark; that Province, by the ſame Law, (*s*) was reſtrain'd to thoſe *Levites* only, who were of the Houſe of *Kohath:* Nay, put the Caſe he had been a *Kohathite* by Birth, yet he had violated another Command, which prohibited even theſe *Levites*, (tho' they carry'd it by Staves upon their Shoulders) (*t*) upon Pain of Death, *to touch it* with their Hands: So that here was a threefold Tranſgreſſion of the Divine Will, in this Method of Proceeding. The Ark, (as ſome ſay) by *Uzzah*'s Direction, was plac'd in a *Cart*; *Uzzah*, without any proper Deſignation, adventures to attend it; when he thought it in Danger of falling, *officiouſly* he put forth his Hand, and laid hold on it, (all Violations of the Divine Commands) and this (as is ſuppos'd) not ſo much out of Reverence to the ſacred *Symbol* of God's Preſence, as out of Diffidence of his Providence, as unable to preſerve it from overturning.

The Truth is, this Ark had ſo long continu'd in Obſcurity, that the People in a Manner had loſt all Senſe of a Divine Power reſiding in it, and therefore approach'd it with Irreverence. This is imply'd in *David*'s Exhortation to *Zadok* and *Abiathar*, after this Misfortune upon *Uzzah:* (*u*) *Ye are the chief of the Fathers of the* Levites; *ſanctify yourſelves therefore, both ye, and your Brethren, that you may bring up the Ark of the Lord God of* Iſrael, *unto the Place that I have prepared for it; for, becauſe ye did it not at the firſt, the Lord our God made a Breach upon us, for that we ſought him not after the due Order.* What Wonder then, if God, being minded to teſtify his immediate Preſence with the Ark, to retrieve the antient Honour of that ſacred *Veſſel*, and to curb all licentious Profanations of it for the future, ſhould ſingle out one, that was the moſt culpable of many, one, who in three Inſtances was then violating his Commands, to be a Monument of his Diſpleaſure againſt either a wilful Ignorance, or a rude Contempt of his Precepts, be they ever ſo ſeemingly ſmall; that, by ſuch an Example of *Terror*, he might inſpire both Prieſts and People with a ſacred *Dread* of his *Majeſty*, and a profound *Veneration* for his *Myſteries?* From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

The Meaning of the Sound in the Mulberry-Trees.

God indeed is left to his own Pleaſure, what Signs he ſhall think fit to give to his People, upon any Occaſion, for their Good; but the more *arbitrary*, and uncommon any Sign is, the more it ſeems to have proceeded from God. Tho' therefore, *the Sound of People's going upon the Tops of Trees*, be a Thing not ſo congruous to our Conceptions, yet it will not therefore follow, that it was not the *real* Sign, which God gave *David*, becauſe the ſtranger the *Phænomenon* was, the greater Aſſurance it convey'd of the Divine Interpoſition in his Favour: Nor can the *Practicableneſs* of the Thing be diſputed, ſince it was *confeſſedly* an Hoſt of Angels (who could move on the *Tops of Trees*, as well as plain Ground) that made this Noiſe of an Army's marching.

There is no Reaſon however to acquieſce in this Conſtruction only. (*x*) The Word *Beroche*, which we render *Tops*, in ſeveral Places of Scripture, ſignifies the *Beginnings* of Things likewiſe; and, in this Acceptation, the Senſe of the Sign, which God gave *David*, will be this: —— "When thou heareſt a Sound, "as it were, of many Men marching at "the Entrance of the Place, where the "*Mulberry-Trees* are planted, then do "thou make ready to fall upon thine "Enemy; for this Noiſe (which is occa-"ſion'd by the Miniſtry of my Angels) "goes before thee, both to conduct thee "in thy Way, and to inject Terror into "thine Adverſaries."

But how plauſible ſoever this Interpretation may ſeem, there is ſome Reaſon to ſuſpect, that the other Word *Bochim*, which our Tranſlation calls *Mulberry-Trees*, is, in Reality, the proper Name of a Place. (*y*) The

(*s*) Numb. vii. 9. (*t*) Ibid. iv. 15. (*u*) 1 Chron. xv. 12, 13. (*x*) *Patrick*'s Commentary in Locum.

A. M. 2949, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1055, &c.

(*y*) The Prophet *Iſaiah* has a plain Alluſion to this Piece of Hiſtory, and ſeems to confirm what we here ſuggeſt. *The Lord*, ſays he, *ſhall riſe up as in Mount* Perazim; *he ſhall be wrath as in the Valley of* Gibeon; i. e. he ſhall deſtroy his Enemies, as he did the *Philiſtines* at *Baal-Perazim*, under *David*, and the *Canaanites* at *Gibeon*, under *Joſhua*: What hinders then, but that *Beroche Bochim* may ſignify the Mountains of *Bochim*? And ſo the Senſe of the Words will be, —— "When thou "heareſt a Noiſe, as of many People "marching upon the Hills, or High-"Places of *Bochim*, then thou haſt no-"thing to do, but to fall immediately "upon the Enemy." Either of theſe Interpretations clears the Text from any ſeeming Abſurdity; and I ſhall only obſerve farther, that, from the Paſſage of the above cited Prophet, as well as ſome Expreſſions in the xviii. Pſal. ſuch as, (*z*) *He ſent out his Arrows, and ſcattered them; he caſt forth Lightnings, and deſtroyed them*, it ſeems very likely, that a mighty Storm of Thunder and Lightning, of *Hail-Stones and Coals of Fire*, (as the *Pſalmiſt* calls it) was aſſiſtant to *David* in the Acquiſition of this Victory.

The Weight of the King of Rabbah's *Crown accounted for.*

IN the Account of *David*'s Conqueſt of the *Ammonites*, the Weight of their King's Crown ſeems not a little monſtrous. The Weight of a Talent, which, upon the loweſt Computation, amounts to no leſs than 123 Pounds, is allow'd to be too much for one Neck to ſuſtain; but then we ſhould conſider, that beſides the Crown, that was uſually worn, it was cuſtomary, in ſome Nations, for Kings to have * vaſt large ones, (even to a Size equal to this) either hung, or ſupported over the Throne, where, at their Coronation, or upon other ſolemn Occaſions, they were wont to ſit. From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

THE *Jewiſh* Doctors indeed have a very odd Conceit, *viz.* that *David*, when he took this Crown from the King of *Ammon*, hung it up on high by a certain Load-Stone, that he had; as if the Power of the *Magnet* were to attract Gold, as well as Iron. But let that be as it will, 'tis but to ſuppoſe, that the Crown, here under Debate, was of this larger Kind, and that, by ſome Means or other, it was ſupported over the King's Head, while he was ſitting on his Throne, and then there will be an apparent Reaſon, *for taking the Crown from off*, or (as the *Hebrew* Words will bear it) *from over the King's Head*, and *placing it*, in like Manner, *over* David's *Head*, even to indicate the Tranſlation of his Kingdom to *David*.

(*a*) 'TIS a common Thing however in *Hebrew*, as well as other learned Languages, to have the ſame Word ſignify both the Weight and Value of any Thing. And that the Price or Worth of the Crown is here the Meaning of the Phraſe, we have the more Reaſon to think, becauſe Mention is made of an Addition of precious Stones, which are never eſtimated by the Weight of Gold. (*b*) *Joſephus* tells us of one Stone of great Value in the Middle of the Crown, which he calls a *Sardonyx*; and as we may ſuppoſe, that there were other Jewels of ſeveral Kinds, plac'd at their proper Diſtances, theſe, in Proportion as they heighten'd the Value, muſt leſſen the Weight of the Crown, and verify what the ſame Hiſtorian

(*y*) Iſaiah xxviii. 21. (*z*) Pſal. xviii. 14.

* The Antients make mention of ſeveral ſuch large Crowns as theſe, which were made for Sight more than any Thing elſe. *Juvenal*, expoſing the Pride and Vanity of ſome of the chief Magiſtrates at *Rome*, deſcribes the Pomp and Splendor of their Appearance in theſe Words:

Quod ſi vidiſſet prætorem in curribus altis
Extantem, & medio ſublimem in pulvere cirei,
In tunicâ Jovis, & pictæ ſerrana ferentem
Ex humeris aulæa togæ, *magnæque coronæ*
Tantum orbem, quanto cervix non ſufficit ulla. Sat. 10.

Athenæus (lib. v. c. 8.) deſcribes a Crown made of Gold, that was four and twenty Foot in Circumference, and mentions others, that were two, ſome four, and ſome five Foot deep: as *Pliny*, (lib. xxxiii. c. 3.) in like Manner, takes Notice of ſome, that were of no leſs than eight Pound Weight. *Calmet*'s Comment. in Locum.

(*a*) *Pool*'s Annotations and *Patrick*'s Commentary in Locum. (*b*) Jewiſh Antiq. lib. vii. c. 7.

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Historian tells us of it, *viz. that* David *wore it constantly on his Head afterward for an Ornament.*

And of Absalom's Head of Hair.

THERE is another Difficulty still behind, which relates to the Weight of *Absalom*'s Hair, that in the Words of the Text, is thus expres'd: —— (*c*) *And when he polled his Head, (for it was at every Year's End that he polled it; and because the Hair was heavy on him, therefore he polled it) he weighed the Hair of his Head at two hundred Shekels after the King's Weight.* In the Explication of which Words, the Sentiments of the Learned have been so many, and various, that we shall content ourselves with commenting upon some of the chief of them.

Several Opinions concerning it.

THOSE, who are of Opinion, that the Words related only to the *Cuttings* of *Absalom*'s Hair, make the *two hundred* Shekels the *Price*, and not the *Weight* of them: And, to this Purpose they suppose, that tho' *Absalom* himself might not sell his Hair, yet some Persons about him might do it, in Complaisance to the Ladies of *Jerusalem*, who might not think themselves in the Fashion unless they wore a favourite Lock of the Prince's. But, besides the Absurdity of the King's Son suffering any of his Domestieks to sell his Hair, the very Words of the Text are a Confutation of this Notion, where they tell us, that *he weighed the Hair of his Head*; whereas, had it been sold, the *Buyer* must have weigh'd the Mony, even (*d*) as *Abraham* did, when he purchas'd the Field of *Ephron*.

OTHERS again pretend, that there is a manifest Mistake crept into the Text, which has been occasion'd by an ignorant Transcriber's inserting one *numerical* Letter for another, the *Resch* instead of the *Daleth*, i. e. two hundred instead of four: But, besides the Uncertainty, whether the former *Hebrews* made use of their *Letters* instead of *Figures*, (whereof there is not the least Sign or Token in any antient Copies) wherein, I pray, would the great Wonder be, if what was cut off from *Absalom*'s Head, (to thin and shorten his Hair, when it grew too weighty and troublesome to him) amounted to no more than four *Shekels*, which is much about two Ounces? And yet, the whole Design of this Narration seems to portend something more than usual, in this prodigious Increase of *Absalom*'s Hair. From 2 Sam. 1. to xix.

THE Text however does not speak of the *Cuttings* of the Hair, but of the Head of Hair itself, when it talks of the Weight of *two hundred Shekels*; and therefore those, who take it in this larger Sense, are not forgetful to remind us, that, in those Days, Hair was accounted a very great Ornament, and the longer it was, the more it was esteem'd; that *Absalom*, to be sure, would not fail to nourish *his* with the utmost Care, and to let it grow long enough, because it contributed so much to the Gracefulness of his Person; that, in After-Ages (as perhaps they did then) Men were wont to use much Art with their Hair, and dress it every Day with fragrant Ointments, in order to make it grow thick and strong; that the noble Guards, which attended *Solomon* (as *Josephus* (*e*) informs us) had their long Hair flowing about their Shoulders, which they powder'd with small Particles of Gold, to make it sparkle, and glisten against the Sun; and that, therefore, it is not improbable, that *Absalom*, who himself was a gay young Man, and wanted none of these Helps or Improvements, might, in Process of Time, bring his Hair up to the Weight, that the Scripture records, which, according to the *Gold Shekel* (that was but half as much as the *Silver*) came to no more (as the learned *Bochart* endeavours to prove) than three Pound and two Ounces.

BUT since the Scripture says nothing of any such Additions, as Ointments, or Gold-dust, to inhance the Weight of the Hair; others, who think *this* too much for a Man, that polled his Hair once every Year, if not oftner, have observ'd from the Words, which we render at *every Year's*

(*c*) 2 Sam. xiv. 26. (*d*) Gen. xxiii. 16. (*e*) Jewish Antiq. lib. viii. c. 12.

A. M. 2949, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1055, &c.

Year's End, that, in the *Original*, they imply no particular Deſignation of Time; and thence infer, that *Abſalom* did not weigh his Hair ſo often as once every Year, but at this particular Time only, when he return'd to *Jeruſalem*. "He, "in his Exile, *ſay they*, which laſted about "three Years, pretending great Sorrow for "his Sin, ſeems to have taken upon him "the Vow of a *Nazarite*, until his Re-"turn; one Part of which was, that he "ſhould not ſuffer his Hair to be cut for "ſuch a determinate Time: But, upon his "Re-call home, being now diſcharg'd from "his Vow, he order'd his Hair to be cut "all clean off, becauſe it was grown ve-"ry cumberſome to him; which, being "of ſo long a Growth, amounted to the "Weight, that the ſacred Hiſtory relates "of it." But this Notion of *Abſalom*'s *Nazaritiſm* has no Foundation in Scripture, *(f)* except that lying Pretence to his Father, when, under the Cloak of Religion, he was minded to conceal his intended Rebellion; and therefore all the Superſtructure built upon it, muſt neceſſarily fall.

OTHERS, perceiving that none of theſe Inventions would anſwer the Purpoſe, have endeavoured to ſolve the Difficulty by attending to the latter Words in the Text, *two hundred Shekels, after the King's Weight*: And, to this Purpoſe, *(g)* they lay it down as a *Principle*, that, during the Reigns of the Kings of *Judah*, there was no Variation in the *Hebrew Weights*, nor were there any, that were call'd the *King*'s; that the Difference between the *King*'s and the common Weight, did not commence, till after ſome Continuance of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity; that, towards the End of this Captivity, whoever he was, that revis'd theſe Books of *Samuel*, made mention of ſuch Weights as were not properly *Hebrew*, but ſuch as (after *ſixty* or *ſeventy* Years Captivity) the *Jews* only knew, and theſe were the *Babyloniſh*; and that therefore, when he comes to mention the Weight of *Abſalom*'s Hair, and tells us, that it was *two hundred Shekels*, he adds (by Way of Explanation) that it was *after the King's Weight*, i. e. after the Weight of the King of *Babylon*, whoſe *Shekel* was but the third Part of an *Hebrew Shekel*, *(h)* as the beſt Writers upon *Weights* and *Meaſures* are generally agreed. So that, according to this *Hypotheſis*, *Abſalom*'s Hair, which weighed two hundred *Babyloniſh* Shekels, came but, in our Weight, to about thirty-three Ounces; a Quantity, which thoſe, who deal in that Commodity, have not unfrequently met with upon ſeveral Women's Heads, and therefore what brings this long-conteſted Story, at leaſt, within the Bounds of a fair *Probability*.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

THUS have we attempted to ſolve moſt of the remarkable *Difficulties*, that either affect the Character of *David*, or other Parts of Scripture-Account, during this *Period* of its Hiſtory: And may now begin to wave the *Teſtimony* of Heathen Authors, in Confirmation of what we may think ſtrange and unaccountable in the ſacred Records; becauſe Facts of that Kind will not ſo frequently occur; and the *Jewiſh* Nation begins now, in the Reign of King *David*, to make ſo conſiderable a Figure, as to have their Affairs either mention'd, or alluded to, by the moſt remarkable Hiſtorians, both *Greek* and *Latin*.

(f) 2 Sam. xiv. 7, &c. *(g)* Vide *Calmet*'s Commentary in Locum. *(h)* Ibid.

DISSER-

A. M. 2949, &c. Ant. Christ. 1055, &c.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

DISSERTATION IV.

Of the sacred Chronology, and profane History, during this Period.

Difficulties in the Chronology clear'd.

BEFORE we enter upon the *foreign* History of this Period, it may not be improper to take Notice of some *chronological* Difficulties, that are to be found in the Scripture-Account of it. The Space of Time, from the Departure of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the Laying the Foundation of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, is so exactly stated, that it will admit of no Dispute: *For* (*a*) *it came to pass*, says the Text, *in the four hundred and fourscore Year, after the Children of* Israel *were come up out of the Land of* Egypt, *in the Month* Zif, *which is the second Month, that* Solomon *began to build the House of the Lord*: But then the Manner of computing this Number of Years has been various.

(*b*) THE Generality of the *Jews*, who make it 450 Years from the Death of *Joshua*, to the Time of *Samuel*, suppose the Difference, from the Departure out of *Egypt*, to the first Beginning of the Temple, to be 597 Years; but this Account is 127 more, than what we find in Scripture. (*c*) *Josephus* expressly tells us, that, *when* Solomon *begun that mighty Work, it was* 592 *Years from the Coming of the* Israelites *out of* Egypt; but then it is presum'd, that he (as well as the other *Jews*) reckons the Years of the *Oppressors apart*; whereas they ought to be included in the Years of the *Judges*, who deliver'd the People from that Bondage: For, 'tis but looking into the Scripture-Account, and we shall see, that, (*d*) before *Othniel*, *Israel* was oppress'd eight Years; before *Ehud*, eighteen; before *Deborah*, twenty; before *Gideon*, seven; before *Jephthah*, eighteen; and before *Sampson*, forty; now, adding all these together, we shall find, that they amounted to 111 Years; which, if joined to the Years of the *Judges*, will make the *particular* Years of this Period far exceed the *general*: But, by being included in the Time, assigned for the Government of the *Judges*, they make that *particular* and *general* Account of the Years agree very rightly.

THERE is another Difference between this Account in the first Book of *Kings*, and what the Apostle affirms in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, viz. that (*e*) *after the Time, that* Joshua *divided the Land to them by Lot, God gave them Judges for about the Space of four hundred and fifty Years, until* Samuel *the Prophet*. But now, if there be 450 Years from the *Division* of the Land of *Canaan* (which happen'd in the seventh Year of *Joshua*'s Government) to the Time of the Government, or even of the Death of *Samuel*, there must be many more than 480 Years, in the whole Interval, from the Departure out of *Egypt*, to the Building of the Temple.

TO solve this Difficulty, some have imagin'd, that the Words μετὰ ταῦτα, *after that*, which are found in the *twentieth* Verse, should be plac'd at the Beginning of the *seventeenth*, and then the Sense will be, that, *from God's chusing our Fathers, to the Time of the Judges, were four hundred and fifty Years*; for, from *Isaac*'s Birth, *say they*, to the Departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, are 405 Years; they wander'd in the Wilderness forty Years; and the Land was divided by Lot seven Years after that; so that all these, put together, make 452 Years, which the Apostle expresses by the round Sum of 450. But this apparently is not the Sense of

(*a*) 1 Kings vi. 1. (*b*) *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, lib. v. c. 1. (*c*) Jewish Antiq. lib. viii. c. 2. (*d*) *Millar*'s History of the Church, c. i. p. 4. (*e*) Acts xiii. 20.

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of the Apoſtle, who, in his Diſcourſe to the People, goes on *gradually* and *methodically* thus. *God choſe our Fathers*; *he brought them out of* Egypt; *he led them in the Wilderneſs forty Years*; *he divided the Land*; *and* then *he gave them Judges*, &c. *(f)* Others therefore have fallen into a different Way of *Computation*, by making the Years of the *Judges* and *Oppreſſors* diſtinct; for, *the Years of the Judges*, ſay they, *until* Samuel's *Time*, *are* 339; *the Years of the Tyrants are* 111; *which*, *put together*, *make exactly* 450: And this Kind of Reckoning the Apoſtle might mention, (though he did not entirely approve of it) and therefore we find him introducing it with an ὡς, i. e. *after a Manner*, or *as ſome will have it*, who compute the Years of the *Oppreſſors*, as diſtinct from the Years of the *Judges*, though, in Reality, they ought to be included in one another.

THERE is ſtill a farther Difficulty, which ariſes from comparing the Scripture-Chronology, with the Genealogies in the Book of *Ruth*. From the Entrance into the Land of *Canaan*, to the Building of the Temple, were 440 Years: Now, if out of this, we ſubſtract for *David*'s Life ſeventy Years, and for that Part of *Solomon*'s Reign, which was before the Foundation of the Temple, four Years, the Remainder will be 366; and yet, for theſe three hundred and ſixty-ſix Years, we have four Generations only, (for *Salmon* begat *Boaz* of *Rahab*; *Boaz* begat *Obed* of *Ruth*; *Obed* begat *Jeſſe*; and *Jeſſe* begat *David)* which, at a Time, *(g)* when the Age of Man was reduced to the Compaſs of ſeventy or eighty Years, is a Thing almoſt impoſſible. But, as it is not certain, that the Lives of all Men were ſhorten'd at the Time, when the *Iſraelites murmur'd in the Wilderneſs*, foraſmuch as the Reaſon for cutting them off ſo ſoon (even to prevent their entering into the Land of *Promiſe*) was *peculiar* to that Generation, and might not affect others; ſo the Lives of others might be extended much longer, until the Days of *David*, and eſpecially in that Family, which God had honour'd ſo highly, as to appoint, that in *it* his bleſſed Son ſhould be born. From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

(h) ACCORDING to this Account, we may ſuppoſe that *Salmon* might be about twenty Years old, when he enter'd into *Canaan*, and *Rahab*, whom he married, to be about the ſame Age; and that *Rahab* might bear *Boaz* in the ſixty-ſecond Year of her Age, which, in thoſe Days, was no extraordinary Thing: And then, it is but ſuppoſing farther, that *Boaz* was an hundred and two Years old before he begat *Obed*; *Obed* an hundred and eleven before he begat *Jeſſe*; and *Jeſſe* of the ſame Age before he begat *David*; and the whole Difficulty is remov'd: Only it may be thought a little ſtrange, that Men above an hundred Years old, ſhould be capable of begetting Children, until it be conſider'd, that *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and *Joſhua* and *Caleb*, were all vigorous Men at this Age; that, long after this, *Jehoida*, the High-Prieſt, was an hundred and thirty Years old when he died; and that, almoſt in our own Remembrance, our Countryman, *Thomas Parr*, liv'd to an hundred and fifty-two, and had a Son when he was an hundred and five Years old.

The profane *Hiſtory of this Period.*

THIS may ſuffice for ſettling the *Chronology*; and now to proceed to the *Hiſtory* of this Period. Our laſt Connection of the *ſacred* and *profane* Hiſtory, we concluded with the Life and Adventures of *Seſoſtris*, who reign'd in *Egypt*, and made a very diſtinguiſh'd Figure in ſeveral Parts of the World, while the *Iſraelites* were ſojourning in the Wilderneſs; but, from the Time that they enter'd in *Canaan*, * they ſeem to have had no Intercourſe with

(f) Vide *Grotius* and *Uſher*. *(g)* Pſal. xc. 10. *(h)* *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, lib. v. c. 1. and *Millar*'s Church Hiſtory, Chap. i. Period 4.

* We have formerly taken Notice (lib. iii. cap. 5. in the Notes) of the *Series* of *Egyptian* Kings, written by *Eratoſthenes*, and preſerv'd by *Syncellus*; and here to proceed with that Catalogue. In the Year of the World 2523, reign'd in *Egypt*, *Echeſius Caras*, one Year. In the Year 2524, began *Nilocris*, and reign'd ſix Years. In the Year 2530,

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the *Egyptians*, nor do their ſeveral Hiſtories at all interfere.

All Hiſtory, indeed, in this Period of Time, is ſo defac'd and corrupted with *Fables*, that it is a hard Matter to diſcern any Lineaments of Truth in it; and yet it may not be amiſs to take Notice of ſome of its remarkable Events.

Of Deucalion.

About the thirty-ninth Year of *Ehud*'s Government in *Iſrael*, (in the Time of *Deucalion*, Son of *Prometheus*) there happen'd ſuch a Deluge in *Theſſaly*, as gave (*i*) the Poets an Occaſion to ſay, that all Mankind was therein deſtroy'd, and that *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his Wife, repeopled the World by throwing Stones behind them, which were inſtantly chang'd into Men and Women.

Phaëton.

Much about this Time liv'd *Phaëton*, a Prince of the *Ligurians*, and a great Aſtrologer, that applied himſelf chiefly to the Study of the Courſe of the Sun; and becauſe, in his Days, the Country of *Italy*, near the River *Po*, was ſo incommoded with extraordinary Heats, that the Earth became dry, and barren for ſeveral Years, (*k*) it hence became a renowned Fable among the Poets, that, by his Miſguidance of the Horſes of the Sun, (who is ſaid to have been his Father) he ſet the Earth on Fire.

Ganymede.

About the fourteenth Year of *Tolah*'s judging *Iſrael*, *Ganymede*, the Son of *Tros*, King of *Phrygia*, being belov'd by *Jupiter* (as the Poets fable) was by him carried up to Heaven in the Shape of an *Eagle*, and, much againſt *Juno*'s Will, made Cup-bearer to the Gods.

Perſeus.

About the ſixth Year of *Jair*'s Government, *Perſeus* appear'd in the World, and of him the fabulous Writers have many ſtrange Stories; as, that he was begot by *Jupiter* on *Danaë*, in a golden Shower; that when he came to be of Age, he conquer'd the *Gorgons*, with their Queen *Meduſa*, whoſe Hair was interwoven with Snakes; that he ſubdu'd the Inhabitants of Mount *Atlas*, and firſt deliver'd *Andromeda*, by killing the *Sea-monſter* ſent to devour her, and then married her; that afterwards, he fought againſt the Kings of *Mauritania*, and *Æthiopia*, and, returning to *Greece*, overcame his Uncle *Prætus*, and *Polydectes*, King of the Iſland *Seriphus*.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

The Argonauts.

Few Things are more famous in the Songs of the Poets, than the Expedition of thoſe valiant *Greeks*, that accompanied *Jaſon* to *Colchos*; and the Foundation of the Story is conceiv'd to be this: — That the *Argonauts* ſail'd to ſome Part of *Scythia*, to carry off a Share of the Riches of that Country, where the Inhabitants gain'd a great deal of Gold out of the Rivers, that ran from Mount *Caucaſus*, by uſing Sheep-ſkins with the Wool on, in order to take up that precious Metal, from whence it was call'd the Golden-fleece. But the Poets, out of their fruitful Brains, have made large Additions to the Story; *viz.* that *Jaſon* fell in Love with *Hypſipyle* at *Lemnos*; and that, at *Colchos*, he married *Medea*, the King's Daughter, who, being a famous Witch, taught him how to kill the Dragon, that kept the rich Fleece; how to conquer the Bulls, that vomited Fire; and how to ſow the Serpents Teeth, out of which there aroſe an Army of Men; with many more Fictions of the like Nature.

But, of all the Occurrences in this Period, that which has been moſt celebrated

2530, began *Myrtæus*, and reign'd twenty Years. In the Year 2552, began *Thyoſimares* (the ſame that *Herodotus* calls *Myris*, or *Myrios*) and reign'd twelve Years. In the Year 2564, began *Thyrillus*, and reign'd eight Years. In the Year 2572, began *Semiphucares*, and reign'd eighteen Years. In the Year 2590, began *Chuter Taurus*, and reign'd ſeven Years. In the Year 2597, began *Cheres Philoſophus*, and reign'd twelve Years. In the Year 2609, began *Chomo Ephtha*, and reign'd eleven Years. In the Year 2620, began *Anchurius Ochus*, and reign'd ſixty Years. In the Year 2680, began *Penteathyris*, and reign'd ſixteen Years. In the Year 2696, began *Stamenes*, and reign'd twenty-three Years. In the Year 2719, began *Siſtoſichemes*, and reign'd fifty-five Years. In the Year 2774, began *Maris*, and reign'd forty-three Years. In the Year 2817, began *Siphous Hermes*. —— In the Year 2836, began *Phruron*, or *Nilus*. —— In the Year 2843, began *Amurrhæus*, and reign'd ſixty-three Years, or to the Year of the World 2906. Vide *Millar*'s Church Hiſtory, Chap. i. Period 4.

(*i*) *Ovid*'s Metamorphoſis, lib. i. fab. 7. (*k*) Ibid. lib. ii. fab. 1.

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And the Siege of Troy.

brated by the Poets, is the Siege of *Troy*; and the probable Occaſion of it is ſuppos'd to be this:

NOT long before this remarkable Event happen'd, the Seas were very much infeſted with Pirates, who landing on the Shores, ſeiz'd upon all the Women and Cattle they could meet with; and ſo carrying them off, either ſold them in ſome diſtant Country, or kept them for their own Uſe. Hereupon *Tyndareus*, the Father of *Helena*, conſidering the Beauty of his Daughter, caus'd all her Lovers (who were ſome of the principal Men of *Greece*) to bind themſelves by a ſolemn Oath, that, if at any Time ſhe ſhould be taken from her Huſband, they would join all their Forces together to recover her: And ſo, being left to chuſe whom ſhe would have for her Huſband, ſhe made Choice of *Menelaus*, King of *Mycenæ*, and Brother to *Agamemnon*. *Paris*, one of the youngeſt Sons of *Priamus*, King of *Troy*, upon the Report of her Beauty, came into *Greece* to ſee her, and was kindly entertain'd by *Menelaus*; but he ſoon took an Opportunity to debauch his Wife, and, having robb'd the Huſband of a great deal of Treaſure, found Means to make his Eſcape both with her and it.

MENELAUS (as ſoon as his Wife was gone) complain'd of the Injury, that had been done him, to all the *Grecian* Princes, and requir'd the Performance of their Oath; which they readily conſented to, and made his Brother *Agamemnon* General of the Forces, that were to be employ'd in this Expedition. The *Greeks* however being unwilling to enter into a War, if Matters could be accommodated by a Treaty, ſent *Ulyſſes*, and ſome others, as Embaſſadors to *Troy*, to demand *Helena*, and all the Things of Value that were taken with her. What Anſwer the *Trojans* made to this Demand, we are no where inform'd; but ſure it is, that the Embaſſadors return'd back ſo very much offended with their ill Treatment, that, in a ſhort Time, they fitted out a vaſt *Armament*.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

BUT there was an unhappy Accident, which mightily retarded the Siege of the City, and that was a Difference, which fell out between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles*. *Agamemnon*, as *General*, had the Preoption of what Part of the *Booty* he pleas'd, and had then taken to himſelf a captive Woman, the Daughter of *Chryſes*, the Prieſt of *Apollo*, as *Achilles*, and the other Commanding-Officers, had made Choice of others; but, being oblig'd to give up the Prieſt's Daughter, in Atonement for the Peſtilence that was fallen upon the Army, he ſent, and took *Achilles*'s Captive from him, which ſo exaſperated this gallant Warrior, that, to revenge himſelf effectually, he took up a Reſolution, neither to fight himſelf, nor ſuffer any Forces under him to engage; and this gave the Enemy ſo great an Advantage, that *Hector*, at the Head of his Forces, broke through the *Grecian* Trenches one Day, and ſet fire to the Ships.

IN the Midſt of this Extremity, *Patroclus*, the Boſom-Friend of *Achilles*, not being able to ſtand *neuter* any longer, begg'd of *Achilles*, to let him have the Uſe of his Armour, and the Command of his Troops, in order to repulſe the *Trojans*; which he bravely attempted, but, in the Engagement, fell by the Hands of *Hector*, who took from him the Arms of *Achilles*, and carry'd them off.

THIS Conjuncture *Agamemnon* made uſe of to be reconcil'd to *Achilles*; and, to this Purpoſe, ſent him back his *Captive-Maid*, with many very valuable Preſents, and made an Excuſe for his former Behaviour, as well as he could. *Achilles*, in order to be reveng'd for the Loſs of his Friend, laid aſide all Reſentment, and join'd the *Greeks* in the next Battle, wherein he vanquiſh'd the *Trojans*; and, ſingling out *Hector*, never left purſuing him, wherever he went, until he had kill'd him. * With *Hector* fell the City, which

* *Homer* indeed, gives us this Account of the taking of *Troy*, but *Virgil* has inform'd us, that it was done by a large *wooden Horſe*, in which were incloſ'd ſeveral of the chief Commanders of the *Greeks*; that the reſt, ſetting ſail

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which was ſoon reduc'd to Aſhes, and its Inhabitants forc'd to undergo a *military* Execution.

The Grecians *Return.*

But, how ſevere ſoever the *Greeks* might be to their conquer'd Enemies, ſeveral Hiſtorians have obſerv'd, that, in their Return home, they ſuffer'd almoſt as much Miſery, as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For this is the Account which *Thucydides* gives of them. "By "Reaſon of their long Abſence, they found "many Alterations, when they return'd, "ſo that ſome of them were driven by "their Neighbours from their antient "Seats; many were expell'd their Coun-"tries by Faction; others ſlain, ſoon "after their Arrival; and others depos'd "from their Kingdoms, by ſuch, as "had ſtay'd at home." *Neſtor* and *Pyrrhus* got ſafe home indeed, but were ſlain by *Oreſtes*. *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, upon their Return, were ſoon driven away to ſeek for new Habitations. *Agamemnon* was, upon his firſt Arrival, ſlain by his Wife, and her Adulterer, *Ægiſthus*, who had uſurp'd his Kingdom. *Menelaus*, having long wander'd upon the Sea, was forc'd into *Egypt*, before he could return to *Sparta*. *Ulyſſes*, after ten Years Peregrination, and the Loſs of his whole Company, came home in a poor Condition, and had much Difficulty to recover the Maſterſhip of his own Houſe. *Ajax*, the Son of *Oileus*, was drown'd; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; and *Diomedes* to King *Daunus*. Some of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africa*, others into *Italy*, others into *Sicily*, and ſettled themſelves in ſuch Numbers in theſe Parts, that *Greek* became the current Language of this Iſland, and moſt of the *Eaſt* Part of *Italy* obtain'd the Name of *Magna Græcia*.

From 2 Sam. i. to xix.

Thus the wiſe Ruler of the World was pleas'd to make one wicked Nation the Inſtrument of puniſhing another: But, whatever they ſeverally ſuffer'd, the ſucceeding Generations obtain'd this Advantage by it, —— That the Diſperſion of the *Greeks* occaſion'd a fuller peopling of diſtant Countries, by an Acceſſion of theſe new Inhabitants; and the *Taking of* Troy became, in ſome Years, the ſettled *Epocha*, whereby all, that were acquainted with the *Story* of it, might agree in their Account of Time.

to the Iſland of *Tenedos*, left *Sinon* to perſuade the *Trojans*, that this Horſe was built upon a religious Account, and was neceſſary for them to take into the City; that, by his Craft and Inſtigation, they pull'd down Part of the Wall for that Purpoſe; and ſo the *Greeks*, returning on a ſudden, and entering the Breach, open'd the Horſe, and ſeiz'd on the Gates, and burnt the City. But another Author, who perhaps might know the Truth, as well as *Virgil*, gives us a different Account of this Matter; *viz.* that *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and *Polydamus*, having taken ſome Diſguſt at King *Priamus*, agreed with the *Grecians* to betray the City to them, upon Condition, that they might retire with their Men wherever they thought fit, provided they did not ſettle in *Phrygia*. To this Purpoſe it was concerted, that the *Grecians* ſhould ſet ſail the Day before to the Iſland *Tenedos*, as if they were quite gone, but return in the Dark of the Night, when the *Trojans* thought themſelves ſecure, and ſo be let in at the *Scæan* Gate, over which there was a *large Image* of an *Horſe*, which gave the firſt Riſe and Occaſion to all this Story. 3

CHAP.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of Abſalom, *to the Building of the* Temple.

The HISTORY.

David's Grief for the Loſs of his Son Abſalom.

AS ſoon as *David* was inform'd of his Son's Death, all the Joy of the Victory was turn'd into Sorrow. The King himſelf withdrew to a † private Apartment, where he vented his Grief in ſuch a † mournful Exclamation, as this: (*a*) *O my Son* Abſalom, *my Son*, *my Son* Abſalom, *would God I had died for thee! O* Abſalom, *my Son*, *my Son!* And as for the Army, inſtead of returning in Triumph, they ſtole ſilently into the City, as if they had done amiſs, and had *loſt*, inſtead of *gaining* the Battle.

THIS *Joab* perceiving, and being ſenſible that ſuch exceſſive Grief, at this Juncture of Affairs, would be of great Prejudice to the King, went boldly in to him, and * expoſtulated the Matter with him in Terms that might perhaps be neceſſary on that Occaſion, but did not ſo well

† The Place, to which *David* withdrew, in order to vent his Grief, was, (as *Joſephus* tells us, lib. vii. c. 10.) *to the Top of one of the higheſt Towers in the City*; but the ſacred Hiſtory calls it *the Chamber over the Gate*, 2 Sam. xviii. 33. for *the Gate* was a ſpacious Place, and much of the ſame Form with the *Forum* among the *Romans*, not only the Market for all Commodities, but the Place, where all great Aſſemblies of the People were likewiſe held. There were ſeveral Buildings, where the chief *Magiſtrates* ſat to adminiſter Juſtice, *Ruth* iv. 1, 2. and where the other Affairs of the State were tranſacted; ſo that it is not improbable, that this *Chamber over the Gate*, where *David* went to weep, might be ſome *Withdrawing-Room* in the Place, where the *Privy-Council* was wont to meet. *Patrick's* Commentary.

† Nothing certainly can be more moving and *pathetick*, than the Words which *David* utters upon this ſad Occaſion; but whether it was *David's* deliberate Wiſh, that he had died in *Abſalom's* Stead, or only the Effect of his exceſſive Love and Grief for him, is not ſo eaſy a Matter to determine. St *Auſtin* ſeems to be on the *affirmative* Side, and gives this Reaſon for it: ——— That *Abſalom* died impenitent, but might have liv'd to become a better Man; whereas, if *David* had died, he had Reaſon to hope well of his Salvation: But this Suppoſition, (as I take it) is not ſo well founded, ſince there is much more Probability, that if *Abſalom* had ſurviv'd his Father, he would have grown more profligate than ever; triumph'd in his good Succeſs; inſulted and perſecuted all his Father's Friends; and prov'd a wicked and abominable Tyrant. But whether *David's* Wiſh was deliberate or no, 'tis certain, that his Grief might be increas'd from this Reflection, that himſelf, by his own Sin in the Caſe of *Uriah*, had been the unhappy Inſtrument and Occaſion of his Son's Death; tho' ſome learned Men have obſerv'd, that the *Oriental* People were accuſtom'd to expreſs their Paſſions with more Vehemence, than we, in theſe Parts of the World, are wont to do, and that the *Repetition* of the ſame Word, (*My Son* Abſalom, *O* Abſalom, *my Son*, *my Son*) is a Stile proper for mournful Lamentations.

——— Daphninque tuum tollemus ad Aſtra,
Daphnin ad Aſtra feremus, amavit nos quoque Daphnis. VIRG. Ecl. v.
Αἰάζω τὸν Ἄδωνιν, ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις
Ὤλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις. Bion. Id. 1.

Patrick's and *Calmet's* Commentaries.

(*a*) 2 Sam. xviii. 33.

* *Joſephus* concludes the Speech, which he ſuppoſes *Joab* to have made to *David* upon this Occaſion, in Words to this Effect: ——— "Pray, Sir, does not your Conſcience, as well as your Honour reprove you for this intemperate "Tenderneſs, for the Memory of ſo implacable an Enemy? He was your Son, 'tis true, but a moſt ungracious one; "and you cannot be juſt to God's Providence, without acknowledging the Bleſſing of his being taken away. Let "me intreat you therefore to ſhew yourſelf chearful to your People, and let them know, that it is to their Loyalty "and Bravery that you are indebted for the Honour of the Day; for if you go on, as you have begun, your King- "dom, and your Army will moſt infallibly be put into other Hands, and you will then find ſomething elſe to cry "for." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vii. c. 10.

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well become a Subject's Mouth. However, they had this good Effect upon the King, that they rouz'd him from his Melancholy, and made him appear in Publick, to the great Satisfaction of all his *loyal* Subjects; but, as he thought himself very insolently us'd by *Joab* upon several Occasions, from that Time he made it his Resolution to take the first Opportunity of † dismissing him from being his *General*.

His Return to Jerusalem, *and by whom he was met, and conducted home.*

THOSE of his Subjects, who had appear'd in Arms against him, being now made sensible of the Folly of their *Rebellion*, became the forwardest for his Restoration; but (what griev'd him much) his own Tribe, the Tribe of *Judah*, seem'd a little indifferent as to the Matter, which made him send to *Zadok* and *Abiathar*, the chief Priests, not only to remind them of their own Duty, but to authorize them likewise to treat with *Amasa* (who, tho' he had commanded *Absalom*'s Army, was still a Man of great Authority in the Tribe) to offer him his Pardon, and, in Case he would come fully into his Interest, to promise him the *Generalship* in the Room of *Joab*.

THUS, all Things conspiring to his happy Restoration, the King left *Mahanaim*, and set forward on his Journey to *Jerusalem*, when the Chiefs of the Tribe of *Judah* came to meet, and conduct him over the *Jordan*. Old *Barzillai*, who had been very kind to the King in his Exile, and supply'd him with Provisions while he continu'd at *Mahanaim*, hearing that he was upon his Return, came to take his Leave of him, and see him safe over the River; and when the King, in Gratitude for his Kindness, gave him an Invitation to go with him to *Jerusalem*, the good old Man modestly excus'd himself, upon the Account of his Age, as having now lost the Relish of the Pleasures of a Court, and desir'd rather to retire to his own Estate, where he might spend the Remainder of his Days in Quiet: But, as he had a Son, whose Age was more proper to attend him, if his *Majesty* would be pleas'd to confer any Favour on him, the Obligation would be the same; † which *David* promis'd to do, and so, with much mutual Blessings and Salutations, they parted.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

AMONG the many others who came to meet *David* upon this Occasion, *Shimei* the *Benjamite*, who, not long before, had loaded him with Curses and Imprecations, came, † with a thousand Men of his Tribe, to beg Pardon for his Fault; and, when *Abishai* would have persuaded the King to have him kill'd, he resented the Motion, as an Indignity put upon himself: And, being unwilling to eclipse the publick Joy with the Blood of any one, gave him his *Royal* Word and Oath, that he should live.

ANOTHER remarkable Person, that came to wait upon *David* at this Time, was the perfidious *Ziba*, with his fifteen Sons and twenty Servants. He had again impos'd upon his Master, and, when he order'd him to make ready his Ass, that he, among others, might go and meet the King, slid away himself to make his *Court* first; so that *Mephibosheth*, being lame, was forc'd to stay at *Jerusalem*, (where

† For he had sufficient Reason to think of depressing a Man, who was grown so insufferably insolent and imperious. He had slain *Abner* most perfidiously in cool Blood; had kill'd *Absalom* against the King's express Command; in his late bold Reproof had insulted over his Sorrow, and (if we may believe *Josephus*) threaten'd to depose him, and give his Kingdom to another. To such a Height of Arrogance will Ministers sometimes arrive, when they find that their Service is become necessary to their Prince! *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† What *David* did for *Chimham* is uncertain; but, as he had a Patrimony in *Bethlehem*, which was the Place of his Nativity, it is not improbable, that he gave a great Part of it to *Chimham*, and his Heirs for ever; and that this was afterwards call'd *the Habitation of Chimham*, in the Days of *Jeremiah*, Jer. xli. 17. *Bedford*'s Scripture Chronology, lib. v. c. 4.

† The Reason why *Shimei* came with so large a Retinue, was, to let *David* see that he was a Man of some considerable Rank, and capable of doing him great Service among the People, which might be some Inducement to the King to grant him his Pardon; or, very likely, he was one of the *Captains of a Thousand in his own Tribe*, and might carry them all along with him, to make the stronger Intercession for his Pardon. *Pool*'s Annotations.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

(where he had all along * mourn'd for the King's Abſence) until the King arriv'd: But, when he was admitted into his Preſence, and the King ſeem'd to be angry with him for not having accompany'd him in his Exile, he charg'd this *ſeeming* Neglect upon the Perfidy of his Servant, and * ſet his Caſe in ſo fair a Light, that the King revok'd the haſty Grant he had made in Favour of *Ziba*, and put his Eſtate upon the ſame Foot of Poſſeſſion that it was before.

Sheba's *Rebellion, and upon what Occaſion.*

WHEN *David* was paſs'd the *Jordan*, he was willing to make all poſſible Haſte to *Jeruſalem*; and, as the Tribe of *Judah* was firſt that came to conduct him home, he (very probably to gratify them) march'd on without waiting for the great Men of *Iſrael*, who, in all Parts of the Kingdom, were making ready to join him. This occaſion'd ſome hot Diſputes between the Princes of *Iſrael* and thoſe of *Judah*: And, as the King was loth to diſpleaſe either Party, and therefore did not care to intermeddle in the Controverſy, ſeveral of the Tribes of *Iſrael* took an outward *Umbrage* at this, which occaſion'd a freſh *Inſurrection*. *Sheba*, a *Benjamite*, and not unlikely one of *Saul*'s Family, made publick *Proclamation*, by the Sound of *Trumpet*, that "ſince the Tribe of *Judah* "had engroſs'd *David* to themſelves, "they might e'en take him; and, ſince "all the other Tribes he had viſibly de-"ſerted, their wiſeſt Way would be to "ſtand to their Arms, and, in like Man-"ner, deſert him:" Whereupon a great many of the other Tribes follow'd *Sheba*, but the Men of *Judah* perſiſted in their Loyalty, and conducted the King to *Jeruſalem*. As ſoon as he arriv'd in the City, the firſt Thing he did, was to declare *Amaſa* his *General*, and to order him to get together a ſufficient Body of Forces, as faſt as he could, to purſue after *Sheba*. † *Amaſa* however, found more Difficulty in executing this Order, than was expected; which when *David* underſtood, he ſent *Abiſhai* with his Guards (for he was reſolv'd not to employ his Brother *Joab* any more) in Queſt of *Sheba*, until *Amaſa*, with the reſt of the Army, could join him. Exaſperated at this, *Joab*, without any Order, went along with his Brother; and when *Amaſa* came up with them, (which was at *Gibeon*) and was going to take upon him the Command of the whole Army, he advanc'd, with all ſeeming *Friendlineſs*,

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

* The Words in the Text are, that *he had neither dreſſed his Feet, nor trimmed his Beard, nor waſhed his Clothes, from the Day that the King departed*, 2 Sam. xix. 24. Theſe were ſome of the Inſtances, wherein the *Jews* were wont to expreſs their Mourning; and they are here mention'd by the Hiſtorian, as Evidences of the Falſhood of *Ziba*'s Information againſt his Maſter, ſince no one, who neglected himſelf to this Degree, could be ſuppos'd ambitious of a Crown. *Not dreſſing his Feet*, may ſignify either not cutting his *Toe-Nails*, or his *not waſhing his Feet*, which the *Jews* were accuſtom'd very frequently to do, becauſe of the bad Smell which was natural to them, as well as the *Arabians*, and ſome other Nations; and therefore his Omiſſion of this could not but make him offenſive to himſelf. *Not trimming his Beard* was letting its Hair grow *negligently*, and without any Order. For the Manner of the *Jews* was, to cut the Hair from the Lip upwards, and what grew likewiſe on the *Cheek*, but what was on the *Chin*, and ſo backwards to the *Ear*, that they ſuffer'd to grow; and *not waſhing his Clothes* muſt denote his putting on no *clean Linnen*, but wearing the ſame *Shirt* all the while. *Calmet*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

* *Joſephus* brings in *Mephibоſheth* pleading his Excuſe to *David* for not attending him, and expreſſing a grateful Senſe of his Favours, in ſuch like Words as theſe: ——— "Nor has he only diſappointed me in the Exerciſe of "my Duty, but has been doing me ſpiteful Offices to your *Majeſty* likewiſe: But you, Sir, are ſo juſt, and ſo great a "Lover of God and Truth, that I am ſure your Generoſity and Wiſdom will never entertain a Calumny to my "Prejudice. Our Family has had the Experience of your Piety, Modeſty, and Goodneſs to a Degree never to be "forgotten, in paſſing over, and pardoning the innumerable Hazards and Perſecutions, that you were expos'd to, in "the Days, and by the Contrivance of my Grandfather, when all our Lives were forfeited, in your Power, and "at your Mercy. But then, after all this gracious Tenderneſs, your ſuperadding the Honour of taking *me* to your "*Table*, (a Perſon ſo obnoxious in Regard of my *Relations*) as a Friend, and as a *Gueſt*, nothing could be either "greater, or more obliging than this." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vii. c. 7.

† The People, having been harraſs'd in the late *Civil* War, were not perhaps ſo forward to engage in another. Some of them might not like to ſerve under a Man, who had lately headed a rebellious Army againſt the King, and others might have conceiv'd ſo high an Opinion of *Joab*, as not eaſily to be brought to ſerve under any other *General*. Any of theſe Things might very well retard *Amaſa*'s Recruits, and yet he might be loth to make ſuch a Report to the King, for fear that it might diminiſh his Authority, and make him appear not ſo well qualify'd for the Office, wherein he had plac'd him. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Christ. 1023, &c.

Joab *ſtabs* Amaſa *baſely, and makes himſelf* General, *and ſuppreſſes* Sheba's *Rebellion.*

Friendlineſs, to ſalute him, but, when he came within Reach, he * took him by the Beard, and ſtabb'd him to the Heart; and ſo, leaving him to wallow in his Blood, proclaim'd himſelf *General in Chief*, and, taking the Army with him, purſu'd after *Sheba*, † leaving Orders for the Forces, that were coming up, to follow after.

SHEBA had gone about all the Tribes of *Iſrael* to ſee if he could prevail with them to take up Arms againſt *David*; but finding very few, that, upon ſecond Thoughts, were willing to engage in his Meaſures, he was forc'd at laſt, with the few Forces he had got together, to ſhut himſelf up in *Abel*, a fortify'd Town in the Tribe of *Naphtali*, in the *Northern* Part of *Judea:* But *Joab* was ſoon at his Heels, and having beſieg'd the Town, and batter'd the Walls, was making Preparation for an *Aſſault*, when † a Woman of great Prudence call'd to the *Beſiegers* from off the Walls, and deſir'd to ſpeak with their *General*. When *Joab* was come within hearing, the Woman addreſſed Herſelf to him in a very handſome Manner, and told him, "That, † by a long Preſcrip- "tion of Time, it had always been a "Cuſtom, founded (*b*) on the Law of "God, whenever the *Hebrews* came before "any City, to offer Peace in the firſt "Place, even though the Inhabitants were "of another Nation; much more then "ought this to have been done to a Peo- "ple, that were all of the ſame Blood, "and the greateſt Part of them loyal Sub- "jects to the King." To which *Joab* replied, "That he had no ill Deſign againſt "the People of the City, only as they "harbour'd a *Rebel* and a *Traitor*, whom "he

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

* It was an antient Cuſtom among the *Grecians*, to take the Perſon, to whom they had any Addreſs to make, by the Chin, or Beard, *antiquis Græciæ in ſupplicando mentum attingere mos erat*, ſays *Pliny*, lib. xi. c. 45. and even to this Day, the *Turks*, in their Salutations, do very frequently take one another by the Beard, (Vide *Thevenot*'s Travels, c. 22.) The *Arabians* have a great Regard to the Beard: The Wives kiſs their Huſbands, and the Children their Father's Beards, when they come to ſalute them; and, when two Friends meet together, their Cuſtom is, in the Courſe of their Compliments, to interchange Kiſſes in this Manner, (Vide *Darvieux* Couſtumes des Arabes, c. 7.) as the like Cuſtom is ſtill preſerv'd among the *Eaſtern* People, the *Indians*, who take one another by the *Chin*, when they would give an hearty *Salute*, and ſay *Bobba*, i. e. *Father*, or *Bii*, *Brother*, as the Author of the Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies* relates. Vide *Peter de Valles*'s Travels.

† So inſolent was *Joab* become, upon the Preſumption that *David* durſt not puniſh him, that as he ventur'd upon this bloody Fact, ſo he imagin'd, that though the Sight of *Amaſa*'s dead Body might ſtop the March of thoſe that came by it, yet, upon its being given out that he was again become their *General*, their Love for him was ſuch, that they would not ſcruple to follow him. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† It ſeems not unlikely, that this Woman was a *Governeſs* in this City; for, tho' that Office was moſt commonly occupied by Men, yet there wants not Inſtances of Women, (as in the Caſe of *Deborah*, Judg. iv. 4. and Queen *Athaliah*, 2 Kings xi.) who have been employ'd in the Adminiſtration of civil Affairs. If ſhe was inveſted with any ſuch Authority, ſhe was the propereſt Perſon to deſire a *Parley* with the *General*; and Reaſon good ſhe had to deſire it, becauſe ſhe knew the preſent Temper and Fears of the *Citizens* and *Soldiers* both, *viz.* that conſidering the imminent Danger they were in, they were generally deſirous of Peace, and reſtrain'd from it only by *Sheba*'s Power and Authority. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† In the Beginning of this Woman's Speech to *Joab*, there is ſomething that ſeems both abrupt and obſcure. *They were wont to ſpeak in old Time, ſaying, they ſhould ſurely aſk Counſel at* Abel, *and ſo they ended the Matter*, 2 Sam. xx. 18. according to this Tranſlation, the Senſe of the Words is, ——— "This City, which thou art about to "deſtroy, is no mean and contemptible one, but ſo honourable and conſiderable for its Wiſdom, and the wiſe People "in it, that when any Difference did ariſe among any of the neighbouring Places, they us'd *proverbially* to ſay, *We "will aſk the Opinion and Advice of the Men of* Abel *about it, and we will ſtand to their Arbitration, and ſo all Parties "were ſatisfied, and Diſputes ended:*" So that her Words, according to this Senſe, are an high Commendation of the City of *Abel*, for its being a Place (Time out of Mind) very eminent for the Wiſdom and Prudence of its Inhabitants. But there is another Tranſlation in the *Margin* of our Bibles, which ſeems to be more natural, and makes the Woman ſpeak in this Manner: ——— "When the People ſaw thee lay Siege to the City, they ſaid, *Surely he will "aſk, if we will have Peace; for the Law preſcribes, that he ſhould offer Peace to* Strangers, *much more then to* Iſraelitiſh "*Cities*; and if he would once do this, we ſhould ſoon bring Things to an amicable Agreement; for we are peace- "able People, and faithful to our Prince." So that, according to this Interpretation, the Woman both modeſtly reprov'd *Joab* for the Neglect of his Duty, and artfully engag'd him in the Performance of it. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

(*b*) Deut. xx. 10.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

" he demanded of them:" Whereupon the Woman perſuaded the Inhabitants to cut off *Sheba*'s Head, and throw it over the Wall, which when they had done, *Joab* raiſed the Siege, and withdrew with his Army to *Jeruſalem*; where his Services, upon this Occaſion, were thought to be *ſuch*, that the King found himſelf obliged to reſtore him to his Poſt of *Captain-General.*

A Famine for Saul's *Slaughter of the* Gibeonites *remov'd.*

NOT long after this, there happened a ſore Famine in the Land, and the long Continuance of it (which was for three Years) made *David* ſuſpect that it did not proceed from any common Cauſe, but was inflicted by the immediate Hand of God; and when he conſulted the Divine *Oracle* to know the Occaſion of it, he was given to underſtand, that *Saul*'s Cruelty to the *Gibeonites*, in ſlaying ſo many, contrary to the Treaty then depending between him and them, was the Cauſe of it. Hereupon *David* ſent to the *Gibeonites*, to know † what Satisfaction they deſired; and when he was told, that they expected ſeven of *Saul*'s Poſterity to be delivered to them, he complied with their Demand, and ſent two Sons of *Rizpah*, *Saul*'s Concubine, and † five of *Merab*, his eldeſt Daughter, but ſpared *Mephiboſheth*, the Son of *Jonathan*, for the Love, which he had for his Father when alive. Theſe ſeven the *Gibeonites* took, and hung upon *Gibbets*; and there they intended them to hang, † until God ſhould ſend *Rain* upon the Earth, for the Want of this occaſioned the *Famine:* But *Rizpah*, being informed of this, had a Tent made of Sackcloth (pitched near the Place) for her to live in, that ſo, by the Help of her Servants, ſhe might * keep watch Day and Night, to fright away the Birds and Beaſts from doing any Hurt to the *dead* Bodies. It was not long however, before God ſent plentiful Showers of Rain, ſo that *Rizpah* had the Liberty to take down the Bodies: And, when *David* was informed of this her pious Care, he was moved thereby to take up the Bones of *Saul*, and *Jonathan* his Son, (who, for five and thirty Years before, had been buried under a Tree at *Jabeſh-Gilead*) and, together with theſe ſeven *Sufferers* of the ſame Family, gave them an honourable Interment in the Tomb of *Kiſh*, the Father of *Saul*, at *Zelah*, in the Country of *Benjamin.*

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

DAVID, in the Beginning of his Reign, had ſo humbled the *Philiſtines*, that they were not able to bring any great Numbers into the Field, but ſtill, as long as they had Men among them of a *gigantick* Stature, and ſuch as were fit to be their *Champions*, they did not ceaſe to diſturb the Peace of *Iſrael*, inſomuch, that *David*, in the latter End of his Reign, had four Engagements with them: In the firſt of which, himſelf had like to have been ſlain by one of theſe monſtrous large Men,

† This may ſeem ſtrange, unleſs we ſuppoſe, (as *Joſephus* does) that, when *David* conſulted God, he told him, not only for what Crime it was that he ſent this Puniſhment, but that he ſhould take ſuch a Revenge for it, as the *Gibeonites* ſhould deſire: And there was this farther Reaſon for humouring the *Gibeonites* herein, becauſe they had been modeſt under their Sufferings, and never made any Complaint to *David* of the Injuries, that had been done them. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† *Michal* is put in the Text indeed, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 8. but not by *Miſtake*, as ſome will have it; for though *Michal* was not the Wife of *Adriel*, but *Merab*; yet thoſe Children which *Merab* had by *Adriel*, *Michal* brought up; and the *Jews* obſerve, upon this Occaſion, that whoever brings up a *Pupil* in his Houſe, *is* in Scripture ſaid to have *begotten* him. Nor is it in Scripture only, that this Form of Expreſſion takes place, but in *Heathen* Authors likewiſe. For *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* are called *Sons of Atreus*, becauſe *Pliſthenes* (who was their Father) being *dead*, he took care to bring them up. *Howell*'s Hiſtory, in the Notes, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† It was a poſitive Law to the *Iſraelites*, Deut. xxi. 22, 23. that, if any Man was hanged, he ſhould be bury'd before Night; but the *Gibeonites*, being not of that Nation, thought themſelves not oblig'd by that Law. They are remark'd indeed, to have been a *Remnant of the Ammorites*, (2 Sam. xxi. 2?) and among them (as ſome have imagin'd) it was a barbarous Cuſtom in thoſe Days, (as it certainly prevailed in After-Ages) to hang up Men, in order to appeaſe the Anger of the Gods in Time of *Famine*. *Patrick*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

* It is an obvious Remark from hence, that *Croſſes* and *Gibbets*, whereon *Malefactors* were executed, did not ſtand high from the Ground, ſince the dead Bodies of ſuch were in Danger of being torn by *carnivorous* Creatures; and, what we may farther obſerve, is, that it was an antient Cuſtom for the *Relations* of ſuch, as were thus executed, to watch their dead Bodies. Thus *Homer* (Iliad xxiii.) mentions *Venus*, as taking care of *Hector*'s Body, and the Story of the *Epheſian* Matron every one can tell. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

Men, had not *Abiſhai* came timely in to his Aid, and killed the *Philiſtine*; upon which Occaſion, it was unanimouſly agreed in the Army, that the King ſhould never more go into the Battle, leſt a † Life ſo precious ſhould be loſt.

IN the other three Engagements, nothing remarkable happened, but the Death of four of theſe *huge* Men, by the Hands of ſome of *David*'s chief Officers; except we may mention here another valiant Act, † which might probably be done at this Time.

THE *Philiſtines* Army lay in the Valley of *Rephaim*, between *David*'s Camp and *Bethlehem*, where they had likewiſe a Garriſon: But notwithſtanding this, upon *David*'s intimating a Deſire to have ſome of the Water of *Bethlehem*, three of his chief Captains broke through the Enemies Camp, and having drawn ſome Water out of the Well, brought it to *David*; but he, underſtanding at what Price it had been purchaſed, even at the Hazard of all their Lives, would not drink it, but offered it to the Lord.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

A Peſtilence, for David's *Numbering the People, remov'd.*

ABOUT two Years before *David*'s Death, (whatever might be the Occaſion of it) ſo it was, that ‖ he was deſirous to know the Number of his People, and accordingly, gave his chief Officers Orders to go through the whole Kingdom, and bring him an Account of all the People. *Joab* endeavoured to remonſtrate againſt it, in a Manner more modeſt, than was cuſtomary with him; but the King's Orders were *poſitive*, and therefore *Joab*, with other Officers to aſſiſt him, beginning on the *Eaſt* Side of *Jordan*, came round by the *North* Parts of *Canaan*, and returned to *Jeruſalem*, at the End of nine Months and twenty Days, with an *Eſtimate*, that in *Iſrael* there were eight hundred Thouſand Men fit to bear Arms, and ‖ five hundred Thouſand in *Judah*; but of the Men, that belonged to the Tribes of *Levi* and *Benjamin*, there was no Liſt given in.

DAVID

† The Expreſſion is very beautiful, and ſignificant, in the Text. *Thou ſhalt no more go out with us to Battle, that thou quench not the Light of* Iſrael, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 17. For good Kings are in Scripture juſtly called the *Light* of the People, (1 *Kings* xi. 36. and *Pſal.* cxxxii. 17.) becauſe the Beauty and Glory, the Conduct and Direction, the Comfort, and Safety, and Welfare of a People, depend upon them, and are deriv'd from them. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† It is commonly obſerv'd by the *Jewiſh* Commentators, that, though *David* expreſs'd a Deſire for ſome of the Water of *Bethlehem*, becauſe it was the Place of his Nativity, and the Water not improbably very excellent in its Kind, yet he did not do this with any Intent, that any ſhould venture their Lives to fetch him it. In this Action however, they have remark'd three wonderful Things, *viz.* That three Men could break through the whole Hoſt of the *Philiſtines*; and when they had ſo done, durſt ſtay to draw Water out of the Well; and then carry it away, with an high Hand, through the ſame Hoſt to *David*: But they might have added a fourth Remark, *viz.* That they attempted this at the Gate of *Bethlehem*, where a Garriſon of the *Philiſtines* kept a ſtrong Guard. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‖ The Words in the Text are ——— *And again the Anger of the Lord was kindled againſt* Iſrael, *and he moved* David *againſt them to ſay, Go number* Iſrael *and* Judah, 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 1. But in the *Original* there is no *Nominative* Caſe at all. We find it however ſupply'd in 1 *Chron.* xxi. 1. where it is ſaid, that *Satan ſtood up againſt* Iſrael, *and provoked* David *to number* Iſrael: But then, by the Word *Satan*, there is no Neceſſity why we ſhould underſtand the *Devil* properly ſo called, becauſe any evil Miniſter, or Counſellor, that adviſ'd *David* to number the People, will anſwer the Signification of the Word as well: And that there was ſome ſuch Counſellor, who prompted *David* to this Action, ſeems to be imply'd in theſe Words of *Joab*: ——— *Now the Lord thy God add unto the People (how many ſoever they be) an hundredfold, and that the Eyes of my Lord the King may ſee it, but why doth my Lord the King delight in this Thing?* 2 Sam. xxiv. 3. Whereby it ſeems plain, that the Matter had been debated in the King's *Council* before, and that, though *Joab* was one who oppos'd it, *David* was more influenc'd by the Perſuaſion of ſome other. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

‖ If we compare this Account with what we meet with in 1 *Chron.* xxi. 5. we ſhall find a great Difference; for *there* the Men of *Iſrael* are ſaid to be *three hundred thouſand more*, than they are *here*, and, on the other Hand, the Men of *Judah* are ſaid to be *thirty thouſand leſs*: But, as for the former Difference, 'tis but ſuppoſing, that, in this Account recorded in *Samuel*, the ſtanding *Legions* (which amounted in all to two hundred and eighty eight thouſand, *i. e.* twenty-four thouſand with their *Officers*, upon Guard every Month) are not here mention'd, tho' they be in *Chronicles*; and as to the latter Difference, 'tis but adding twenty-four thouſand *legionary* Soldiers to the Tribe of *Judah*, and the Difficulty is remov'd: Tho' ſome are apt to think, that, in this Caſe, there is no need of this Suppoſition, becauſe it is a common Thing in Scripture to mention a *round* Sum, either of Men, or Years, tho', upon a ſtrict Computation, there may be ſome wanting. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

2

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

DAVID had no ſooner received the Account, but his Heart miſgave him, that he had done wrong; and, it was not long, before the Prophet *Gad* was ſent to bring his Sin to Remembrance, and to offer him the Choice of three Puniſhments, ‖ Famine, Peſtilence, or War, which he liked beſt.

WHERE every Puniſhment was ſo deſtructive, it was hard to tell which to prefer; but *David* at laſt made Choice of the *Peſtilence*, which accordingly was ſent, and, in ‖ a very ſhort Time, deſtroyed no leſs than ſeventy Thouſand Men. The Plague began in the extream Parts of the Kingdom, but every Moment made Advances nearer and nearer to *Jeruſalem*; which when the King and Inhabitants of the City heard, they cloath'd themſelves in Sackcloth, and, with all Humility, cry'd unto God for Mercy. A little before the Offering up of the *Evening-Sacrifice*, (or before the Time of *Evening-Prayer*) there appeared an Angel over *Jeruſalem* brandiſhing a flaming Sword in his Hand, as if he were going to deſtroy it; whereupon *David* implored God's Mercy for the People what Vengeance ſoever might light upon him, who was chiefly guilty: But, as he was expecting ſome heavy Stroke, the Angel ſent *Gad* to him with Orders to go immediately, and build an Altar in the *Threſhing-Floor of Araunah the Jebuſite*, which accordingly he did, and, having purchaſed the Place, and ſome Oxen for Sacrifice, (*c*) *for* ‖ *fifty Shekels of Silver*, he offered *Burnt-offerings* and *Peace-offerings*, whereof the Lord declared his Acceptance by *Fire* from Heaven, *and ſo the Plague* ceaſed.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

IT is not improbable, that God at this Time revealed to *David* the exact Frame, and Faſhion of the Temple; that from the Acceptableneſs of his Sacrifices, he perceiv'd that this *Threſhing-Floor* was the Place, which God had deſigned for the Situation of his Temple; that therefore he not only purchaſed that, but the whole Top of the Mount of *Moriah* likewiſe, at the Price of (*d*) *ſix hundred Shekels of Gold*, for the *Ground-plot* of this Temple; and that all the Remainder of his Time was employ'd, in providing whatever was neceſſary for the Purpoſe of building it; in ſettling the Number

His employing his Time towards the latter End of his Life.

‖ There is another Difference in this Account, and what we meet with in the Book of *Chronicles*. *There* the Famine is ſaid to be for *three Years* only, but *here* it is ſaid to be for *ſeven*. The *Septuagint* indeed makes it no more than *three*; and for this Reaſon ſome have imagin'd, that the *ſeven* is an Error crept into the *Text*, eſpecially conſidering that *three Years of* Famine, agree better with three *Days Peſtilence*, and *three Months Flight before an Enemy*. But there is no Reaſon to ſuppoſe any Error in the Text; 'tis but ſaying, that in *Chronicles*, the Author ſpeaks of thoſe Years of Famine, which were to come for *David*'s Sin only, but in *Samuel*, of thoſe three Years of Famine likewiſe, which were ſent for *Saul*'s Sin, 2 *Sam.* xxi. Now within one Year, after the Famine, that was ſent for *Saul*'s Sin, was *David*'s Sin in numbering the People; the intermediate Year then was either the *ſabbatical* Year, wherein the People were not allow'd to ſow nor reap, or a Year of ſuch exceſſive *Drought*, that the Crop came to little or nothing. Upon either of theſe Accounts we may properly enough ſay, that there were four Years of Famine before, and *three* more being now added to them make up the *ſeven*, that are here mention'd. *Pool*'s Annotations.

‖ The Words in the Text are: ——— *So the Lord ſent a Peſtilence upon* Iſrael; *from the Morning, even to the Time appointed*. The Time appointed was the Space *of three Days*; and therefore ſome are of Opinion, that the Plague laſted ſo long; but then others urge, that this does not agree with what follows, *viz.* that *God repented him of the Evil*, and commanded the Angel, who ſmote the People, to ſtay his Hand. They therefore conclude, that as the Word *Moed* properly ſignifies an *Aſſembly*, the *Time Moed* muſt be, when the People met together at the Time of Evening Sacrifice, *i. e.* about the *ninth* Hour of the Day, and conſequently, that the Plague continu'd from the Morning to this Time, which is about nine Hours, or the eighth Part of three Days; God in his Mercy having been pleas'd to mitigate the Rigour of his Judgment upon the ſincere Repentance of his People. *Patrick*'s Commentary and *Pool*'s Annotations.

(*c*) 2 Sam. xxiv. 24.

‖ There is again another Difference in the Account which we have in the *Chronicles*, and this in *Samuel*. In the *Chronicles* it is ſaid, that *David* bought the Threſhing-Floor, &c. for *ſix hundred Shekels of Gold*, but in *Samuel* it is ſaid, for *fifty Shekels of Silver*. Now a Shekel of Gold being of twelve Times more Value, than a Shekel of Silver, it makes the Diſparity very large; and therefore (to account for this) it is generally ſuppos'd, that in the whole *David* made two Purchaſes; firſt he bought the *Threſhing-Floor* and *Oxen*, for which he gave *fifty Shekels of Silver*; but that afterwards all the Ground about it (out of which the Courts of the Temple were made) coſt him *ſix hundred Shekels of Gold*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

(*d*) 1 Chron. xxi. 25.

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Number of the Officers, and the Manner of the daily Service of thoſe, that were to attend it; next to this, in ſettling his *civil* Affairs, and appointing (*e*) *Judges*, Magiſtrates, and all inferior Officers, whoſe Buſineſs it was to puniſh *Offenders*, and to keep all others to their Duty; then, in ſettling his *(f) military* Matters, particularly the twelve *Captains*, for every Month, with their *Legions*, to attend on the King in their Turns; then *(g)* the *Princes* of the twelve *Tribes*, and afterwards (*h*) ſeveral other Officers.

BUT while he was contriving theſe Things in the beſt Manner; he ſeems to have been taken, either with a *dead Palſey*, or ſome other Diſtemper, which chilled his Blood, ſo that he could not be warm in his Bed. His *Phyſicians* therefore adviſ'd, that, to ſupply him with † a *natural* Heat, a Virgin ſhould lie in the ſame Bed with him; for which Purpoſe *Abiſhag* of *Shunem*, in the Tribe of *Iſſachar*, was brought to him, and made *Concubinary* Wife, tho' he had never any carnal Knowledge of her.

His proclaiming Solomon *his Succeſſor.*

ADONIJAH, who (next after *Abſalom*) was *David*'s eldeſt Son, taking the Advantage of his Father's Age and Infirmity, began to entertain Thoughts of making himſelf King, preſuming, that his Father either could not, or would not obſtruct him. He was indeed a Prince of exquiſite Beauty, admir'd by all, and ſo indulg'd by his Father, that he † never contradicted him in any Thing; but, as he had a great deal of *Abſalom* in his *Complection*, he failed not to imitate him in his *Equipage*, Attendants, and ſplendid Manner of Life.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

BY ſome Means however, he had gain'd *Joab* the General of the Forces, and *Abiathar* the *High-Prieſt* over to his Party; and by their Advice it was, that he invited all the Kings Sons, (except *Solomon*) and all the great Men of *Judah*, except *Nathan* the Prophet, *Benaiah* Captain of the Guards, and the Officers of the Army (who, with *Zadok* the other High-Prieſt, were not for him) to a ſumptuous Entertainment at *Enrogel*, where the Purpoſe of the Meeting was (as ſoon as the Company had well feaſted) to proclaim him King in the Room of his Father. *Nathan*, who knew † God's Deſignation, *David*'s Choice, and the People's Intereſt in the Matter, having got Intelligence of this, went and acquainted *Bathſheba* with it, and adviſ'd her by all Means to go and preſs the King † to declare *Solomon* his Succeſſor,

(*e*) 1 Chron. xxvi. 29, to the End. (*f*) Ibid. xxvii. 1, to 15. (*g*) Ibid. (*h*) Ibid. xxix. 1, to 20.

† It is the Obſervation of *Galen*, in his fifth Book of *the Power of ſimple Medicines*, that nothing ſo effectually procures Heat and Health, as the Application of any Thing *young* to the Stomach: The Advice of *David*'s Phyſicians therefore was not amiſs; but it had been ſinful Advice, and ſuch as he could not have follow'd, had not this young Woman, whom he took to Bed to him, been his *Concubinary* Wife. In thoſe Days ſuch Wives were allowable: And that ſhe ſerv'd him in this Capacity is very manifeſt from the Account we have of her in Scripture; for, whereas it is ſaid, that *the King knew her not*, this certainly implies, that he might have had carnal Knowledge of her without Sin, or Scandal; whereas it is ſaid, that *ſhe lay in his Boſom*, this Phraſe every where in Scripture denotes what was the ſole Privilege of a Wife, or Concubine, *Gen.* xvi. 5. *Deut.* xiii. 6. Nor can we imagine, why *Adonijah*'s deſiring her in Marriage had been ſo heinous a Crime in *Solomon*'s Account, had ſhe not been the King's Wife, and he, by this Means, had deſign'd to revive his Pretenſions to the Crown. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† It is remark'd of *David*, that one of his great Faults, and what had led him into many Premunires, was his extraordinary Indulgence to his Children, of whom he was ſo fond, that he ſeems to have overlook'd their Errors, and not reprov'd them, though he was bound to do it by a plain Law, *Lev.* xix. 17. and could not but know, that the High-Prieſt *Eli* was ſeverely puniſh'd for this Neglect. *Pool*'s Annotations.

† In 2 *Sam.* vii. 12. God had promis'd *David* by *Nathan*, that he would ſet upon his Throne a Son, that ſhould proceed from him, which plainly ſignify'd, that none of his Sons already born were to be the Perſon; and in 1 *Chron.* xxii. 8, &c. he declar'd by the ſame Prophet, that, after his Father, *Solomon* ſhould reign, and build him an Houſe. This *Adonijah* could not but know; and therefore his ſetting himſelf againſt the Decree of Heaven made his Sin the greater. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† This Power of naming a Succeſſor was firſt aſſum'd by *David*, and, for ſome Time afterwards (as appears by the Story of his Grandſon *Rehoboam*) was continu'd in the *Jewiſh* State. It was a Privilege that, in After-Ages, was granted to ſeveral good Princes, but among the *Iſraelites* it did not prevail long, becauſe the Conſtitution of other Nations (to which the *Iſraelites* affected to conform themſelves) was different. *Pool*'s Annotations and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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Succeſſor, ſince Things were now come to that Extremity, that, without her doing this, all their Lives muſt certainly be in Danger. *Bathſheba* purſu'd her Inſtructions; went to the King, and, having acquainted him with *Adonijah*'s Conſpiracy, deſir'd him to name her Son his Succeſſor, according to the *Oath*, that he had formerly made to her. While ſhe was thus talking with the King, *Nathan* came in, and confirm'd what ſhe had ſaid; ſo that *David* immediately declar'd *Solomon* his Succeſſor, and thereupon commanded *Zadok* the Prieſt, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benaiah* the Captain of his Guards, with the other Officers and Miniſters of State, to mount him † on the Mule, that he himſelf us'd to ride; and, having in this Manner † conducted him to *Gihon*, there to let *Zadok* and *Nathan* anoint him, and then, by Sound of Trumpet, to proclaim him King of *Iſrael*. All this was accordingly done, and the People of *Jeruſalem*, by their loud Shouts and Acclamations of Joy, gave Teſtimony of their Approbation of *David*'s Choice.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

BUT how *thunder-ſtruck* was *Adonijah*, and his Company, when, being juſt upon the Point of proclaiming him King, they heard the Sound of the Trumpet, and the Shouts of the People attending *Solomon!* As ſoon as they were inform'd of the Occaſion each Man thought proper to ſhift for himſelf; but, as for *Adonijah*, he * fled to the Altar for Sanctuary, till, having obtain'd of *Solomon* a Promiſe of Life, upon Condition that he would never attempt any Thing for the future againſt his Government, he was conducted into the King's Preſence, where he made his Obeiſance to *Solomon*, in Token of Thankfulneſs for his Preſervation, and in Acknowment of his *Superiority*.

His Speech to the Princes, and People of Iſrael, *concerning the Building of the Temple.*

THIS *Inauguration* of *Solomon* however was a little too haſty and private; and therefore *David*, intending a more publick *Coronation*, order'd all the Princes of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, and all the Officers of his Court and Army, to attend him: When

† All the reſt of *David*'s Sons were wont to ride upon Mules, when they went abroad, 2 *Sam.* xiii. 29. but *David* had a Mule peculiar to himſelf, and the mounting *Solomon* upon it was a ſufficient Declaration in his Favour. For, as it was capital (according to *Maimonides*) to ride upon the King's Mule, or ſit on his Throne, or handle his Sceptre without his Order; ſo, on the contrary, to have the Honour to ride upon the King's Horſe, by his Appointment, was accounted the higheſt Dignity among the *Perſians*, as appears by the Story of *Mordecai* in the Book of *Eſther*. *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† Some *Commentators* are of Opinion, that *Gihon* was the ſame with the Fountain of *Siloam*; but this is a groſs Miſtake, ſince *Gihon* was manifeſtly to the *Weſt*, and *Siloam* to the *Eaſt* of *Jeruſalem*. There is little or no Certainty likewiſe in the Notions of ſome *Rabbins*, who pretend that, in antient Times, Kings were always anointed by the Side of a Fountain, by way of good *Omen*, or that the perpetual Running of the Stream might be an *Emblem* of the Perpetuity of their King's Reign. In the Hiſtory of *Saul*, who was their firſt King, and of *David*, who was three Times anointed, we find no Mention made of any Spring or Fountain. As theſe Fountains however were Places of great Concourſe, (for there were not many in *Jeruſalem*) the chief Reaſon, we may imagine, why *David* order'd *Solomon* to be anointed at one of theſe, was, that the Thing might be done as publickly, and in the Preſence of as many Spectators, as poſſible. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

* There is no Precept in the *Law* to make the Altar a privileg'd Place; but, in Conformity to the Cuſtoms of other Nations, the *Jews* ſeem to have done it. Other Nations had certainly this Cuſtom, as appears from that Paſſage in *Virgil*:

Talibus orabat dictis, araſque tenebat. Æneid vi.

And it ſeems not unlikely, that, as the People, when they came into the Land of *Canaan*, had Cities appointed by God, whereunto the *Manſlayer might flee*; ſo, while they continu'd in the Wilderneſs, the Camp of the *Levites* might ſerve for the ſame Purpoſe. Nay, from the Words in *Exodus* xxi. 14. where God orders the wilful Murtherer *to be taken from his Altar, that he may die*, it ſeems unqueſtionably true, that, even in the Land of *Canaan*, the Altar continu'd a Sanctuary for thoſe who fled unto it; but then the Queſtion is, to what Altar *Adonijah* fled; Whether to the *brazen* one, which *Moſes* made, and which was now at *Gibeon*, or that which his Father had lately erected in the Threſhing-Floor of *Araunah?* 'Tis expreſsly ſaid, 1 *Kings* i. 50. that *he caught hold of the Horns of the Altar*; but we can hardly ſuppoſe, *ſay ſome*, that the Altar in the Treſhing-Floor, which was run up in ſuch Haſte with Stones and Turf, was made in that Figure. But what ſhould hinder us from ſuppoſing, that, as *David* had built a Place for the Reception of the Ark of the Covenant on Mount *Sion*, he had likewiſe built there an Altar, for the Oblation of the daily Sacrifices, in the exact Form of the *original* one, that was then at *Gibeon*, and that it was to this Altar, and neither of the others, that *Adonijah* betook himſelf for Refuge. *Le Clerc*'s, *Patrick*'s, and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

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When having recover'd a little from his late Indiſpoſition, he ſtood up, and, * in a ſolemn *Oration*, put them in Mind of God's Goodneſs to him, and of his Deſignation of *Solomon* to ſucceed in his Throne, and to build him a Temple. And therefore, ſince he had reſerv'd that Honour for his Son, he earneſtly recommended to him a ſtrict Fidelity and Piety towards God, and a zealous Diſcharge of this important Truſt. To this Purpoſe he gave him the *Plan*, which he had made for the Execution of this Undertaking, and an Account of the Treaſures, which he had provided for the perfecting of this great Work. He gave him alſo a Liſt of the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, and the *Courſes*, in which they were to wait in the Temple: He gave him likewiſe the *Schemes*, and Regulations of the Officers of his Court, of the *civil* Officers, of the Treaſurers, and of the Superintendants of the *Revenues*, belonging to the Crown; and, having made a large Oblation of Money out of his own *private* Eſtate for the Building of the Temple, by his Example and Perſuaſion, he prevail'd with the *Princes*, and the People to contribute (according to their Abilities) to ſo good and pious a Work. And when he found himſelf ſucceſsful herein, (for what they gave upon this Occaſion amounted to an immenſe Sum) he concluded all with a ſolemn Thankſgiving to God, and a *Prayer*, that he would enable *Solomon* to perfect what he had thus deſign'd, and recommended.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

The next Day there was a very great and ſolemn *Sacrifice*, and much Rejoicing among the People. *David*, upon this Occaſion, had *Solomon* anointed a ſecond Time in a more publick Manner; order'd that *Zadok* ſhould be the High-Prieſt in the Room of *Abiathar*, who had publickly eſpous'd the Intereſt of *Adonijah*; and (to put an End to all Diſputes after his Deceaſe) had him for the future ſeated on a *royal* Throne, and made ſole Regent of the Kingdom during his Life-Time.

And dying Charge to his Son Solomon.

Not long after this, *David*, perceiving his End approaching, called for *Solomon*, * and gave him his laſt Exhortation, which

* The Speech which *Joſephus* puts in *David*'s Mouth upon this Occaſion, is to this Purpoſe: —— "I am now "to inform you, my Countrymen and Brethren, that I have had it a long Time in my Thoughts to erect a Temple "to the Lord, and have treaſur'd up a mighty Maſs of Gold and Silver toward the Charge of the Undertaking; but "it hath pleas'd God in his Providence, by the Mouth of his Prophet *Nathan*, to put a Stop to my Deſign, upon this "Conſideration, that he would not have the Foundation of his holy Houſe laid by Hands, that have been dipp'd in "Blood, which mine inevitably have been, (tho' in the Blood of your Enemies) in the Wars I have been forc'd to "engage in, for the neceſſary Defence of your Liberties: But, at the ſame Time that he forbid me to do this, the "Prophet inform'd me, that God had tranſmitted the Care of the whole Work to my Son and Succeſſor. Our Fa"ther *Jacob* (as you all very well know) had twelve Sons, and yet *Judah* was choſen by common Conſent to be "Ruler of all the reſt. You know likewiſe, that I myſelf (tho' there were then ſix Brothers of us) was advanc'd by "God to the Government, and that none of the reſt thought themſelves injur'd: Wherefore I muſt now, in like "Manner, require it of you, and of all your Sons, that you ſubmit chearfully and dutifully to my Son *Solomon*, and "that ye do it without any Grumbling, or civil Diſſenſion, becauſe it is from God's immediate Command and Com"miſſion, that he derives his Authority. Put the Caſe now, that God ſhould have ſet a Stranger over you, how "great a Folly and Madneſs would it have been for you to murmur at it? But how thankful ought you to be, for "the Choice of ſo near a Relation, when you yourſelves are Partakers of the Honour, that is done to your Brother. "There is nothing I ſo much long for, as to ſee God's gracious Promiſes take a ſpeedy Effect, and the whole People "put into a laſting Poſſeſſion of the Bleſſings, they are to enjoy under the Reign of *Solomon*. And all this, my dear "Son, (*ſays he, turning to* Solomon) will be made good, and every thing ſucceed to your Wiſh, ſo long as you "govern according to Piety and Juſtice, with a Reſpect to your Duty both towards God and Man, upholding a "Reverence to the Laws, and treading in the Steps of your Forefathers: But, whenever you paſs theſe Bounds, there "is nothing but Ruin and Miſery to be expected." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. vii. c. 11.

* *Joſephus* introduces *David*, as taking his laſt Leave of his Son *Solomon* in theſe Words: —— "And now, "Son, I am going to my Fathers, and you, that I leave behind me, are in due Time to follow, which is no more "than paying a common Debt to Nature. There is no returning from the Grave, and, when we are once gone, "we have done with this World for ever. Wherefore, while I am yet among the Living, and before it be too "late, pray let me remind you of the ſame Things once more. —— Govern your Subjects according to "Juſtice. Worſhip that God, from whom you have receiv'd your *Dignity*, as well as your *Being*, as you are bound "to do. Obſerve his Precepts, and keep his Laws, as they have been handed down to you from *Moſes*, and have "a care that you never forſake them, either for Fear, Flattery, or any Paſſion, or Intereſt whatſoever; for other"wiſe

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

which was, to be conſtant in his Duty to God, (*i*) *to walk in his Ways, and* † *keep his Statutes, and his Commandments, his Judgments, and his Teſtimonies, that he might proſper in all that he did*; and then deſcending to ſome particular Affairs relating to the *State*, he charg'd him to do Juſtice to *Joab*, for the many Murders he had been guilty of; to ſhew Kindneſs to the Sons of *Barzillai*, for the Support their Father had given him in his Diſtreſs; and tho' he himſelf had not put *Shimei* to death for his paſt Offences, yet whenever he ſhould prove guilty again, not to ſpare him. Having thus ended his Exhortation to his Son, in a ſhort Time after he died, in the ſeventy-firſt Year of his Age; after he had reign'd forty Years in all, ‖ *ſeven* in *Hebron*, and *three and thirty* in *Jeruſalem*; and * was buried in that Part of the City, which himſelf had taken from the *Jebuſites*, and called after his own Name.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

WHEN

" wiſe you can never hope for the Bleſſings of God's Favour and Providence: But if you behave yourſelf with " Reverence and Submiſſion towards God, as you ought to do, and as I wiſh you may do, your Kingdom will be " eſtabliſh'd to yourſelf, and the Succeſſion of it continu'd to your Family from Generation to Generation." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. ii. c. 12.

(*i*) 1 Kings ii. 3, —— 11.

† Under theſe four Words are comprehended all the Laws of *Moſes*. *Statutes* were ſuch *Conſtitutions*, as had their Foundation, not in Reaſon, but in the Will and Pleaſure of God; ſuch was the Prohibition of ſowing Seeds of different Kinds together, &c. *Commandments* were moral Duties, that were founded in the Nature of Things, and carry'd their Reaſon along with them; as not to ſteal, not to murther, &c. *Judgments* were the Laws belonging to Civil Government, and the Dealings of one Man with another; ſuch are all thoſe Laws, that are recorded in the Twenty-firſt and following Chapters of *Exodus*; and *Teſtimonies* were ſuch Laws, as preſerv'd the Remembrance of ſome great Events, and *teſtify'd* to Men the Loving-Kindneſs of the Lord; ſuch as the *Sabbath*, the *Paſſover*, and the reſt of the *Feaſts*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

‖ In 2 *Sam.* v. 5. it is ſaid, that he reign'd ſeven Years and ſix Months in *Hebron*, which, together with the three and thirty in *Jeruſalem*, will make his Reign to be in all forty Years and a half. To ſolve this Difficulty, (as ſome of the *Jews* eſteem it) they have devis'd a Conceit, that, to puniſh *David* for his Adultery with *Bathſheba*, God ſent upon him a *Leproſy*, which continu'd for ſix Months, in all which Time he was look'd upon as dead, and not accounted to reign: But they never conſider'd, that theſe Months were Part of his Reign in *Hebron*, before he committed that Adultery in *Jeruſalem*. The true Account of the Matter therefore is, that it is very uſual, in Scripture-Computation, to omit ſmaller Sums, and only reckon by a round Number; for which Reaſon theſe ſix Months, which were but Part of a Year, are not taken Notice of in the Account both of *Kings*, 1 Kings ii. 11. and *Chronicles*, 1 Chron. xxix. 26, 27. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

* After this Account, which *Joſephus* gives us of *David*'s ſeveral Speeches before his Death, he informs us, —— " That he was bury'd at *Jeruſalem* with a Solemnity of royal Pomp and Magnificence, that was glorious to the higheſt " Degree, and that, over and above the Splendor of the Ceremony, his Son *Solomon* depoſited in his Monument an " ineſtimable Treaſure, from which, when *Antiochus*, ſurnam'd the *Pious*, beſieg'd *Jeruſalem*, *Hircanus*, the High-" Prieſt, took to the Sum of *three Thouſand Talents*, and therewith brib'd them to raiſe the Siege; and that, many " Years after this, *Herod*, ſirnam'd the *Great*, took another immenſe Sum from thence, which enabl'd him to re-" build the Temple." Among ſeveral Nations indeed it was cuſtomary to bury, along with Princes, and other great Men, various Things of Value, that they took Delight in while they liv'd. The *Egyptians* were us'd to this; and about their *Mummies* are frequently found very precious Ornaments. When *Alexander the Great* had *Cyrus*'s Tomb open'd, there was found therein a Bed of Gold, a very rich Table, drinking Cups, and many fine Veſtments; but, notwithſtanding all this, ſeveral learned Men look upon this whole Account of *Joſephus* as a mere Fable. For, to what Purpoſe, *ſay they*, did *Solomon* bury all this Treaſure under Ground, when he had ſo much Occaſion for it; when he was forc'd to borrow Money of the King of *Tyre*, and burthen his People with ſo many heavy Taxes to ſupply his exceſſive Expences? How came it, that the other Kings of *Judah*, who were frequently put to the Neceſſity of ſtripping the Temple of its precious Furniture to ſatisfy their greedy Enemies, never once adventur'd to lay hold on this Treaſure? How came it to eſcape the Hands of the *Chaldeans*, and other Nations, that ſo often had the plundering of *Jeruſalem*? Or why ſhould *Hircanus* violate this *Depoſitum*, which his Predeceſſors eſteem'd more ſacred than the holy Veſſels of the Lord? Theſe are Queſtions, that cannot eaſily be reſolv'd; and, (what is a farther Confutation of this Story) in that very Book, from whence *Joſephus* is ſuppos'd to have taken it, *it is* never once ſaid, that *Hircanus* broke open *David*'s Tomb. The Words of that *ſpurious* Author are, that Hircanus, *while he was beſieg'd by* Antiochus, *open'd a Treaſure-Chamber, which belong'd to ſome of* David's *Deſcendants, and that, after he had taken a large Sum of Money out of it, he ſtill left a great deal in it, and ſeal'd it up again:* But this is quite a different Thing, and has no Manner of Relation to the Sepulchre of *David*. As to the *real* Sepulchre of *David*, 'tis certain, that it was always held in great Veneration among the *Jews*. It was in Being in St *Peter*'s Time, for ſo he tells the People, *Acts* ii. 29. *Dio* (in *Adriani* vitâ) informs us, that Part of it was fallen down in the Emperor *Adrian*'s Reign. St *Jerom* relates, that he himſelf us'd frequently to go and pray at it; and modern *Travellers* (as we took

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Solomon *ſucceeds his Father* David, *and cuts off his chief Adverſaries.*

When *David* was dead, *Solomon* ſucceeded to the Throne; and, to ſecure his Poſſeſſion, took an Occaſion, in a ſhort Time, to rid himſelf of his Adverſaries. *Adonijah*, in his Father's Life-time, made bold Pretenſions, but was defeated, and pardon'd by *Solomon*, upon Condition that he would become a good *Subject*, and give him no farther Moleſtation; but by the Perſuaſion of *Joab*, and *Abiathar*, he was now put upon another bold Project, which was to deſire *Abiſhag* (the late King's *Concubine* in his old Age) in Marriage, hoping thereby to ſtrengthen his Intereſt, and to be able to play an *After-game* for the Crown. To this Purpoſe he prevail'd with *Bathſheba*, the *Queen-Mother*, to ſpeak to the King: But the King was ſo far from granting his Requeſt, that he was ſhock'd at the Boldneſs of it, and, ſuſpecting ſome treaſonable Deſign at the Bottom, ſent immediately, and had him put to Death. In the next Place, he baniſh'd *Abiathar*; and, having inhibited him from the Exerciſes of his *prieſtly* Office, confin'd him to his *Country-Houſe*, and put *Zadok* in his Place; and, when he heard that *Joab* was fled into the *Tabernacle* for *Sanctuary*, upon his refuſing to come out at his Command, † he order'd *Benaiah* (whom he afterwards made *General* in his Room) to go in, and kill him there. But when *Shimei*, who deſerv'd the like Fate for his groſs Abuſe of the late King, was brought before him, he only † confin'd him to *Jeruſalem*, as a Priſoner at large, but with a ſtrict Injunction not to move out of the Place upon Pain of Death. Upon this Condition he thankfully accepted of his Life, and, for ſome Time kept within the Bounds of his Confinement; but having ſome Slaves, who had run away, and

1 Sam. 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

Notice before) deſcribe ſome magnificent Monuments hew'd in a Rock, not far from *Jeruſalem*, which are doubtleſs very *antient*, but they themſelves do not agree, that they were the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Judah*. 'Tis ſomewhat unaccountable however, that the Place of this Prince's Sepulchre, which both the *Chaldeans* and the *Romans*, when they took *Jeruſalem*, thought proper to ſpare, ſhould now be ſo entirely loſt, that we cannot find the leaſt Remains of it. But tho' Providence has ſo order'd it, that the Place of *David*'s Sepulchre ſhould not at preſent be known, yet there does not want an eternal *Monument* of his moſt excellent *Genius*. The Book of *Pſalms*, which for the moſt Part was compos'd by him, does publiſh the Glory of its Author more than the moſt pompous *Elogies*, and the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* (Chap. xlvii. 2, &c.) has conſecrated this *Epitaph* to his Memory, which is more durable than either *Marble* or *Braſs*: ——— *As the Fat is taken away from the Peace-Offering, ſo was* David *choſen out of the People of* Iſrael. *He played with Lions as with Kids, and with Bears as with Lambs; he ſlew a Giant when he was young, and took away Reproach from the People; for he called upon the Moſt High Lord, and he gave Strength to his Right-Hand to ſlay this mighty Warrior, and to ſet up the Horn of his People. So the People honoured him with ten Thouſands, and praiſed him in Bleſſings of the Lord; for he deſtroyed the Enemies on every Side, and brought to nought the* Philiſtines, *his Adverſaries:* ——— *In all his Works he praiſed the holy One moſt high, and bleſſed the Lord with Words of Glory:* ——— *He ſet Singers alſo before the Altar, that, by their Voices, they might make ſweet Melody, and daily ſing Praiſes in their Songs. He beautified their Feaſts, and ſet their ſolemn Times in perfect Order:* ——— *The Lord took away his Sins, and exalted his Horn for ever; he gave him a Covenant of Kings, and a Throne of Glory in* Iſrael. *Calmet*'s Commentary, and his Dictionary, under the Word *David*.

† It was formerly very cuſtomary among Princes, to employ their Officers, or greateſt Confidants, in ſuch like Executions. Among the *Romans*, the Soldiers were always the Perſons, who carry'd to Priſon, to Torture, or to Execution, ſuch as were found guilty of any Offence; and this *Tertullian* makes an Argument to diſſuade *Chriſtians* from engaging in the Wars, leſt thereby they ſhould be oblig'd to impriſon, puniſh, or execute Malefactors. In *Dan.* ii. 24. we read, that Nebuchadnezzar *ſent* Arioch, *who was chief Commander of his Troops, to deſtroy the Wiſe-Men of* Babylon, becauſe they could not interpret his Dream; and therefore we need leſs wonder, that we find *Solomon* employing *Benaiah*, the Captain of his Guard, on the like Office: But whether he did not firſt drag *Joab* from the Altar, before he ſlew him, for fear of polluting the holy Place with Blood, or whether *Solomon* did not rather think fit to have him kill'd even at the Altar, and let all Men ſee, that no Place, though never ſo ſacred, ſhould ſecure any Man from the Hand of Juſtice, Commentators have not agreed. *Calmet*'s and *Patrick*'s Commentaries.

† *Shimei*, as we read, was a very powerful Man. When he came to meet King *David*, and to beg Pardon for his Offence, he had a Thouſand of his own Tribe to accompany him, 2 *Sam.* xix. 17. and therefore *Solomon* might think proper to confine him to the City of *Jeruſalem*, that, being remov'd from the Place, where his Family and Intereſt lay, to one where he was but a Stranger, and ſufficiently odious for his former *ill Treatment* of the late King, he might be incapable of raiſing any Tumults, or Seditions; and that, being in this *publick Theatre*, all his Words and Actions might be narrowly obſerv'd, which, conſidering his buſy and wicked Temper, might give *Solomon* a fair Advantage againſt him; and (as the Manner of ſome is) the very Prohibition itſelf might probably inflame his Deſire to tranſgreſs it. *Pool*'s Annotations.

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and had enter'd themſelves into † the Service of *Achiſh*, King of *Gath*, he imprudently went to reclaim them, and, upon his Return, by *Solomon*'s Order, was put to Death.

HAVING thus ſecur'd his Kingdom *at home*, by confining, or cutting off the Heads of the *Faction*, that was againſt him, *Solomon* bethought himſelf of ſtrengthening his Intereſt *Abroad* by foreign Alliances; and, to this Purpoſe, married the Daughter of † *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, and appointed her at firſt an Apartment in his own Palace; but, after he had finiſh'd the Temple, built her a very ſtately Palace adjoining to his own, which ſhe badly deſerv'd; for, in Proceſs of Time, this Woman, among others, contributed not a little to the *Perverſion* of *Solomon*.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

HE began his Reign however with a good Senſe of Religion upon his Mind; for which End, taking the Chief of the Officers and Nobility along with him, he went to *Gibeon*, where the *original Tabernacle* and *Altar*, that were made in the *Wilderneſs*, were kept, and there offer'd a Thouſand Sacrifices, in Acknowledgment of God's Kindneſs to him, in placing him upon his Father's Throne. In the Night following, when God appear'd to him in a Viſion, and promis'd to grant whatever he ſhould aſk, he begg'd him to give him † a wiſe and underſtanding Heart, and († conſidering his Youth and Inexperience) ſuch Qualities, as were neceſſary

Begins his Reign with a good Senſe of Religion.

† *Achiſh* had been ſo great a Friend to *David*, that, though *David* had conquer'd the *Philiſtines*, he ſuffer'd him ſtill to retain the Title of a King, and only to be *tributary* to him; ſo that there was a friendly Correſpondence between his City and *Jeruſalem*, inſomuch, that *Shimei* might eaſily hear, by ſomebody or other, that had been at *Gath*, that his Servants were there. Theſe Servants, in all Probability, were ſuch, as he had purchas'd with a conſiderable Sum of Money, and their Running away was not only a Loſs, but a great Affront likewiſe to their Maſter; and therefore, partly out of *Rage*, and partly through *Covetouſneſs*, he undertook this dangerous Journey, preſuming, that a Thing, which might be done ſecretly and ſpeedily, would never come to *Solomon*'s Ears; that, in the Space of three Years Time, *Solomon* might have forgot his Injunction; or that, if he remember'd it, he would not be ſo rigid, as to put it in Execution; eſpecially ſince he went out of *Jeruſalem*, not through Wantonneſs, or any Contempt of *Authority*, but merely to recover what he had loſt, which, he might think, was a Thing excuſable. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Patrick*'s Commentary.

† It may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange, that, in all the Hiſtory of the *Jews*, from the Time of *Moſes* to this of *Solomon*, no Mention ſhould be made of the Kings of *Egypt*, as if they had no Concern in the Affairs of *Canaan*, but were wholly diverted ſome other Way: But for this, their own Hiſtorians account, when they tell us, that during this Space of Time, the *Egyptian Kings did nothing worth recording*, Diodor. Biblioth. lib. i. p. 29. All theſe Kings of *Egypt* were called *Pharaohs*; but *Pharaoh* was not a *proper* Name, but a Title of *Dignity* only, which imported the ſame as *Sultan*, or *Emperor*. They had, beſides this, other Names, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in a Paſſage taken from *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, tells us, that the *proper* Name of this *Egyptian King*, whoſe Daughter *Solomon* marry'd, was *Vaphres*. *Le Clerc*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

† Hereupon ſome *Jewiſh* Annotators have obſerv'd, that tho' *Solomon*, in his great Modeſty, might requeſt of God no more than the Gift of *Government*, or (as he expreſſes it) *an underſtanding Heart to judge the People, and to diſcern between Good and Evil*, 1 Kings iii. 9. yet God, out of his abundant Grace, gave him a general Knowledge of all other Things, as the following Hiſtory informs us: And that, whereas other Men gather their Knowledge from Study and Obſervation, *Solomon* had his by an immediate *Inſpiration* from God, inſomuch, that *he, who went to Bed as ignorant as other Men, awak'd in the Morning like an Angel of God*. But though his Knowledge of Things was, in a great Meaſure, infus'd, yet he did not therefore neglect his Study. *He gave his Heart to ſeek, and ſearch out, by Wiſdom, concerning all Things under the Sun*; in which *Search* (as himſelf teſtifies, *Eccleſ.* i. 13.) he took no ſmall Pains: So that his Gifts *extraordinary* did not ſuperſede the Uſe of other Means, in the Acquiſition of Knowledge, but by Application and Experience, he perfected what he had ſo advantageouſly receiv'd from the Hands of God. *Patrick*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

† The Words of *Solomon* himſelf are, ——— *I am but a little Child; I know not how to go out, or how to come in*, 1 Kings iii. 7. From whence ſome have inferr'd, that he was not above twelve Years old when he ſpake them; but this muſt be a groſs Miſcomputation. His Father, when he left the Kingdom to him, calls him *a wiſe Man*, 1 Kings ii. 6, 9. The foregoing Story ſhews, that he had already ſat ſome Time on the *Throne*; and therefore he calls himſelf a *Child*, not in Reſpect of his Years, (for moſt agree that he was twenty, when he began to reign) but his Skill in governing the People, and managing the Affairs of State. This was a *modeſt* Expreſſion in *Solomon*; but it is an Obſervation of *Ariſtotle*, in his Book of *Politicks*, that young Men are unfit for Government, becauſe their *conſultive Power* is imperfect; which, though it may not be a general Rule, was deliver'd by *Solomon* himſelf, in his more mature Years, for a *Maxim*; for *Woe to the Land*, (ſays he, *Eccleſ.* x. 16.) *whoſe King is a Child*. *Patrick*'s Commentary.

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neceſſary for the due Government of the People committed to his Charge; which Petition God was ſo well pleas'd with, that, over and above the Wiſdom which he aſk'd, he promis'd to give him ſuch Affluence of Riches and Honour, as no King, in his Days, ſhould be able to equalize. When *Solomon* awak'd out of Sleep, he perceiv'd that this was a Dream ſent from God; and therefore, returning to *Jeruſalem*, he preſented himſelf before the Ark *of the Covenant*, which was plac'd in a *Tabernacle*, that *David* had made for it, and there he offer'd Sacrifices in Abundance.

And great Demonſtrations of his Wiſdom.

SOLOMON (as we ſaid) had obtain'd of God a Promiſe of the Gift of *Wiſdom*; and it was not long before he had an Opportunity of ſhewing it, to the great Satisfaction of all his Subjects. † Two Women, who both liv'd together in one Houſe, were brought to Bed about the ſame Time, and one had overlaid her Child. She, who found the *dead* Child by her, accus'd the other of having ſtolen away her *living* Child, and left her dead one in its Place: The other pertinaciouſly denied the Thing, ſo that the Queſtion was, *To whom did this living Child belong?* And to determine this, *Solomon* commanded ſome that ſtood by, to take and † cut the Child in two, and to give to each Woman half; whereupon the *real* Mother begs that the Child may be ſav'd, even tho' it be given to her Adverſary, but the pretended one is clearly for dividing it; which gave *Solomon* a full Conviction, that ſhe, who expreſs'd a Tenderneſs and Compaſſion for the Child, was its true Mother, and accordingly order'd it to be given her.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

His large Dominions, and wonderful Learning, and Writings.

THE Wiſdom of the King ſoon ſhed an happy Influence over all his Dominions, and every Subject was, in ſome Degree or other, made Partaker of it. All *Judah* and *Iſrael* liv'd in the greateſt Security; and all the neighbouring Nations either paid him *Tribute*, or were his Friends and Allies. He rul'd over all the Countries and Kingdoms, † from the *Euphrates*

† Theſe two Women are ſaid in the *Text* to be *Harlots*, but the *Hebrew* Word (as we took Notice in the Caſe of *Rahab*) may equally ſignify an *Hoſteſs*, or one, who kept an Houſe of *publick* Entertainment; and that it is ſo to be taken here, we have theſe Reaſons to preſume: ——— That, as all publick *Proſtitution* was ſeverely forbidden by the Law, *Deut.* xxiii. 17. Women of this infamous Character durſt not have preſented themſelves before ſo juſt and ſo wiſe a King; that Women of this leud Behaviour ſeldom do become Mothers of Children, and when they chance to have any, are not ſo ſollicitous for their Preſervation, but rather rejoice when they have got rid of them. There is no Reaſon to ſuppoſe then, that theſe Women were common *Harlots*; and yet it is generally thought, that they were both *unmarry'd* Perſons, and guilty of *Fornication*, becauſe no Mention is made of their Huſbands, whoſe Office it was (if they had any) to conteſt the Matter for their Wives. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

† *Solomon* knew at once, that the only Sign that would diſcover the *true*, would be her Affection, and Compaſſion, and Tenderneſs for her Child; and therefore, in order to diſtinguiſh between the two, his Buſineſs was to make Trial of this: And if we ſuppoſe, that, when he commanded the Child *to be divided*, he ſpake with a ſedate Countenance, and ſeeming Earneſtneſs, (as the *true* Mother's Petition to the King makes it apparent that he did) then we may ſuppoſe farther, not only the two Women, but all the People preſent with Horror and Admiration expecting the Execution of the Thing; which, when it ended in ſo juſt a *Deciſion*, quite contrary to what they look'd for, rais'd Joy in every Breaſt, and gave a more advantageous Commendation to the Judge: And yet *Abarbinel*, the *Jewiſh* Commentator, thinks, that all this was no great Proof of *Solomon*'s extraordinary Wiſdom, nor could it beget that Fear or Reverence, which the *Text* ſays (1 *Kings* iii. 28.) it procur'd to his Perſon. His Opinion therefore is, that *Solomon* made a Diſcovery of the Truth antecedent to this *Experiment*; that, by obſerving the Countenance, the Manner of Speech, and all the Motions of the Women, he diſcern'd the Secret of their Hearts, and penetrated to the Bottom of the Buſineſs; and that his commanding the Child to be *divided* afterwards was only to notify to the Company, what he before had *diſcover'd*. However this be, it may not be improper, upon this Occaſion, to mention an Inſtance or two out of profane Hiſtory, of a ſingular *Addreſs* (though much inferior to this) in diſcovering ſuch Secrets, as ſeem'd to be paſt finding out. To this Purpoſe, *Suetonius* (in his Life of *Claudian*, Chap. 15.) tells us, how that Emperor diſcover'd a Woman to be the Mother of a young Man, whom ſhe would not own for her Son, by commanding her to be marry'd to him; for the Horror of committing *Inceſt* oblig'd her to declare the Truth; and, in like Manner, *Diodorus Siculus* relates, how *Ariophanes*, King of the *Thracians*, being appointed to arbitrate between three Men, who all pretended to be Sons of the King of the *Cimmerians*, and claim'd the Succeſſion, found out the true Son and Heir, by ordering them to ſhoot, each Man his Arrow, into the dead King's Body, which one of them refuſing to do, was deem'd the true Claimant. *Pool*'s Annotations, *Patrick*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

† The Words in the Text are, *And* Solomon *reigned over all Kingdoms from the River unto the Land of the* Philiſtines,

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phrates to the *Nile*, and in many Places his Dominions extended beyond the *Euphrates*. He had a great Number of Horſes and Chariots of War. Inſtances of his Wiſdom were as numerous as *the Sands of the Sea*, and in Learning and Knowledge he † ſurpaſs'd all the *Orientals*, and the *Egyptians*. In a Word, he was the wiſeſt of Mankind, and his Reputation was ſpread thro' all Nations. He compos'd, or collected, * *Three Thouſand Proverbs*, and a † *Thouſand and five Poems*. He knew the Virtue of all Plants and Trees, from the higheſt to the loweſt; and in his Books treated of the Nature of † all Kinds of Beaſts, and Birds,

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

ſtines, *and unto the Border of* Egypt, 1 Kings iv. 21. for the Bounds of his Kingdom were to the *Eaſt*, the *Euphrates*, which is here, and in other Places of Scripture, called the *River*, without any Addition; to the *Weſt*, the Country of the *Philiſtines*, which border'd upon the *Mediterranean-Sea*; and to the *South*, *Egypt*. So that *Solomon* had tributary to him the Kingdoms of *Syria*, *Damaſcus*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, which lay between *Euphrates* and the *Mediterranean*; as indeed, without ſuch a Number of *tributary* Kingdoms, we cannot conceive, how the Country of *Iſrael* could have furniſh'd ſuch a conſtant Supply of Proviſions, and other Things neceſſary for the Support of this Prince's *Grandeur*. *Patrick*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

† There were three Nations in the *Eaſt* of *Canaan*, that were very famous for their Wiſdom and Erudition; the *Chaldeans*, beyond the *Euphrates*; the *Perſians*, beyond the *Tygris*; and the *Arabians*, on the nearer Side of the *Euphrates*, a little towards the *South*: But whether the *Perſians* and *Chaldeans* were remakable for their Learning in *Solomon*'s Days, is much doubted among *Commentators*. The Book of *Job* ſufficiently ſhews, that the *Arabians* (for of that Nation was *Job* and his Friends) were famous for their Learning in *antient* Times: And, as to the *Chaldeans* and other *oriental* People, ſince the Sons of *Noah* took up their Habitation about *Babylon*, and the neighbouring Countries, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that, where Mankind firſt began to ſettle themſelves into regular Societies, there Arts and Sciences firſt began to appear. The *Egyptians* however pretend to a Precedency in this, and ſeveral other Accompliſhments. They ſay, that the *Chaldeans* receiv'd the Principles of Philoſophy at firſt from a Colony, that came from *Egypt*, as *Diodorus* indeed makes mention of ſuch a Colony, conducted by *Belus*: But the *Chaldeans*, on the other Hand, maintain, that from them it was, that the *Egyptians* receiv'd their firſt Inſtructions, and (according to ſome) that *Abraham* was the Perſon, who firſt communicated to the *Chaldeans* the Knowledge of Aſtronomy, and other Sciences. However this be, *Solomon* receiv'd from God a perfect Knowledge of all that uſeful and ſolid Learning, for which the *Eaſtern* People, and the *Egyptians* were juſtly fam'd; for (as it follows) he was a great *moral* Philoſopher, a great *natural* Philoſopher, and an excellent *Poet*. *Patrick*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries.

* *Joſephus*, who lov'd to magnify every Thing, that concern'd *Solomon*, inſtead of *three Thouſand Proverbs*, tells us, that *Solomon* compos'd *three Thouſand Books of Proverbs*: The greater certainly is our Loſs, (if the Thing were credible) becauſe all the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, that we have now, are compris'd in the Book, that goes under that Name, and in his *Eccleſiaſtes*; and yet ſome learned *Criticks* are of Opinion, that the nine firſt Chapters of the *Book of Proverbs* were not of *Solomon*'s Compoſure, and that the Number of *Proverbs*, which properly belong to him, is no more than *ſix Hundred and Fifty*. *Grotius*'s Annotations, and *Calmet*'s Commentary.

† Theſe, one would think, were *Poems* enough, for a Perſon, that had ſo much more other Buſineſs, as King *Solomon* had; but *Joſephus*, who is never content, makes him the Author of *ſo many Volumes of poetical Compoſitions*; and the *Septuagint* indeed, as well as other Interpreters, make the Number of them to be no leſs, than *five Thouſand Songs*, or *Odes*: But, of all this Number, we have none remaining, but *the Song of Songs*, as it is call'd; except the Hundred and twenty-ſixth *Pſalm*, which (in its *Hebrew* Title) is aſcrib'd to *Solomon*, may be ſuppos'd to be one of theſe. The *Pſalter of Solomon*, which contains eighteen *Pſalms*, (a Work, that was found in *Greek* in the Library of *Auſburg*, and has been tranſlated into *Latin* by *John Lewis de la Cerda*) is ſuppos'd by the Learned to be none of *Solomon*'s, but of ſome *Helleniſtical Jew*, much converſant in reading the ſacred Authors, and who had compos'd them in Imitation of the *Pſalms* of *David*, whoſe Stile he cloſely purſu'd, and had inſerted ſeveral Paſſages of the *Prophets*, (eſpecially of *Iſaiah* and *Ezekiel*) which he accommodated well enough to his Purpoſe. However this be, theſe *eighteen Pſalms* were not unknown to the Antients; for they were formerly in the famous *Alexandrian* Manuſcript, which is with us, as may be ſeen by the *Index*, which is ſtill to be found at the End of the *New Teſtament*, though the *Pſalms* themſelves have either been torn out of the Book, or loſt by ſome Accident. *Le Clerc*'s and *Calmet*'s Commentaries, and his Dictionary, under the Word *Solomon*.

† The ſeveral Books, which treated of the Nature and Virtue of *Animals*, as well as *Plants*, are ſuppos'd to have been loſt in the *Babyloniſh* Captivity; but *Euſebius* (as he is quoted by *Anaſtaſius*) informs us, that King *Hezekiah*, ſeeing the Abuſe which his Subjects made of *Solomon*'s Works, by placing too much Confidence in the Remedies which he preſcrib'd, and the *natural* Secrets which he diſcover'd, thought proper to ſuppreſs them all. Notwithſtanding this, ſince his Time, many Books, concerning the *Secrets of Magick*, *Medicine*, and *Inchantments*, have appear'd under the Name of this Prince; and ſeveral Pieces have been quoted, ſuch as *the Inſtructions of* Solomon *to his Son* Rehoboham; *The Teſtament of* Solomon; *The Book of the Throne of* Solomon; *The Books of Magick, compos'd by the Dæmons under the Name of* Solomon; *The Clavicula, or Key of* Solomon; *The Ring of* Solomon; *The Contradiction of* Solomon, *&c.* which were moſt of them very wicked and pernicious Tracts, to which the Authors prefix'd this great Name, to give them more Credit and Sanction. 'Tis ſomewhat ſtrange however, that *Joſephus* ſhould inform us, that *Solomon* compos'd Books of *Inchantments*, and ſeveral Manners of *Exorciſms*, or of driving away Devils, ſo that they could

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Birds, and Reptiles, and Fiſhes; inſomuch, that * there was a Concourſe of Strangers from all Countries to hear his Wiſdom, and Embaſſadors from the moſt remote Princes, that had heard of his Fame.

His League and Contract with Hiram, *King of* Tyre, *for Materials to build the Temple, which accordingly he finiſh'd.*

As ſoon as *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, underſtood that *Solomon* was † made King of *Iſrael*, * he ſent Embaſſadors to him to condole his Father's Death, and congratulate him upon his Acceſſion to the Throne: And, in a ſhort Time after, *Solomon*, in Return, ſent an Embaſſy to him, deſiring him to ſupply him with Wood, and Workmen, and to lend him his Aſſiſtance in Building *the Temple of the Lord*. *Hiram* very readily complied with his Deſire, and ſent him word, that he would order *Cedar-Trees*, and *Fir-Trees* to be cut down upon Mount *Libanus*; that his People ſhould put them on *Floats*, and bring them by Sea to the Harbour of *Joppa*; and that from thence *Solomon*, (who contracted to give *Hiram* ſuch a Quantity of Wheat and Wine, and Oil, &c. every Year for the Maintenance of his Houſhold, and Workmen) might ſend, and fetch them to *Jeruſalem*.

From [illegible] Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

ALL

could return no more; and that he ſhould further aſſure us, that himſelf had ſeen Experiments of it by one *Eleazar*, a *Jew*, who, in the Preſence of *Veſpaſian*, his Sons, and the Officers of his Army, cur'd ſeveral, that were poſſeſs'd. *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. viii. c. 2. and *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Solomon*.

* It is a Conceit of one of the *Jewiſh* Interpreters, that all the Kings of the neighbouring Countries went to hear the Wiſdom of *Solomon*, and that, upon their Return, their Subjects came to them to hear what he had ſaid; but as we hear of none, but the Queen of *Sheba*, who came to viſit *Solomon*, we cannot but think, that if any other *crown'd Heads* had reſorted to him, the Hiſtory would have recorded them, as well as her. The Words denote no more, than that the Kings of all the neighbouring Nations ſent their Embaſſadors, and People of every Land, that had heard of *Solomon*'s Fame, came to ſee him; for "no Spectacle (ſays an ingenious Author) is more lovely and "grateful, than a wiſe and good King; all Men flock to ſee him, and to partake of his pious and prudent Mind. "They that ſee him, are loth to leave him, and they that hear of him, are as deſirous to ſee him, as Children "are to find their unknown Father." *Dion Pruſæus* Orat. de Regno.

† The ivth Chapter of the firſt of *Kings* is chiefly taken up in recording the Prime Miniſters and Officers of *Solomon*'s Court, the Compaſs and Extent of his Kingdom, the Happineſs and Security of his Subjects, the Pomp and Magnificence of his Living, and the Excellence of his own Wiſdom and Erudition.

* This *Hiram* was doubtleſs the Son of that other *Hiram*, who ſent *David* Timber and Artificers, wherewith to build his Palace: For, if (according to *Joſephus*) the Temple was built in the twelfth Year of *Hiram*'s Reign, and the fourth of *Solomon*'s, this *Hiram* could not be the ſame with him, who ſent *David* Men and Materials; becauſe that *Hiram* was upon the Throne, when *David* took *Jeruſalem*, which happen'd to be three and thirty Years before *Solomon* began his Reign. There are two Letters, which paſs'd between this *Hiram* and King *Solomon*, recorded by *Joſephus*, and for the *Authentickneſs* of which, he appeals both to the *Jewiſh* and *Tyrian* Records, that are to this Effect:

"*King* Solomon, *to* Hiram, *greeting*.

"Be it known unto thee, O King, that my Father *David* had it a long Time in his Mind and Purpoſe to erect "a Temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in War in his Days, and under a Neceſſity of clearing his Hands "of his Enemies, and making them all his Tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy Work, he hath "left it to me, in a Time of Peace, both to begin and finiſh it, according to the Direction, as well as Prediction of "the Almighty. Bleſſed be his great Name for the preſent Tranquillity of my Dominions! And, by his gracious "Aſſiſtance, I ſhall now dedicate the beſt Improvements of this Liberty and Leiſure to his Honour and Worſhip. "Wherefore I make it my Requeſt, that you will let ſome of your People go along with ſome Servants of mine to "Mount *Libanus*, to aſſiſt them in cutting down Materials towards this Building; (for the *Sydonians* underſtand it much "better than we do) and as for the Workmen's Reward, or Wages, whatever you think reaſonable ſhall be punctually "paid to them."

"*King* Hiram, *to King* Solomon.

"Nothing could have been more welcome to me, than to underſtand, that the Government of your bleſſed Father "is, by God's Providence, devolv'd into the Hands of ſo excellent, ſo wiſe, and ſo virtuous a Succeſſor. His holy "Name be prais'd for it! That which you write for ſhall be done with all Care and good Will: For I will give Or-"ders to cut down, and export ſuch Quantities of the faireſt *Cedars*, and *Cypreſs-Trees*, as you ſhall have Occaſion "for. My People ſhall bring them to the Sea-Side for you, and from thence ſhip them away to what Port you pleaſe, "where they may lie ready for your own Men to tranſport them to *Jeruſalem*. It would be a great Obligation, "after all this, to allow us ſuch a Proviſion of Corn in Exchange, as may ſtand with your Convenience; for that is "the Commodity, that we *Iſlanders* want moſt." *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. viii. c. 2. But notwithſtanding all his Appeal to the *Tyrian* Records, ſome have ſuſpected *Joſephus*, as to the Genuineneſs of theſe two Letters, eſpecially where they find him bringing in *Hiram*, ſpeaking of *Tyre*, as if it had been an Iſland, whereas it is plain, that the *Old Tyre*, which was then ſtanding, and muſt be the Place here ſpoken of, was ſituate on the *Continent*. *Le Clerc*'s Commentary.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

ALL Things being thus agreed on, the Preparations for the Building of the Temple went on apace. Seventy Thouſand *Proſelytes*, who were the Remains of the antient *Canaanites*, *Solomon* employ'd in carrying Burdens upon their Shoulders; fourſcore Thouſand, in cutting Stone out of the Quarries; and three Thouſand ſix hundred, in overſeeing the Work. Of his own *Subjects*, he ſent thirty Thouſand to work with the King of *Tyre*'s Men in the Quarries of *Libanus:* And (to finiſh the *inner* Part of the Temple, as well as frame ſome of its choiceſt Veſſels) *Hiram* * ſent him a moſt ſkilful Artiſt of his own Name, whoſe Mother was of the Tribe of *Dan*, but his Father a *Tyrian*; and (what was prodigious) his Abilities extended to all Kind of Works, whether in Gold, Silver, Braſs, or Iron, whether in Linnen, Tapeſtry, or Embroidery; and by his Direction all the curious *Furniture* of the Temple was both deſign'd and finiſh'd. From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

AND now all Things being in Readineſs, the Foundation of the Temple was laid in the † fourth Year of King *Solomon*'s Reign, in the Year of the *Creation* two Thouſand nine Hundred and ninety two, four Hundred and eighty Years after the *Iſraelites* Eſcape from the *Egyptian* Bondage; and, in the * Space of ſeven Years and an half, was compleated with ſuch *Dexterity*, that neither * *Hammer*, nor *Ax*, nor any Tool of Iron was heard in it, all the while that it was building. Such admirable Care and Contrivance was us'd, in preparing, and adjuſting the *Materials*, before they were brought together!

The

* In former Times, among the *Hebrews*, there had been very excellent Workmen, who knew how to cut and engrave precious Stones, to caſt, and work upon Metals, &c. but this was before they came into the Land of *Canaan*, in the Time of *Moſes*, when *Bazaleel* and *Aholiab* were excellent in many different Arts, which were neceſſary for the Work of the Temple; but, as the Scripture acquaints us, that they had their Skill by Inſpiration from God, it does not appear that they had any Succeſſors: And, after the People had got Poſſeſſion of *Canaan*, they neglected all Manufactures, and apply'd themſelves wholly to Agriculture, and feeding of Cattle; ſo that, in the Time of *Solomon*, there were no profeſs'd Artiſts, that could undertake the Work of the Temple, but in *Tyre* and *Sidon* there were many; for, both in his *Iliads* and his *Odyſſey*, *Homer* gives the People of theſe two Places this Character, whom (upon every Turn) he calls Πολυδαιδάλους, *i. e. excellent Artiſts in ſeveral Kinds of Works. Patrick*'s Commentary.

† If it be aſk'd, why *Solomon* did not begin the Building of the Temple ſooner, and even in the firſt Year of his Reign, ſince his Father had left him a *Plan*, and all Things neceſſary for the Undertaking? *Abarbinel*'s Anſwer is, ——— That *Solomon* would not make uſe of what his Father had prepar'd, but was reſolv'd to build this Temple all at his proper Coſt and Charge. He therefore put into the *Treaſure of the Lord's Houſe* all, that *David* had dedicated to the Work; and, to gather together as much Gold and Silver, as was neceſſary to defray ſo vaſt an Expence, *four Years* can be accounted no unreaſonable Time. Nay, even ſuppoſe that he made uſe of the Treaſure, which his Father had amaſs'd, yet, if the *Materials*, that his Father had provided, lay at a conſiderable Diſtance, and were left rude and unfaſhion'd, it would coſt all this Time to form them into the exact Symmetry, wherein the Scripture repreſents them, before they were brought together, eſpecially conſidering that the very Stones, which made the Foundation, were very probably vaſt *Blocks* of *Marble*, or *Porphyry*, 1 Kings v. 17. And all poliſh'd in the moſt exquiſite Manner. *Patrick*'s Commentary, and *Pool*'s Annotations.

* The Temple itſelf indeed was but a ſmall Edifice, but the many Courts and Offices, that were about it, made the Whole a vaſt Pile, and the Exquiſiteneſs of the Art, and Fewneſs of the Artiſts, that could be employ'd about it, made a longer Time requiſite. It muſt be own'd however, that, conſidering all Things, *Solomon* made an extraordinary Diſpatch: For, if the Building of *Diana*'s Temple at *Epheſus*, employ'd all *Aſia*, for the Space of two hundred Years, and no leſs than three hundred and ſixty Thouſand Men, for twenty Years together, were taken up in erecting one *Pyramid*, (as *Pliny*, lib. xxxvi. c. 12. affirms) no reaſonable Man can wonder, that this Temple was ſeven Years and an half in building. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Calmet*'s Commentary.

* The *Jewiſh* Doctors have entertain'd a very odd *Conceit*, upon the Occaſion of this Paſſage in the ſacred Hiſtory, wherein the Temple is ſaid to have been built without Noiſe. They tell us, that the *Dæmon Aſmodeus* drove *Solomon* once from his Throne, and reign'd in his Place, while that Prince was forc'd to travel over the ſeveral Kingdoms, and Provinces of the World; but that, at his Return to *Jeruſalem*, he defeated *Aſmodeus*, and having chain'd him ſo, that he could do no Hurt, he compelled him to teach him the Art of cutting Stones for the Temple, without making any Noiſe, which was done, *as they ſay*, not with any Tool or Inſtrument, but by the Help of a *Worm*, called *Samir*, which cuts and poliſhes Stone with a marvellous Facility. But the Foundation of all this Fiction (as *Bochart*, Hieroz. p. 2. lib. vi. c. 11. has obſerv'd) is laid in Somebody's miſtaking the Senſe of the Word *Samir*, which ſignifies a very hard Stone, called *Smiris*, that is, of uſe to cut and poliſh other Stones, and which *Solomon*'s Workmen

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Christ. 1023, &c.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

The OBJECTION.

" BUT how commendable ſoever the " Zeal both of *David*, and his Son " *Solomon*, to build the Temple of the " Lord, might be; yet we are much in " the wrong, if we think, that this would " be any *Commutation* for the Blood and " Cruelty, which the ſacred Hiſtorian " ſeems to leave charg'd upon them.

" *DAVID* had given *Saul* the moſt " ſolemn Aſſurance upon Oath, that (*k*) " *he would not cut off his Seed, nor deſtroy* " *his Name out of his Father's Houſe*; he " knew full well too, that it was an ex- " preſs Command in the Law, that (*l*) " *Children ſhould not be put to death for* " *the Fathers, but that every Man ſhould* " *be put to death for his own Sin:* And " yet, notwithſtanding this double Obli- " gation, we find him tamely giving up " ſeven of *Saul*'s innocent Progeny (which " he had promis'd to protect) into the " Hands of bloody-minded Men, by " them to be hung up, as long as they " thought fit, in Order to atone for what " *Saul* had done amiſs; and to appeaſe the " Wrath of God, as if he (like the " Idol *Moloch*) could be pleas'd with the " Tortures of the Innocent, or took de- " light in the Oblation of human Blood.

" *SAUL*'s Family was very nume- " rous indeed, and ſome of them might, " in Proceſs of Time, grow up to be an- " other *Iſhboſheth* to *David*, and give him " ſome Diſturbance in his *Uſurpation*. It " was highly neceſſary, therefore, to diſ- " patch thoſe, of whom he might have " any ſuch Apprehenſion, and (if any " were to be left) to ſpare ſuch only, as " were lame and impotent, and incapable " to diſpute his Title. This, in all Pro- " bability, was the Motive of his ſhewing " ſome Favour to *Mephiboſheth*, becauſe " (*m*) *he was lame in both his Feet*; and " yet he was minded to cut him ſhort and " keep him low, when he granted away " his Eſtate (without ever giving him a " fair Hearing) to a vile and perfidious " Servant; and, notwithſtanding his clear- " ing his Character from every falſe Aſ- " perſion thrown on it, ſtill continuing " the baſe Informer in the full Poſſeſſion " of half of it.

" WHAT the *Zeal* of King (*n*) *Saul* " *to the Children* of *Iſrael* and *Judah* " might be, that led him into the Error " of deſtroying the *Gibeonites*, we cannot " tell; but ſurely it is unaccountable, " why God did not immediately chaſtiſe " him for it, inſtead of deferring his Pu- " niſhment, and at laſt transferring it to " his Poſterity. His Poſterity perhaps " might be juſtly included in his Puniſh- " ment; but what had the whole Na- " tion done to deſerve a Famine of three " Years Continuance? * *That be far from* " *thee, O Lord, to ſlay the Righteous with* " *the Wicked, and that the Righteous* " *ſhould be as the Wicked, that be far* " *from thee; for ſhall not the Judge of all* " *the Earth do right?*

" WE readily grant, that *David*'s re- " ſiſting the Importunity of his Officers, " and promiſing *Shimei* his Life, when ſo " many were ready to put him to Death, " was an Act of great Generoſity, con- " ſidering the Heinouſneſs of his Crime; " but this Promiſe he utterly cancels, when " he leaves it with his Son, as his dying Injunction,

Workmen might poſſibly have Recourſe to upon this Occaſion. But the true Reaſon why no Noiſe was heard, in the building of the Temple, was, that the Stones, and all other Materials were hewn, and ſquar'd, and fitted at a Diſtance, ſo that, when they were brought to the Place, where the Temple was to ſtand, there was nothing to do but to join them together. And this might be done, not only for the Eaſe and Convenience of the Carriage, but for the Magnificence of the Work, and the Commendation of the Workmen's Skill and Ingenuity. *Pool*'s Annotations, and *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Solomon*.

(*k*) 1 Sam. xxiv. 21. (*l*) Deut. xxiv. 16. (*m*) 2 Sam. ix. 13. (*n*) Ibid. xxi. 2.

* Gen. xviii. 25.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

" Injunction, (*o*) *not to hold him guiltleſs,* " *but to bring down his hoary Head to the* " *Grave with Blood:* Nor can we con- " ceive for what Reaſon he, who durſt " not attempt to puniſh *Joab* in his Life- " Time, ſhould now upon his Death-Bed, " (a proper Seaſon for Forgiveneſs) re- " commend the dangerous and ungrateful " Taſk to his Son, (*p*) who was but " young, and as yet unſettled on his " Throne.

" OUR bleſſed Saviour lays it down for " a Rule of good *Policy* among Princes, " to keep an Eſtimate of their Forces; " for (*q*) *what King going to War againſt* " *another King,* ſays he, *ſitteth not firſt* " *down, and conſulteth, whether he be able,* " *with ten Thouſand, to meet him, that* " *cometh againſt him with twenty Thou-* " *ſand?* And therefore, if *David* was " minded to take an Account of the " *military* Men in his Kingdom, where " was the great Offence againſt God? " *David,* who knew himſelf beſt, and " with what Purpoſe he number'd the " People, might perhaps have Reaſon to " ſay, *I have ſinned,* (*r*) *I have done* " *wickedly*; but his following Words, " *viz. theſe Sheep, what have they done?* " are a ſad Imputation upon the Divine " Juſtice; for, upon the Preſumption " that they were *innocent,* how could " they, with any Juſtice, be puniſh'd " with a raging Peſtilence, for the Tranſ- " greſſion of their King?

" THE Truth is, there are ſo many " *Contradictions,* and *Inconſiſtencies* in this " whole Story, (*s*) that there is no *recon-* " *ciling* it to itſelf. In one Place it is ſaid " that (*t*) *God moved* David *to number* " *Iſrael,* and in another, that (*u*) *Satan* " *provoked him to it:* But it were highly " *profane* and *blaſphemous,* to ſay, that " God conſpir'd with *Satan* in this Act, " on Purpoſe to deſtroy a Multitude of " *innocent* Perſons. In like Manner to ſay, (*x*) *that there were in* Iſrael *eight* " *hundred Thouſand valiant Men, that* " *drew the Sword, and in* Judah *five hun-* " *dred Thouſand,* beſides Women and " Children, old Men that were unfit for " War, and two entire Tribes, that were " not number'd, is a Thing incredible. " For, (*y*) if in a Nation, the Men, that " are able to bear Arms, are generally " accounted the *fifth* Part of it, the Sum " total of the *ten Tribes* only, that were " number'd, will amount to above ſix " Millions, which (together with the " Tribes unnumber'd) will make up a " Multitude, too large for ſo ſmall a " Country, as that of *Canaan,* to main- " tain. From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

" WHAT the Conſtitution of the " *Jewiſh* Monarchy was, it is difficult to " ſay: Kings, from the firſt, might have " the *Right* of nominating their Succeſſors; " but certainly *David* would never have " poſtpon'd his eldeſt Son *Adonijah,* had " he not been in his *Dotage,* and there- " fore influenc'd by his Wife to chuſe her " Son *Solomon*; But after all, what great " Offence had *Adonijah* done, in deſiring " *Abiſhag* for his Wife? Or how does it " appear, that, by ſolliciting this *Alliance,* " he affected to ſupplant *Solomon* of the " Kingdom? To have put him under " ſome civil Reſtraint might have been " excuſable, but to take away his Life " upon that Account, without any regular " *Proceſs,* or *Licenſe* given him to make " his Defence, was, to the laſt Degree, " *arbitrary* and *tyrannical.* Eſpecially, con- " ſidering that himſelf was never known " to ſet any Bounds to his Love, and, in " marrying of *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, had " trampled upon a Law, which oblig'd the " King as well as the People, (*z*) *to make* " *no Covenant* with idolatrous Nations, " nor to enter into Marriages with them,

" for

(*o*) 1 Kings ii. 9. (*p*) *Calmet*'s Commentary. (*q*) Luke xiv. 31. (*r*) 2 Sam. xxiv. 17, the Account in 1 *Chron.* xxi. 5. is much higher, for there it is ſaid, that all they of *Iſrael were a Thouſand Thouſand, and an hundred Thouſand Men, that drew the Sword,* and of *Judah, four hundred threeſcore and ten Thouſand.* (*s*) Chriſtianity as old as the Creation, p. 266. (*t*) 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. (*u*) 1 Chron. xxi. 1. (*x*) 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. (*y*) *Le Clerc* in Locum. (*z*) Exod. xxxiv. 16. and Deut. vii. 3, 4.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

" for fear that *their Daughters* ſhould " draw them aſide, *to go a whoring after* " *their Gods*, whereof himſelf was a no- " torious Inſtance.

" What the *Conſtitution* of the *Jewiſh* " Church was, and how far *ſubordinate* " to the *civil* Power, 'tis no eaſy Matter " to determine; but *Solomon* ſeems to have " tranſcended his Authority, when (*a*) *he* " *thruſt out* Abiathar *from being Prieſt* " *unto the Lord*, merely for adviſing " *Adonijah* to marry the late King's *Con-* " *cubine*. But well might the Writer of " his Life extend the *Royal Prerogative* " beyond its juſt Bounds, when we find " him ſo very laviſh in his Account of " other Matters, as quite to tranſcend all " Poſſibility of Truth. For what ſhall we " ſay to his making *Solomon* hold a long " Conference with God in his Sleep; and " repreſenting *that* as a Divine Revelation, " which was only the Reſult of an idle " Dream? What ſhall we ſay to the " *Thouſand* (*b*) *Burnt-Offerings* which he " makes him ſacrifice at *Gibeon*, and all on " one Altar only, that was of no larger (*c*) " *Dimenſions*, than *five Cubits ſquare?* To " the *forty Thouſand Stalls* (ſome Inter- " preters make them ſo many *Stables*) for " *Horſes*, which he gives him; and yet " his *Horſe-Men* aere no more than " *twelve Thouſand*; and to (*d*) the *fourteen* " *Hundred Chariots of War* which he " informs us he kept, when ſome of the " greateſt Princes in After-Ages had not " half that Number, and God's general " Injunction to the King of *Iſrael* was, " (*e*) that he *ſhould not multiply Horſes to* " *himſelf?*

" These are ſome of the Faults and " Failings (to give them the ſofteſt Term " we can) of *David* and his Son *Solomon*, " whom the ſacred Hiſtorian endeavours " to extol, tho' it be at the Expence of " ſome *Abſurdities*, and *Self-Contra-* " *dictions*. The moſt remarkable Part of " their Story is, their Concern for the " Building of the *Temple* at *Jeruſalem*; " and yet it is very juſtly to be queſtion'd, " whether in this they deſerv'd any Praiſe, " or did God any real Service, ſince (*f*) " *the Moſt High dwelleth not in Temples* " *made with Hands*, as the *Apoſtle* teſtifies; " for (*g*) *the Heaven is my Throne, and* " *the Earth is my Foot-Stool*, ſaith the " Lord, *where then is the Houſe which ye* " *build for me, or where is the Place of* " *my Reſt?*"

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

Anſwer'd, by ſhewing the Occaſion of Saul's *murthering the* Gibeonites.

There is hardly any one Paſſage in Scripture more difficult to give a ſatisfactory Account of, than this Relation of *Saul*'s Cruelty to the *Gibeonites*; becauſe we have little or no Intimation, either *when*, or *where*, or *why*, their Slaughter was committed.

The *Gibeonites* were not of the *Children of* Iſrael, but the Remains of the *Amorites*, who, upon *Joſhua*'s taking Poſſeſſion of the *promis'd* Land, impos'd upon him and his Counſellors, and cunningly drew the *Iſraelites* into a League with them, which was inſtantly confirm'd by an Oath; and, becauſe it was ſo confirm'd, for above three hundred Years, was reputed inviolable. But tho' the *Gibeonites*, by their Craft and Fallacy, ſav'd their Lives, yet it was upon this Condition, that they ſhould (*h*) *become Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water* for the Service *of the Tabernacle*. Now while the *Tabernacle* was at *Nob*, which *was a City of the Prieſts*, and where ſome of the *Gibeonites*, their Attendants, may be ſuppos'd to reſide, the ſacred Hiſtory informs us, that *Saul*, (*i*) in Revenge to the Prieſts, whom he took to be Favourers of *David*'s Cauſe, deſtroy'd the City, and maſſacred all the Inhabitants thereof; ſo that ſeveral of the *Gibeonites* muſt have been ſlain upon this Occaſion, and for the ſhedding of their Blood this *Famine* was ſent. This is the Account which ſome learned Men give us of the Matter: But they never conſider'd, (*k*) that as *Saul*'s Sin,

(*a*) 1 Kings ii. 27. (*b*) Ibid. iii. 4. (*c*) *Patrick* in Locum. (*d*) Vid. 1 Kings iv. 26. and 2 Chron. ix. 25. (*e*) Deut. xvii. 16. (*f*) Acts vii. 48. (*g*) Iſaiah lxvi. 1. (*h*) Joſh. ix. 23. (*i*) 1 Sam. xxii. 17. (*k*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary on 2 Sam. xxi. 1.

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Sin, in murthering the *Prieſts*, was greater, than in ſlaying the *Gibeonites*, God ſhould have inflicted this ſevere Puniſhment upon the Land for the *greater* Sin, rather than the *leſs*. It has been ſaid indeed, that for the Slaughter of the Prieſts, God had aveng'd himſelf on *Saul* before, by ſuffering him and his Sons to be ſlain in Battle by the *Philiſtines*, but that the Slaughter of the *Gibeonites* was not as yet expiated; yet it will be difficult to conceive, why there ſhould be two different and diſtinct Puniſhments for one and the ſame Sin committed at the ſelf-ſame Time.

WHEN, or by whom, or on what Occaſion, the *Tabernacle* and *Altar* of Burnt-Offerings, which were made by *Moſes* in the *Wilderneſs*, were remov'd from *Nob* to *Gibeon* we cannot tell, becauſe the Scripture is ſilent: But 'tis the Conjecture of (*l*) ſome learned Men, that it was not long after the Murder of the *Prieſts* at *Nob*, and that *Saul*, very probably, to regain the Favour of the People, which he found he had loſt by being ſo barbarous to Men of their ſacred Character, quarrell'd with the *Gibeonites*, and baniſh'd them out of their City, in order to make room for the *Tabernacle of the Lord*.

THE Scripture indeed acquaints us, that (*m*) *he ſought to ſlay the* Gibeonites *in his Zeal to the Children of* Iſrael *and* Judah; where the Expreſſion ſeems to denote, (*n*) that the Children of *Iſrael* envied theſe miſerable People, inſomuch that *Saul* thought he could not do a more popular Act, than to cut them off.

BUT by the *Children of* Iſrael, (*o*) ſome rather underſtand the Tribe of *Benjamin* in particular, *viz.* that very Tribe from whence King *Saul* deſcended, and thence they infer, that his *Zeal*, or earneſt Deſire to promote his own Tribe to Riches and Grandeur, made him ſeek Occaſion to fall foul upon the *Gibeonites*, in order that the three Cities, which they poſſeſs'd in the Territories of *Benjamin*, might fall into his Hands, and ſo be divided among his own Family. That he either had, or intended to advance and enrich his own Tribe, is manifeſt from theſe Words of his; (*p*) *Hear now, ye Benjamites, will the Son of* Jeſſe *give every one of you Fields and Vineyards, and make you all Captains of Thouſands, and Captains of Hundreds*; i. e. will he do for you, as I have, and mean to do? Now, if we look into the Actions of *Saul*, we do not find, that he made any Purchaſe of the Poſſeſſions of another Tribe, or, that he took from his Enemies any conſiderable Territories, in order to accommodate his *Benjamites*, and are therefore left to ſuppoſe, that the *Fields* and *Vineyards*, wherewith he enrich'd them, he unjuſtly acquir'd by deſtroying and diſpoſſeſſing the *Gibeonites*. 'Tis but ſuppoſing then, that ſome of the *chief* of theſe *Gibeonites* had, in ſome Inſtance or other, offended *Saul*, for which he was minded to deſtroy the whole Race; or, that he had caſt a greedy Eye upon their Lands and Poſſeſſions, which, in caſe of their *Exciſion*, would be forfeited to the *Crown*, and ſo might be given to his own Family; and then he had *Allegations* plauſible enough againſt them, pretending, "That it was not for the Ho-
"nour or Intereſt of God's People, to
"nouriſh any of that *viperous* Brood in
"their Boſoms; and that, however *Joſhua*
"and the *Princes*, who then bore Sway,
"had by their Fraud been drawn into an
"Oath to preſerve them, yet, in Truth,
"that Oath was contrary to God's Com-
"mand, which requir'd them (*q*) *to*
"*ſmite them, and utterly deſtroy them*, and
"therefore ought not, as he thought, to
"be obſerv'd."

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

THUS *Saul* might ſet up for a Reſtorer of the Divine Laws to their antient Rigour, and Strictneſs of *Execution*, and a Supplier of the Default of *Joſhua*, and the Princes of *Iſrael*, in ſparing the *Gibeonites*, even tho' they were compris'd in the general *Ordinance* of Extirpation; and, under

How the Iſraelites *might become* culpable.

(*l*) *Calmet*'s Commentary on 1 Sam. xxii. 19. Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*, Vol. III. (*m*) 2 Sam. xxi. 2. (*p*) 1 Sam. xxii. 7. (*n*) *Le Clerc* in Locum. (*q*) Deut. vii. 2. (*o*) The

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this Character, he might eaſily draw in his own Subjects to abet, and aſſiſt his Cruelty againſt a poor People, for whom they had never any good Liking. *Regis ad exemplum* is the known *Maxim*, and therefore we may eaſily ſuppoſe, that a wicked and hard-hearted People, who had aſſiſted *Saul* in the Perſecution of *David*; had adher'd to *Abſalom* in his *Rebellion* againſt his own Father; and who, at the Beck of ſo many impious Princes, left the true Worſhip of God, and fell into Idolatry; would not be backward to aſſiſt *Saul*, in putting in Execution any of his Contrivances againſt the poor *Gibeonites*. And if ſo, we cannot but admire the Wiſdom, and Juſtice of God, in making the Puniſhment *national*, when the *whole Nation* (for aught we know) was confederate with *Saul* in murdering the *Gibeonites*, or guilty at leaſt in not hindering it; when the *next Generation* was involv'd in the Guilt, by not repairing the Injury as much as poſſible, or not expreſſing their Horror and Deteſtation of it by ſome *publick* Act; when an Act of Diſcipline might, at this Time, be neceſſary, to preſerve the remaining *Gibeonites* from Inſults, to beget in the *Iſraelites* a proper Reſpect for them, to prevent the like Murders for the future, and the like Breaches of *national* Compacts.

And God might juſtly puniſh them.

Nay, ſuppoſing the People, who liv'd in that Time, when the Famine prevail'd, to be never ſo *innocent* of the Blood of the *Gibeonites*, yet it cannot be denied, but that God (who is the Author and Giver of Life) has an abſolute Right over the Lives of all, and can recall that Gift, whenever he pleaſes: And (*r*) therefore, if, in the Caſe before us, he made a Demand (as certainly he had a Right to do it) of ſo many Lives at ſuch a Time, and in ſuch a Manner, as might beſt anſwer the Ends of *Diſcipline*; then, that which was *juſt* in other Views, and without any ſuch ſpecial Reaſon, could not become *unjuſt*, by having that *additional* Reaſon to recommend it. In a Word, if the Thing was righteous, conſider'd merely as *an Act of Dominion* in God, it could not but be both righteous and kind, by being made, at the ſame Time, an *Act of Diſcipline* for the Puniſhment of Sin and Perfidy, and the Promotion of Juſtneſs and Godlineſs among Men.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

How Saul's Sons and Grandſons, might be culpable.

We muſt all allow, that God, as he is a moſt juſt and righteous Being, can never require, that the *Innocent* ſhould die for the *Guilty*; and therefore we have Reaſon to believe, that, when *Saul* (for Reaſons above-mention'd) was ſo outrageous againſt the *Gibeonites*, his Sons, and Grandſons, might be the Inſtruments of his Cruelty, and very probably bear ſome Part in the *military* Execution. For it frequently ſo happens, that whatever a King commands, be it never ſo abominable, is generally approv'd, and executed by his Family; and therefore, (*s*) when we are told, from the Mouth of God, that the Plague, ſent upon the People, was *for* Saul, *and his bloody Houſe, becauſe* † *he ſlew the* Gibeonites; it ſeems to be evident, that it was for their Guilt, as well as his; nor can we imagine, that this Guilt of theirs could be any Thing leſs, than that of being the Executioners in this Slaughter. 'Tis plain, that they were his *Captains of Thouſands, and Captains of Hundreds*; and it is as plain, that, as ſuch, they muſt be the Inſtruments of his Cruelty; for if they were not, why are they call'd *bloody*. They refus'd indeed (*t*) to ſlaughter the *Prieſts* at his Command, but there is no Reaſon to believe, that they were ſo ſcrupulous in Regard to the *Gibeonites*; and if they were not, is there leſs Equity, in God's deſtroying their Sons for the Sins of their Fathers, which they adopted and ſhar'd in, than there was in his deſtroying *Jehoram*, the Son of *Ahab*, for that Vineyard, which the Father had cruelly and unjuſtly acquir'd, and Son as unjuſtly detain'd?

Without

(*r*) Scripture Vindicated, Part ii.

† The Words, which we render *he ſlew*, might as properly be render'd *they ſlew*.

(*s*) The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*, Vol. III. (*t*) 1 Sam. xxii. 17.

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WITHOUT calling then to our Aſſiſtance God's great Prerogative, (*u*) *of viſiting the Sins of the Father upon the Children unto the third and fourth Generation*, we may fairly ſay, that, if theſe Deſcendants of *Saul* did either concur in this Murder of the *Gibeonites*, when *doing*, or avow and defend it, when *done*, they became culpable upon their own, as well as their Anceſtors Account, and thereupon juſtly deſerv'd to be deliver'd up to the Reſentment of a People, that had ſuffer'd ſo much by their *Inhumanity*.

Why God delay'd their Puniſhment ſo long.

UPON this Suppoſition then, (for it is by Suppoſitions that we muſt go in this obſcure Part of Hiſtory) that both the *People* and the *Princes of the Blood* were *acceſſary*, or *inſtrumental* to *Saul*'s Cruelty, the Reaſon why God delay'd their Puniſhment ſo long is obvious; even becauſe his infinite Goodneſs waited for their Repentance, which *Goodneſs* we badly requite, if we pervert it as an Argument againſt his *Providence*. For may not God be gracious and merciful as long as he pleaſes? Or have we any Right to ſet Bounds to his Patience and Long-ſuffering? 'Tis but ſuppoſing then, that, while God continu'd in this State of Expectance, upon ſome ſpecial Occaſion or other, to us unknown, both the People of *Iſrael* and *Saul*'s Poſterity might diſcover, that they were ſo far from repenting, that they gloried in the Murder of the *Gibeonites*, and this would determine God, who had hitherto waited for their Penitence in vain, to pour out his Indignation upon them, and exact a ſevere Puniſhment both for their Cruelty and Obſtinacy.

The Gibeonites *ſuperſtitious Notions.*

WHETHER the *Gibeonites* did right or wrong in exacting ſo ſevere a *Retaliation*, as that of hanging up ſeven of *Saul*'s Progeny, for the Injury that he and his Family had done them, the ſacred Hiſtory is no ways concern'd. It relates the the Tranſaction juſt as it happen'd; but to ſhew us from whence this *barbarous* Cuſtom of *hanging up Men* to appeaſe the Anger of the Gods did proceed, it *prefaces* the Account of the Matter, with this Obſervation: —— (*x*) *Theſe* Gibeonites *were not of the Children of* Iſrael, (for among them they learnt no ſuch Practice) *but a Remnant of the* Amorites, who were addicted to this horrid *Superſtition*, of which the *Gibeonites* (notwithſtanding their Abode among People of better Sentiments) ſtill retain'd ſome Tincture, and propounded it to *David*, as an *Expedient* to make the Earth become fruitful again; (*y*) *Let ſeven of* Saul's *Sons be given unto us, and we will hang them up unto the Lord.*

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

THE Scripture, you ſee, ſpeaks in the *Dialect* of theſe People; but from thence we make a wrong Concluſion, if we think, that God can be delighted with *human Sacrifices*, which ſo frequently, and ſo vehemently we find him declaiming againſt, and profeſſing his utter Deteſtation of. 'He deſires the Death, or Puniſhment of no Man, except it be in Purſuance of the Ends of his wiſe Providence, or when the *Criminal*, by his bad Conduct, has forfeited his Life to the *Government*, he lives under; nor would he have requir'd the Execution of any of *Saul*'s Poſterity, had it not been to procure the poor diſtreſs'd *Gibeonites* (who were true Drudges to their *Hebrew* Maſters) a kinder Treatment, and better Quarter for the future; had it not been to teſtify his Abhorrence of all Oppreſſion and Violence; to ſhew, that the Cries of the meaneſt *Slave*, as well as of the *mightieſt* Monarch, *enter the Ears* of the moſt High; that with him there is no Reſpect of Perſons, but *the Rich and the Poor to him are both alike*: (*z*) Had it not been, to repair the Injury done to his moſt holy Name, in the Violation of the Compact, which both *Joſhua*, and the Princes of *Iſrael* made with this People, and confirm'd with the Solemnity of an *Oath*: Had it not been

The Reaſons of God's exacting this Puniſhment.

(*u*) Exod. xx. 5. (*x*) 2 Sam. xxi. 2. (*y*) Ibid. ver. 6. (*z*) *Calmet*'s Commentary in Locum.

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been by this exemplary Puniſhment, to give Mankind a Leſſon of Inſtruction, concerning the *Sacredneſs* of *Oaths* and *Treaties*, and how religiouſly they ought to be obſerv'd, even towards thoſe, that are in the loweſt State and Circumſtances of Life.

UNDER theſe Conſiderations only could the Death of *Saul*'s Sons be acceptable to God; and how far *David*, in like Manner, came to be concern'd in it, we ſhall now proceed to conſider.

That David *had no Deſign to deſtroy* Saul's *Family.*

BOTH the *Septuagint*, and *vulgar Latin* Tranſlation make the Demand of the *Gibeonites*, when *David* ſent to offer them Satisfaction, run in this Strain: —— (*a*) *The Man, who conſumed us, and oppreſſed us unjuſtly, we ought utterly to deſtroy, ſo as not to leave one of his Race remaining in any of the Coaſts of* Iſrael; and in this Demand, we may preſume, that they perſiſted, until *David*, partly by his Authority, and partly by kind Intreaties prevail'd with them to be content with *ſeven* only. Here then was a fair Opportunity for *David* (had he been ſo minded) to have cut off the whole Race of *Saul* as it were at one Blow, and to have avoided all the Odium of the Action, by but barely ſaying, "That the *Gibeonites* demanded *all*, and "his Inſtructions from *God* were, to "grant whatever they demanded." But, inſtead of that, we find him, before this happen'd, making Enquiry for ſuch (*b*) *as were left of* Saul's *Family, that he might ſhew Kindneſs to them for* Jonathan's *Sake*; interpoſing his good Offices here with the *Gibeonites*, to have them abate the *Keeneneſs* of their Reſentment, and make the Slaughter of *Saul*'s *devoted* Houſe as moderate as poſſible; and, after that Slaughter was over, (*c*) giving them a publick and ſolemn Interment, *with the Bones of* Saul *and* Jonathan *his Son*, in the Sepulchre of their Anceſtors, and himſelf attending them in Perſon to the Grave.

THE Death of *Saul*'s Poſterity, procur'd by the *Gibeonites*, had it not proceeded from God's poſitive Command, but been only a *plauſible Pretence for* David *to get rid of his Rivals in Empire*, (*d*) we cannot imagine, why he ſhould ſlay no more than *ſeven* of theſe Deſcendants; why he ſhould cut off only *collateral* Branches, and ſpare all thoſe, who were in a direct Line of Succeſſion to the Throne; why he ſpar'd *Iſhboſheth*, his Competitor for the Kingdom, whom, by *Abner*'s Means he might have diſpatch'd, and, according to their Deſert, puniſh'd the two Traitors, who had officiouſly murther'd him; and why he ſpar'd *Mephiboſheth* the Son of *Jonathan*, and *Micah* his Son, and *Micah*'s four Sons, (whom in all Probability he liv'd to ſee) and in them (*e*) a long long Generation, all deſcended from *Saul*'s Family, and all related to the Crown.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

HAD this Affair of the *Gibeonites* happen'd indeed about the Beginning of *David*'s Reign over all *Iſrael*, ſoon after the Death of *Iſhboſheth*, and when he had Reaſon to apprehend, that ſome other *Rival* might, perchance, ſpring up in his Stead; there might then be ſome Umbrage to think, that the Branches of *Saul*'s Family were to be cut off for *Reaſons of State*, and to make his Poſſeſſion of the Crown more ſafe: But, ſince theſe Things came to paſs very near the *Concluſion* of his Reign, when (as he himſelf acknowledges (*f*) in the very next Chapter) God had not only *covered him with the Shield of his Salvation, and ſo enlarged his Steps under him, that his Feet could not ſlip, but given him likewiſe the Necks of his Enemies, and made him the Head over many ſtrange Nations*; he could have no juſt Conception of Danger from any Quarter, and conſequently, no Neceſſity to eſtabliſh his Throne by Blood.

But was compelled to deliver them.

IT could not be then for any private End, that *David* deliver'd theſe Children of *Saul* into the Hands of the *Gibeonites*, but purely in Obedience to the Will of God, who had both directed, and warranted

(*a*) 2 Sam. xxi. 5. (*b*) Ibid. ix. 1. (*c*) Ibid. xxi. 12, 13. (*d*) The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*, Vol. III. (*e*) Vid. 1 Chron. viii. 33, &c. (*f*) 2 Sam. xxii. 36, &c.

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ranted him ſo to do. For we cannot but ſuppoſe, (as *Joſephus* does) that, when *David* conſulted the Oracle concerning the *Famine*, God inform'd him, not only for what Crime it was inflicted, but by what Means likewiſe it was to be remov'd: And therefore, being let into all this, he was not at Liberty to do what he pleas'd, but compell'd rather to give up the Children as ſo many *Victims*, notwithſtanding his *Promiſe* and *Oath* to their Father; becauſe a *ſuperior* Power interpos'd, and, in ſo doing, cancell'd the *prior* Obligation.

His granting away Mephibosheth's *Eſtate accounted for.*

HIS making a Grant of *Mephibosheth*'s Eſtate to a vile Miſcreant of a Servant, without giving his Maſter a fair Hearing, is another Exception, that is commonly made to the Juſtice of King *David*'s Proceedings in this Period of Time. But how could *David* have Leiſure to ſend for *Mephibosheth* from Mount *Olivet* to *Jeruſalem*, and enquire into the Merits of the Cauſe depending between him and his Servant, when he was in ſo great an Hurry, and under Flight from the Arms of his rebel Son? Or how could he ſuppoſe that *Ziba* could have dar'd to have told him ſo notorious a Lye, when it might, in a ſhort Time, be diſprov'd? Every Circumſtance, in ſhort, on *Ziba*'s Side, look'd well; but none on his Maſter's. To his Maſter, *David* had been extremely kind in reſtoring to him the forfeited Eſtate of his Grand-Father *Saul*, and in allowing him (*g*) *to eat at his own Table, as one of the King's Sons*; and now, at the general *Rendezvous* of his Friends, *David* might well have expected, that the Perſon, to whom he had extended ſo many Favours, ſhould not have been ſo negligent of his Duty, as to abſent himſelf, unleſs it had been upon ſome extraordinary Buſineſs: And therefore, when *Ziba* acquaints him with the Occaſion of his Abſence, tho' it was a mere Fiction, yet with *David* it might find a readier Credence, becauſe at this Time he had Reaſon to miſtruſt every Body, and ſeeing his own Family diſconcerted and broken, might think the Crown liable to fall to any new *Claimant*, that could pretend to the ſame Right of Succeſſion, that *Mephibosheth* might.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

ON the contrary, every Thing appear'd bright and plauſible on *Ziba*'s Side. He, tho' but a Servant, came to join the King, and inſtead of adhering to his Maſter's pretended Schemes of Advancement, had expreſs'd his Duty to his rightful Sovereign, in bringing him a conſiderable *Preſent*, enough to engage his good Opinion. The *Story* that he told of his Maſter likewiſe, tho' utterly falſe, was cunningly contriv'd, and fitly accommodated to the Nature of the Times: So that, in this Situation of Affairs, as wiſe a Man, as *David*, might have been induc'd to believe the whole to be true, and, upon the Preſumption of its being ſo, might have proceeded to paſs a Judgment of *Forfeiture* (as in moſt *Eaſtern* Countries every Crime againſt the *State* was always attended with ſuch a *Forfeiture*) upon *Mephibosheth*'s Eſtate, and to conſign the Poſſeſſion of it to another.

ALL therefore, that *David* can be blam'd for in this whole Tranſaction, is, an Error in Judgment, even when he was impos'd upon by the plauſible Tale of a *Sycophant*, and had no Opportunity of coming at the Truth; but upon his Return to *Jeruſalem*, when *Mephibosheth* appears before him, and pleads his own Cauſe, we find this the Deciſion of it:——(*h*) *Why ſpeakeſt thou any more of thy Matters? I have ſaid, thou and* Ziba *divide the Land:* Which Words muſt not be ſo underſtood, as if he appointed, at that Time, an equal Diviſion of the Eſtate, between *Mephibosheth* and his Servant, (for where would the Juſtice of ſuch a Sentence be?) but rather, that he revok'd the Order he had given to *Ziba*, upon the ſuppos'd Forfeiture of his Maſter, and put Things now upon the ſame Eſtabliſhment they were at firſt. (*i*) *I have ſaid*, i. e. "My firſt "Grant ſhall ſtand, when I decreed, that "*Mephibosheth* ſhould be Lord of the "whole

(*g*) 2 Sam. ix. 11. (*h*) Ibid. xix. 29. (*i*) *Selden*, de Succeſſionibus 25.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

" whole Eſtate, and *Ziba* his Steward to
" manage it for him."

THE Words of the Grant are theſe,—— (*k*) *Then the King called to* Ziba Saul's *Servant, and ſaid unto him, I have given unto thy Maſter's Son, all that pertained to* Saul *and to all his Houſe. Thou therefore, and thy Sons, and thy Servants, ſhall till the Land for him, and thou ſhalt bring in the Fruits, that thy Maſter's Son may have Food to eat*, i. e. may be enabled to maintain himſelf and Family in Plenty; *but* Mephiboſheth *thy Maſter's Son, ſhall eat Bread alway at my Table.* From whence it ſeems manifeſt, that this *Ziba* had been an old Steward in *Saul*'s Family, and had manag'd his private Eſtate, which lay at *Gibeah* of *Benjamin*. (*l*) This Eſtate upon one Account or other, had come into *David*'s Poſſeſſion, either in Right of his Wife, upon the Death of *Saul*'s Son, or by *Forfeiture* to the Crown, upon *Iſhboſheth*'s Rebellion; but he, being willing now to do a generous Act to *Saul*'s Family, in Memory of his Friendſhip to *Jonathan*, paſs'd a free Grant or Dedition of it to his Son, and (that he might make a Proviſion for all his Dependents at once) put *Ziba* into the ſame Place he had enjoy'd before, conſtituting him † Steward of the royal Manour of *Gibeah*, even as he had been in the Life of *Saul*. So that *David*'s Sentence or Determination, (*m*) *thou and* Ziba *divide the Land*, refers us to this *original* Grant, and conſequently implies no more, than that all Things ſhould be in the ſame Situation, they were in before; *viz.* That *Ziba*, and his Sons ſhould manage the Eſtate, and ſupport themſelves out of it, as uſual, and that the Remainder of the Profits, which accru'd from thence, they ſhould bring to *Mephiboſheth*, for him to diſpoſe of as he pleas'd; and to this Senſe of the Words the following Reply ſeems to be accommodated, *yea let him have all*, viz. to his own Uſe and Property, *ſince my Lord the King is come again in Peace.*

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

His Conduct towards Shimei *and* Joab *vindicated.*

THAT, which leads many into a *Miſconception* of *David*, as if he left the World in a vindictive and *unforgiving Temper*, (becauſe we find him giving his Son ſome Inſtructions concerning two Perſons, who had groſſly miſ-behav'd towards him) has been nothing elſe, but the Want of diſtinguiſhing between the ſame Perſon, when acting or adviſing in a *publick*, and when in a *private* Capacity. *Shimei* curſes *David* in the Time of his Troubles; and yet *David* forgives him, and promiſes he ſhall not die. *Joab* does many valourous and brave Acts for the Honour of his King, and the Enlargement of his Dominions, but then he ſullies all with his *inſolent* Behaviour, and barbarous *Murthers*. They both had committed Crimes enough to forfeit their Lives; *David* however, for *Reaſons of State*, thought it not adviſeable to ſeize either of them for the preſent, but directed his Son, if ever they ſhould give him a ſufficient Provocation, not to ſpare them. " *Thou haſt* Shimei *with thee*, (*n*)
" and ſome Share perhaps he may have
" in thy Favour; but truſt him not, he
" is no Friend to Kings, or kingly Power.
" Remember what he did to me in my
" Diſtreſs; how bitterly, how virulently
" he curs'd me to my Face; and I make
" no Doubt, but that he would be the
" ſame to thee in the like Circumſtances.
" I forgave him in my *Exile*, becauſe I
" look'd upon him, as an Inſtrument in
" God's Hands to humble me for my great
" Offence. I forgave him in my Return
" home, becauſe he came to me when my
" Heart was open, and unwilling to damp
" the Joy of my Reſtoration with the Ef-
" fuſion of any Blood. I promis'd him
" his Life; and let not that Promiſe be violated

(*k*) 2 Sam. ix. 10, 11. (*l*) *Pool*'s Annotations in Locum.

† The ancient Way of Tenancy (nor is it yet quite diſus'd) was that of occupying the Land, and giving the Proprietor a certain annual Portion of the Fruits of it. When the Tenant paid one Half of the annual Produce, he was called *Colonus Partiarius*; and ſuch, in the Judgment of the beſt Criticks, was *Ziba* to *Mephiboſheth*, as he had been before to *Saul*. The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*, Vol. III.

(*m*) 2 Sam. xix. 29, 30. (*n*) *Patrick*'s Commentary, on 2 Kings ii. 8.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

" violated in my Days: But what I did is " no rule or Obligation to thee. Let him " not die however for his Offence againſt " me, but rather watch his Conduct, and, " if he ſhould chance to give thee a " freſh Occaſion, be ſure to lay hold of it, " becauſe it is not in his Nature to be a " good *Subject*.

" THOU remembereſt likewiſe, what " *Joab* did unto me; with what Inſo- " lence he treated me in the Time of the " War againſt *Abſalom*; how, contrary to " my Orders, he ſlew him, and after- " wards talk'd to me in a *menacing* and " imperious Manner. Thou remembereſt " what he did to *Amaſa*, whom I intend- " ed to have put in his Place, and made " the *General* of all my Forces; and what " to *Abner*, who was then endeavouring " to gain over to my *Party* all that ad- " her'd to the Houſe of *Saul*. The In- " jury done to theſe two brave Men re- " dounds upon me, ſince they were both " under my Protection, and both mur- " der'd, baſely murder'd, becauſe I had " an Eſteem for them; and till Juſtice " be done to their Murderer, (which I " in my Life-time had not Power to " do) (*o*) *their innocent Blood will not* " *depart from my Houſe*. Do thou " therefore take Care to *aſſoil* it, and " whenever he commits any Tranſgreſſion " againſt thee, let the Blood of theſe two " valuable Men be charg'd to his Account, " and let him, as he has long deſerv'd, be " put to death."

THIS is the Senſe of *David*'s Words to his Son concerning theſe two Men; and it is eaſy to obſerve, that, in theſe dying Inſtructions of his, (*p*) he is not to be conſider'd as a *private Man*, acting upon Principles of Reſentment, but as a King and Governor, giving Advice to his Son and Succeſſor in Affairs of State. It was for the publick Good, that ſuch Offenders, as *Shimei* and *Joab*, ſhould ſuffer at a proper Time, and as Prudence ſhould direct: And therefore, ſince his Promiſe and Oath to one of them, and the formidable Power and Intereſt, which the other had uſurp'd, reſtrain'd him, in his Life-time, from puniſhing them as they deſerv'd; and ſince it would have been an unjuſt Thing in itſelf, and a Derogation to the Glory of his Reign, to ſuffer ſuch publick and crying Sins to go unpuniſh'd; he recommended the Conſideration of theſe Things to his Son, and, (*q*) like a wiſe *Magiſtrate*, laid a *Scheme* for the Puniſhment of Wickedneſs, without Regard to any private Revenge.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 King viii.

Why he left Solomon to puniſh them.

DAVID, as we ſaid, durſt not call *Joab* to an Account, becauſe his Power and Intereſt was ſo great in the Army, (and 'twas the Army, that *David*, in a great Meaſure, depended on) that it might have occaſion'd an Alteration in the Government, had he pretended to do it: But, when *Solomon* came to the Throne, *Joab* was not that mighty Man he had formerly been. He was at leaſt of an equal Age with *David*; had commanded the Armies of *Iſrael* for twenty Years, and upwards; and, as he was only formidable at the Head of his Troops, and in the Times of War and publick Diſorder; ſo (*s*) the profound Peace, which had ſubſiſted for ſome Time, both before, and after the Beginning of *Solomon*'s Reign, had impair'd his Power, and made him in a Manner *uſeleſs*. Upon this Account, *Solomon* had not the like Reaſon to fear him, that his Father had; nor did he lie under the like Obligations to ſpare him. He had done *David* great Services indeed, and a ſufficient Recompence it was, that he had been indulg'd, for ſo many Years, with an Impunity for his Crimes; but, whatever the Father might be, the Son was under no Ties or Obligations, eſpecially, when he found him conſpiring to take away his Kingdom, and tranſlate it to another.

David's Sin in numbering the People, what.

WHEREIN the *Formality* of *David*'s Sin in numbering the People (which, at firſt

(*o*) 1 Kings ii. 31.
(*p*) Scripture vindicated, Part ii. p. 106.
(*q*) *Calmet*'s and *Le Clerc*'s Commentaries, on 1 Kings ii.
(*s*) *Calmet*'s Commentary.

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first View, seems not to be so very heinous) did consist, it is not so well agreed among Interpreters. (*t*) *When thou takest the Number of the Children of* Israel, says God to *Moses*, *after their Number, then shall they give every Man a Ransom for his Soul unto the Lord, that there be no Plague among them, when thou numberest them:* Upon which Passage *Josephus*, and some others, have founded this Conjecture;—— That *David* had quite forgot to demand of every Man, that was muster'd, an *half Shekel*, which was appointed by the Law, and is here called a *Ransom for his Soul*, and therefore God sent among the People a Pestilence; because, amidst the great Plenty and Abundance, which they now enjoy'd, it was a very impious and provoking Thing not to pay him his *Dues*. (*u*) But where do we find, that upon every Numbering of the People, an *half Shekel* was order'd to be paid? 'Twas in this Case only, when the People were to contribute towards the Building of the Tabernacle, and God threatens those that should refuse to do it; but this has no Manner of Relation to what *David* did, who no where stands charg'd with such an Omission, (*x*) any more, than with a Design of raising a *Capitation-Tax* (as others conceive) upon every *Poll* through the Kingdom.

Others are of Opinion, that this Numbering of the People was a Thing contrary to the fundamental Promise, which God made *Abraham*, viz. that his Seed should so encrease, as even to *exceed the Stars* in Multitude; and therefore, since God had promis'd to increase them beyond Number, it savour'd of *Infidelity* and Distrust in God, for any one to go about to number them: But, quite contrary to this, the Scripture, in another Place, tells us, that *David* (out of a religious Regard to the Promise of God) never intended to take an exact Number of *all*, but of such only as were fit to bear Arms; for so the Words are, (*y*) *He took not the Number of them, from twenty Years old and under, because the Lord had said, he would increase* Israel, *like to the Stars of the Heavens.* From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

The most common therefore, and indeed the only probable Opinion is, that this Act of *David*'s proceeded (*z*) from Pride and Ambition, and a foolish Curiosity to know the Number of his Subjects, the Strength of his Forces, and the Extent of his Empire: As if all these had greatly contributed to his Glory and Renown; as if they had been of his own acquiring, and more proper to place his Confidence in, than the Power and Assistance of him, whose Protection he had so long experienc'd; whom, upon other Occasions, he was wont to call *his Rock, his Shield, and Castle of Defence*; and who was able, at all Times, to save with a *Handful* of Men, as well as a *Multitude*.

Pride then, and an arogant Conceit of himself, (which is always attended with a *Forgetfulness* of God) was at the Bottom of *David*'s numbering the People; and indeed so visible to others, as well as to the All-seeing Eye of God, that we find *Joab* (who was then of his *Privy-Council*) thus remonstrating against it: (*a*) *Now the Lord thy God add unto thy People (how many soever they be) an hundred Fold, and that the Eyes of my Lord the King may see it; but why doth my Lord the King delight in this Thing?*

God not the Cause of it.

It is a judicious Observation of the Apostle, (*b*) *Let no Man say, when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot tempt with Evil, neither tempteth he any Man: But every Man is tempted, when he is drawn away with his own Lust, and enticed*; and therefore it may justly be reckon'd a peculiar *Elegance* in the *Hebrew* Tongue, that it frequently leaves out the *Nominative Noun* to a Verb *Active*, which when it happens, the *Accusative* following supplies the Place of the

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(*t*) Exod. xxx. 12. (*u*) *Calmet*'s Commentary in Locum. (*x*) *Patrick* in Locum. (*y*) 1 Chron. xxvii. 23, 24. (*z*) *Calmet*'s Commentary in Locum. (*a*) 2 Sam. xxiv. 3. (*b*) James i. 13, 14.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

the *Nominative*, that is wanting. This ſhews, that our *Tranſlators* have made a groſs Miſtake in rendering the Paſſage, *the Lord moved* David *to number* Iſrael *and* Judah, becauſe in the Original there is no ſuch Thing *as the Lord*; for the *Nominative* is omitted, as I ſaid, and the *Accuſative*, ſupplying its Place, makes the Senſe ſimply *David was moved* (by what is not nam'd, but by his Pride and Vanity, we may ſay, as well as (*c*) the Inſtigations of the Devil) to *number the People*. So that there is no Contradiction in the Scripture-Account of this Tranſaction, no Appearance of a Confederacy between *God* and *Satan*; nor was God any farther concern'd in it, than as his Providence, for wiſe Ends, thought proper to permit it.

Why God ſent this Peſtilence upon the People.

" BUT, if *David* only was culpable in " this Affair, why did not God immedi- " ately puniſh him for it, inſtead of falling " upon the People, who were confeſſedly " *innocent?*"

THE *Generality* perhaps were innocent, as to the Affair of numbering the People: That might be chiefly *David*'s Sin; but, in other Reſpects, they were not. They had many great and grievous Sins, which juſtly deſerv'd Puniſhment, and for which probably they would have been puniſh'd before, had it not been for God's Tenderneſs to *David*, who muſt have been a Sufferer in the common Calamity; but now, when both King and People had deſerv'd Correction, God was pleas'd to let looſe his Anger upon both. *David*, indeed, was not ſmitten in *Perſon*, but a King is never more ſenſibly puniſh'd, than when the Judgment of God falls upon his People, and diminiſhes their Number, and their Strength. For the Body *politick* is not unlike the Body *natural*; no ſooner does the Head ſuffer, but all the Members ſuffer with it; nor can the leaſt Part of the Body be in Pain, but the Head is immediately affected: And therefore we need not doubt, but that *David*, when he ſaw (*d*) the *Angel ſtretching out his Hand upon* Jeruſalem, *to deſtroy it*, and thereupon broke out into this Exclamation, *Let thy Hand, I pray thee, be againſt me, and againſt my Father's Houſe*, had his Heart as full of Grief and Anxiety as any one, that lay languiſhing in the Plague.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

And not on David.

THUS, *in all the Afflictions* of his People, *David* was afflicted: And, if this ſore Judgment befel the Nation a little while before *Abſalom*'s Rebellion, (as ſome have ſuſpected a *Miſ-location* in this Part of the Hiſtory) this may ſuggeſt a Reaſon, why God might think fit to preſerve *David*, and not cut him off, as he deſerv'd, for his Sin; (*e*) that the Diſſention, which might have aroſe among his Sons, about the Right of Succeſſion in Caſe of his Death, and the *foreign* and *domeſtick* Wars, that would thereupon have enſu'd, and * prov'd more fatal to the *Iſraelites*, than this deſtroying *Peſtilence*, might, by *David*'s Life, and Interpoſition, be prevented. And from the Senſe of this, very probably it is, that we find him commemorating his Deliverance from this publick Calamity in ſuch exalted Strains, as make it diſputable, whether their *Piety* or *Poetry* are more remarkable. *(f) He that dwelleth in the ſecret Place of the moſt High, ſhall abide under the Shadow of the Almighty. He ſhall deliver thee from the Snare of the Fowler, and from the noiſome Peſtilence. Thou ſhalt not be afraid for the Terror by Night, nor for the Arrow that flieth by Day, nor for the Peſtilence that walketh in Darkneſs, or for the Deſtruction that waſteth at Noon-Day. A Thouſand ſhall fall at thy Side, and ten Thouſand at thy Right-Hand, but it ſhall not come nigh thee.*

(*c*) 1 Chron. xxi. 1. (*d*) 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17. (*e*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary in Locum.

* The Character, which *Livy* gives us of ſuch Factions and Diſſentions is conceiv'd in theſe Words: —— Fuere, eruntque pluribus populis magis exitio, quam bella externa, quam fames, morbive, quæque alia in numinis iras, velut ultima publicorum malorum, vertunt, *Lib. iv.*

(*f*) Pſal. xci. 1, &c.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

The Difference in the Book of Samuel, *and that of* Chronicles *reconciled.*

It muſt be own'd indeed, that there is a very large Difference, in the Scripture-Accounts of the Number of Men, fit to bear Arms, that were found in *David*'s Dominions: (*g*) In *Samuel* it is ſaid, that they were in *Iſrael eight hundred Thouſand*, and in *Judah five hundred Thouſand*; but in (*h*) *Chronicles*, *they of* Iſrael *were a Thouſand thouſand, and an Hundred thouſand, and they of* Judah *four hundred threeſcore and ten Thouſand:* And various have been the Attempts to adjuſt and ſettle this Diſagreement. Some ſuppoſe, that, as *Joab* undertook this Office with no ſmall Reluctancy, and *David*, very probably, might repent of the Thing, before it was fully executed, tho' the *Commiſſioners* might make an exact Review, (*i*) yet they thought proper to lay before the King no more than what the Sum in *Samuel* amounts to; but that the Author of the Book of *Chronicles* might, from ſome of theſe Commiſſioners, receive the compleat Sum, which occaſion'd the Difference.

(*k*) Others imagine, that this Difference ariſes from the *Legionary Soldiers*, (as they are called) or thoſe Companies of *Militia*, which attended the King's Perſon by Turns, and might make the Number either greater, or leſs, according as they were number'd, or not number'd, in the Account: But this Solution is purely *arbitrary*, and ſuch as has no Foundation in Scripture. It ſuppoſes withal, that the real Number was what is recorded in *Chronicles*, which taken in the ſeveral Articles, that are ſaid to be omitted, ſurpaſſes all Faith.

Since there is then no Poſſibility of reconciling theſe different Computations, the Queſtion is, Which of the two we are to receive: And this, without all Controverſy, muſt be that in *Samuel*, not only becauſe the *Arabick* Tranſlators, in their Verſion of the *Chronicles*, have inſerted it, but becauſe there is nothing exceſſive, or extravagant in the Suppoſition, that, in a fertile and well-cultivated Country of ſixty Leagues in Length, and thirty in Breadth, a Multitude of People, to the Number of ſix or ſeven *Millions*, (which, taking in the other Articles, will be the Sum total) might very comfortably be maintain'd. (*l*) Rather then, than have Recourſe to ſuch *Solutions*, as do but more embarraſs the Matter, we may adventure to ſay, without any Diminution to the Scripture's Authority, that the exceſſive Number in the *Chronicles* was a Miſtake of the Perſon, who, after the Captivity, tranſcrib'd this Part of the ſacred Writ; *Nam non dubito* (ſays *Sulpicius*, (*m*) in his *Sacred Hiſtory*) *Librariorum potius negligentiâ, præſertim tot jam ſæculis intercedentibus, veritatem fuiſſe corruptam, quàm ut Propheta erraverit.*

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

It muſt be acknowledg'd, that in moſt Nations, where the *regal* Power was at this Time eſtabliſh'd, the Right of Succeſſion was generally *hereditary*, and the eldeſt Son ſeldom (except in Caſes of *Incapacity*) poſtpon'd. This is what *Adonijah* urges to *Bathſheba*; (*n*) *Thou knoweſt, that the Kingdom was mine* by Right of Primogeniture, *and that all* Iſrael *ſet their Faces on me, that I ſhould reign:* But then, there was this peculiar to the *Jewiſh* Conſtitution, that, as God had been their only King from the Time that they firſt became a Nation, ſo, when they thought fit to have that Form of Government alter'd, he ſtill reſerv'd to himſelf the Right of nominating the Succeſſor, when the Throne became vacant: (*o*) *When thou art come unto the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and ſhall ſay, I will ſet a King over me, like all the Nations, that are about me, thou ſhalt by all Means make him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe.* So that, when God had declar'd his Pleaſure concerning the Perſon, that was to ſucceed him, (as he did

Why David *made* Solomon *his Succeſſor.*

(*g*) 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. (*h*) 1 Chron. xxi. 5. (*i*) Ibid. xxvii. 24. (*k*) Vide *Calmet*'s Commentary on 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. (*l*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary in Locum. (*m*) Lib. i. (*n*) 1 Kings ii. 15. (*o*) Deut. xvii. 14, 15.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

did by the Prophet *Nathan*) *David* was not at Liberty to make Choice of any other.

WE do not diſpute at all, but that *Bathſheba*, who was his favourite Wife, had a great Aſcendancy over her Huſband; but *Solomon*'s Title was not founded upon her Intereſt and Management with the King, but upon the Ordination and Appointment of God. (*p*) *Of all my Sons*, ſays *David*, *(for the Lord hath given me many Sons) he hath choſen* Solomon *my Son to ſit upon the Throne of the Kingdom of the Lord over* Iſrael; and therefore *Adonijah* himſelf acknowledges, (*q*) *that it was of the Lord, that the Kingdom was turned about, and become his Brother's.*

NATHAN indeed puts *Bathſheba* upon another Argument, *viz.* the *Sacredneſs* of the King's Oath, in order to prevail with him in Behalf of her Son: (*r*) *Didſt not thou ſwear unto thy Handmaid, ſaying aſſuredly* Solomon *thy Son ſhall reign after me, and he ſhall ſit upon my Throne?* But at what Time this Promiſe was made, is a Matter of ſome Diſpute. The Generality of *Interpreters* are of Opinion, that, after the Death of the firſt Child, which *David* had by *Bathſheba*, he *comforted* her for her Loſs, and gave her Aſſurance, that, if God ſhould give him another Son by her, he would not fail to make him his Succeſſor. But it is much more probable, that *David* did not make any Declaration of a Promiſe to *Bathſheba*, until God had reveal'd it to him, (*s*) that he ſhould have a Son, diſtinct from what he had already, who ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdom, and have the Honour of building him a Temple; and, no ſooner was *Solomon* born, but *David* was convinc'd that this was the Child to whom the Promiſes belong'd, by *Nathan*'s being ſent to give him a Name, denoting his being (*t*) *beloved of the Lord:* And 'twas at this Time, moſt probably, that *David* gave his Mother a Promiſe, confirm'd upon Oath, that, ſince God had ſo manifeſtly declar'd in Favour of the Child, he, for his Part, would do his utmoſt to facilitate his Succeſſion: But, upon the whole, he did not chuſe for himſelf, (*u*) neither was his Declaration to *Bathſheba* previous to *Nathan*'s Information, but rather the Effect, and Conſequence of it.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

BUT even ſuppoſe there had been no divine *Interpoſition* in Favour of *Solomon*, why might not *David*, who had done ſuch ſignal Service in his Reign, nominate his Succeſſor? (*x*) Several great Princes, in moſt Nations, have claim'd this Privilege. Among the *Romans*, *Aurelius* nam'd *Nerva*, and *Nerva* choſe *Trajan*, and ſo did *Auguſtus* appoint his Succeſſor. And, that this was a Prerogative belonging to the Crown of *Iſrael*, and what continu'd with it for ſome Time after *David*, is evident from the Story of his Grandſon *Rehoboam*, (*y*) who, tho' a Prince of no great Merit, took upon him the Authority of nominating his Succeſſor, and, to the Prejudice of his eldeſt Son, made one of his youngeſt King.

That he had a Right to name one.

FAR are we from vindicating *Solomon* in all his Actions, any more than *David* in the Matter of *Uriah*. His Severity to his Brother, for a ſeemingly ſmall Offence, look'd like *Revenge*, and as if he had taken the firſt Opportunity to cut him off, for his former Attempt upon the Kingdom: And yet we cannot but imagine, (*z*) from *Solomon*'s Words to his Mother, *Why doeſt thou aſk* Abiſhag *for* Adonijah? *Aſk for him the Kingdom alſo, for he is mine elder Brother*; that there was ſome farther Conſpiracy againſt him, (tho' not mention'd in holy Writ) whereof he had got Intelligence, and wherein *Joab* and *Abiathar* were engag'd; and that he look'd upon this aſking *Abiſhag* in Marriage as the *Prelude* to it, and the firſt *Overt-Act*, as it were, of their Treaſon. It is certain, that they

Why Solomon *might take away* Adonijah's *Life.*

(*p*) 1 Chron. xxviii. 5. (*q*) 1 Kings ii. 15. (*r*) 1 Kings i. 13. 2 Sam. xii. 24. (*s*) 1 Chron. xxii. 9, 10. (*t*) The Name was *Jedidiah*, 2 Sam. xii. 25. (*u*) *Calmet*'s Commentary in Locum. (*x*) *Patrick*'s Commentary on 1 Kings i. 20. (*y*) 2 Chron. xi. 21, 22. (*z*) 1 Kings ii, 22.

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they thought to impoſe upon the King, as they had done upon his Mother, and carry their Point, without ever diſcovering the malevolent Intent of it.

The Wives of the late King (according to the Cuſtoms of the *Eaſt*) belong'd to his Succeſſor, and were never marry'd to any under a *crown'd* Head. (*a*) *Abiſhag* was doubtleſs a beautiful Woman, and, by her near Relation to *David*, might have a powerful Intereſt at Court; *Adonijah* might therefore hope, by this Marriage to ſtrengthen his Pretenſions to the Crown, or, at leaſt, to lay the Foundation for ſome future Attempt, upon a proper Opportunity, either if *Solomon* ſhould die, and leave a young Son, not able to conteſt the Point with him, or if, at any Time, he ſhould happen to fall under the People's Diſpleaſure, as his Father had done before him.

This might be *Adonijah*'s Deſign, and *Solomon*, accordingly, might have Information of it: But ſuppoſing that his Brother's Deſign was entirely innocent, yet, ſince his Requeſt (according to the Cuſtoms then prevailing) was confeſſedly bold and preſumptuous, and had in it all the Appearance of Treaſon, (*b*) it was none of *Solomon*'s Buſineſs to make any farther Enquiry about it, or to interpret the Thing in his Brother's Favour. It was ſufficient for him, that the Action was in itſelf *criminal*, and of dangerous Conſequence to the State; for 'tis by their Actions, and not Intentions, that all Offenders muſt be tried.

ADONIJAH indeed, had he liv'd under our *Conſtitution*, would have had a *fair* Hearing before *Conviction*: But we ought to remember, that, in the Kingdoms of the *Eaſt*, the Government was *abſolute*, and the Power of Life or Death entirely in the Prince; ſo that *Solomon*, without the Formality of any Proceſs, could pronounce his Brother dead: And, becauſe he conceiv'd, that in Caſes of this Nature, Delays were dangerous, might ſend immediately, and have him diſpatch'd; tho' we cannot but ſay, that it had been more to his Commendation, had he ſhew'd more *Clemency*, and ſpar'd his Life.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

And, in like Manner, had he not marry'd his *Egyptian* Queen, there might be leſs objected to his Character: For, whatever Augmentation of Power he might promiſe himſelf from that Alliance, (*c*) he certainly ran the Hazard of having his Religion corrupted by this unlawful Mixture. Others however have obſerv'd, that, as the ſacred Scriptures commend the Beginning of *Solomon*'s Reign, in all other Reſpects, except the (*d*) *People's ſacrificing in high Places*, which might be the rather tolerated, *becauſe there was no Houſe built unto the Name of the Lord, in thoſe Days*; and, as they give him this Character, (*e*) that *he loved the Lord, and walked in all the Statutes of* David *his Father*, he would never have done an Act ſo directly contrary to the Laws of God, as marrying an *idolatrous* Princeſs, had ſhe not been firſt *proſelyted* to the *Jewiſh* Faith. The Scripture indeed takes Notice of the Gods of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Zidonians*, for whom *Solomon*, in Compliance to his *ſtrange Wives*, built Places of Worſhip: But, as there is no Mention made of any Gods of the *Egyptians*, it ſeems very likely, that this Princeſs, when ſhe was eſpous'd to *Solomon*, quitted the Religion of her *Anceſtors*, to which theſe Words in the *Pſalm*, ſuppos'd to be written upon this Occaſion, *(f) Hearken, O my Daughter, forget thine own People, and thy Father's Houſe, ſo ſhall the King have Pleaſure in thy Beauty, for he is the Lord*, are thought by ſome to be no diſtant *Alluſion*. However this be, it is certain, that we find *Solomon* no where reprov'd in Scripture for this *Match*; (*g*) nor can we think, that his Book of *Canticles* (which is ſuppos'd to be his *Epithalamium*) would have found

Marry an Egyptian *Queen.*

(*a*) *Pool*'s Annotations on 1 Kings ii. 22. (*b*) *Calmet*'s Commentary in Locum. (*c*) Vid. 1 Kings xi. (*d*) 1 Kings iii. 2. (*e*) Ibid. ver. 3. (*f*) Pſal. xlv. 10, 11. (*g*) *Calmet*'s Commentary on 1 Kings iii. 1.

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found a Place in the ſacred *Canon*, had the *Spouſe*, whom it all along celebrates, been at that Time an *Idolatreſs*; tho' there is Reaſon to believe, that ſhe afterwards relaps'd into her antient Religion, and contributed, as much as any, to the King's Seduction, and the many great Diſorders, that were in the latter Part of his Reign.

And degrade Abiathar.

How far the High-Prieſt, *Abiathar*, was concern'd in the Plot againſt *Solomon*, the ſacred Hiſtory does not particularly inform us; but ſuch was the Reverence paid to the *ſacerdotal* Character, that *Solomon* would have hardly dar'd to have depos'd ſuch an one from his Office, had not the *Conſtitution* of the Nation authoriz'd him ſo to do. The Kings in the *Eaſt* indeed ſoon found out Ways to make themſelves *abſolute*; but it looks, as if, at the firſt Eſtabliſhment, the King was at the Head of the *Hebrew* Republick, and the High-Prieſt his Subject, and, in all Civil Affairs, ſubmitted to his Correction; (*b*) inſomuch, that when any one abus'd the Power of his Office to the Prejudice of the Commonweal, or endangering the King's Perſon, the King might juſtly deprive him of his Honours and Titles, of his *Temporalities* and Emoluments, and even of Life itſelf. And therefore, when *Abiathar*, by his Conſpiracy, had merited all this, whatever was dependent on the Crown, (as all the Revenues of this Place, as well as the Liberty of officiating in it were dependent) *Solomon* might lawfully take from him; but the *ſacerdotal Character*, which he receiv'd from God, and to which he was anointed, this he could not alienate: And therefore we may obſerve, that after his *Deprivation*, and even when *Zadok* was in Poſſeſſion of his Place, he is nevertheleſs ſtill mention'd (*i*) under the Stile and Title of the *Prieſt*.

THE Truth is, there is a great deal of Difference between depriving a Man of the *Dignity*, and of the *Exerciſe* of his *Function* in ſuch a determinate Place; and between taking from him an *Authority*, that was given him by God, and the *Profits* and Emoluments ariſing from it, which were originally the Gift of the Crown. The *former* of theſe *Solomon* could not do, and the *latter* it is probable he was the rather incited to do, out of Regard to the *Prophecy* of *Samuel*, wherein he foretold *Eli*, (from whom *Abiathar* was deſcended) that he would tranſlate the Prieſthood from his to another Family, as he did in the Perſon of *Zadok*, who was of the Houſe of *Eleazar*, even as *Eli* was of that of *Ithamar*; ſo that, by this Means, the Prieſthood reverted to its antient *Channel*.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

The different Accounts in Kings *and* Chronicles *reconciled.*

IN the Account which we have of *Solomon*'s ſumptuous Manner of Living, (*k*) we read in the Book of *Kings*, that he had *forty Thouſand Stalls of Horſes for his Chariots*; (*l*) but in that of *Chronicles* it is ſaid, that he had no more than *four*; and yet, in *this* ſome will acknowledge no Diſagreement at all. The Author of *Samuel*, *ſay they*, ſpeaks of the *Horſes*, the Author of the *Chronicles*, of the *Stalls* or *Stables*, which, ſuppoſing every one to contain *ten* Horſes, anſwer the Number exactly. It is obſervable however, that the Hiſtory makes Mention (*m*) of *Chariot-Cities*, i. e. Cities, wherein *Solomon* kept Chariots and Horſemen in ſeveral Parts of his Kingdom, for the Security of his Government, and the Suppreſſion of any Diſorder, that might happen to ariſe; and therefore others have thought, that, in the *Chronicles*, the Author ſpeaks of thoſe *Stalls*, which *Solomon* had at *Jeruſalem* for his conſtant *Life-Guard*, and were no more than *four Thouſand*; but in *Kings*, of all thoſe *Stalls*, which were diſpers'd, up and down, in the ſeveral Parts of his Kingdom, which might be forty *Thouſand*: Becauſe, upon the Account of the Conqueſts, which his Father had made on the *Eaſt* Side of *Jordan*, it was neceſſary for *Solomon* to have a ſtronger Armament of this Kind, than other Kings before him had, in order to keep the People, that

(*b*) *Calmet*'s Commentary on 1 Kings ii. 27. (*i*) 1 Kings iv. 4. (*k*) Ibid. ver. 26. (*l*) 2 Chron. ix. 25. (*m*) Ibid.

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would otherwise be apt to rebel, in due Subjection.

But, without any Prejudice to the *Authority* of the Scriptures, why may we not own, that an Error has possibly crept into the Text through the Negligence of some Transcriber, who has inserted *Arbahim*, i. e. *forty*, instead of *Arbah*, *four*, and so made this large Disparity in the Number? *Four Thousand* Stalls (supposing each Stall for a single Horse) are moderate enough, but *forty Thousand* is incredible: And therefore (to proportion the Horses to the Chariots, (*n*) which were a *Thousand* and *four hundred*) we may suppose, (*o*) with the learned Author, from whom we have borrow'd this Conjecture, that, of these Chariots some were drawn with two, some with three, and some with four Horses. Now, if the Chariots were each drawn with a *Pair* only, the Number of *Solomon*'s Chariot-horses must be *two Thousand eight hundred*; if by two Pair, then it must be, *five Thousand six hundred*; but the *Medium* between these two Numbers is very near *four Thousand*; and therefore it seems most likely, that the Horses, which the King kept for this Use only, might be much about this Number. Too many for the Law to *tolerate*, (*p*) but the King perhaps might have as little Regard to this Clause in the Law, as he had to the following one, which forbad him (*q*) *to multiply Wives and* Concubines *to himself, or greatly to multiply Silver or Gold.*

Solomon's 1000 *Sacrifices on* one *Altar*,

The only remaining Difficulty (except the *divine Vision* vouchsaf'd *Solomon*, which has not been mention'd) is the great Quantity of Sacrifices, which he is said to have offer'd on one Altar only; but, without recurring to any Miracle for this, or without supposing, that this Fire, which originally came from Heaven, was more strong and intense, than any common Fire, and therefore, after the Return from the Captivity, the Altar (as some observe) was made larger, because there wanted this celestial Flame: Without any forc'd Solution like this, we have no Reason to think, that all these Sacrifices were offer'd in one Day. The King, (we may imagine) upon one of the great *Festivals*, went in Procession with his Nobles, to pay his Devotion at *Gibeon*, where the Tabernacle was, and the brazen Altar, which *Moses* had made. Each of the great *Festivals*, lasted for seven Days; but *Solomon* might stay much longer at *Gibeon*, until, by the daily Oblations, a thousand Burnt-offerings were consum'd; and, at the Conclusion of this Course of Devotion, he might offer up his ardent Prayer to God for Wisdom, and God, for the Confirmation of his Faith, might appear to him in a Dream by Night, and have that Converse with him, which the Scripture takes notice of.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

(*r*) Sleep indeed is like a State of Death to the Soul, wherein the Senses are lock'd up, and the Understanding and Will depriv'd of the free Exercise of their Functions; and yet this is no Impediment to God in communicating himself to Mankind: For (*s*) *God speaketh once, yea twice* (says the Author of the Book of *Job*) *in a Dream, in a Vision of the Night, when deep Sleep falleth upon Men, in Slumberings upon the Bed, then he openeth the Ears of Men, and sealeth their Instruction:* For God, no doubt, has Power, not only to awaken our intellectual Faculties, but to advance them above their ordinary Measure of Perception, even while the Body is asleep.

And his divine Vision, *both* probable.

(*t*) A very eminent Father of the *Greek* Church, speaking of the different Kinds of Dreams, has justly observ'd, that the *Organs* of our Body, and our Brain, are not unlike the *Strings* of a *musical* Instrument. While the Strings are screw'd up to a proper Pitch, they give an harmonious Sound, if touch'd by a skilful Hand; but,

(*n*) 1 Kings x. 26. (*o*) Vid. *Bochart* Hierof. P. I. lib. ii. c. 9. (*p*) Deut. xvii. 16. (*q*) *Le Clerc*'s Commentary on 1 Kings iv. 26. (*r*) *Calmet*'s Commentary on 1 Kings iii. (*s*) Job xxxiii. 14, &c. (*t*) *Gregory*, de Opificio Hominis, c. 13.

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but, as ſoon as they are relax'd, they give none at all. In like Manner, while we are awake, *(ſays he)* our Senſes, touch'd and directed by our Underſtanding, make an agreeable Concert; but when once we are aſleep, the Inſtrument has done ſounding, unleſs it be, that the Remembrance of what paſs'd, when we are awake, comes and preſents itſelf to the Mind, and ſo forms a *Dream*, juſt as the Strings of an Inſtrument will for ſome Time continue their Sound, even after the Hand of the Artiſt has left them. It is no hard Matter to apply this to *Solomon*'s Dream. He had pray'd the Day before with great Fervency, and deſir'd of God the Gift of Wiſdom. In the Night-time God appear'd to him in a Dream, and bid him aſk whatever he would. *Solomon*, having his Mind ſtill full of the Deſire of Wiſdom, aſk'd it, and obtain'd it: So that the Prayer, or Deſire, which he utter'd in his Dream, was but the Conſequence of the *Option*, he had made the Day before, when he was awake.

IN a Word, tho' we ſhould allow, that the Soul of Man, when the Body is aſleep, is in a State of Reſt and *Inactivity*; yet we cannot but think, that God can approach it many different Ways; can move and actuate it, juſt as he pleaſes; and, when he is minded to make a Diſcovery of any Thing, can ſet ſuch a lively Repreſentation of it before the Eyes of the Man's Underſtanding, as ſhall make him not doubt of the *Reality* of the *Viſion*.

At his Building *of the Temple was* commendable.

SOLOMON indeed, at the Conſecration of the Temple, owns, that (*u*) *the Heaven of Heavens could not contain God, and much leſs then the Houſe, that he had built him*; but it will not therefore follow, that there is no Neceſſity for Places appropriated to divine Worſhip, nor any Occaſion for making them ſo magnificent and *ſumptuous*. That God, who is the Author and Giver of our Being, and to whom we are indebted for every Thing we have, and every Thing we hope for, ſhould be conſtantly attended with the Homage and Adoration, with the Praiſes and Acknowledgments of his Creatures (his own *dependent* Creatures) is a *Poſition*, that will admit of no Controverſy; and that there ſhould be ſome Places appointed for this Purpoſe, that all the Offices of Religion may be perform'd with more Decency, and more Solemnity, is another *Poſition*, that ſeems to ariſe from the Nature of the Thing. Theſe Buildings we ſtile the *Houſes of God*; but it is not to defend him (as *Arnobius* (*x*) ſpeaks) from Heat or Cold, from Wind or Rain, or Tempeſts, that we raiſe ſuch Structures, but to put ourſelves in a Capacity of paying our Duty to him, and of nouriſhing in our Hearts ſuch Sentiments of Reſpect and Reverence, of Love and Gratitude, as are due from Creatures to their great Creator.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

IN theſe Places, God is ſaid to be more immediately preſent, to hear our Supplications, receive our Praiſes, and relieve our Wants; and therefore, to make his Habitation commodious, *David* exhorts his Subjects to a liberal *Contribution*, and, *Becauſe I have a Joy*, ſays he, *in the Houſe of my God, I have, of mine own Gold and Silver, given three Thouſand Talents of Gold, even the Gold of* Ophir, *and ſeven Thouſand Talents of fine Silver.* "He indeed makes mention (as "the learned (*y*) *Hooker*, with whoſe "Words I conclude this Argument, has "obſerv'd) of the natural Conveniency, "that ſuch Kind of bounteous Expen-"ces have, ſince thereby we not only "teſtify our chearful Affection to God, "which thinks nothing too dear to be "beſtow'd about the Furniture of his "Service; but give Teſtimony to the "World likewiſe of his *Almightineſs*, "whom we outwardly honour with the "chiefeſt of outward Things, as being, "of all Things, himſelf incomparably "the greateſt. To ſet forth the Majeſty "of Kings, his *Vicegerents* here below, "the moſt gorgeous and rare Treaſures, "that

(*u*) 1 Kings viii. 27. (*x*) Contra Gent. lib. vi. (*y*) Eccleſ. Polity, lib. v.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Christ. 1023, &c.

" that the World can afford, are procur'd; " and can we ſuppoſe, that God will be " pleas'd to accept what the meaneſt of " *theſe* would diſdain? In a Word, tho' " the true Worſhip of God, *ſays he*, be " to God in itſelf acceptable, who reſpects " not ſo much, in what *Place*, as with " what *Affection* he is ſerv'd; yet mani- " feſt it is, that the very Majeſty and " Holineſs of the Place, where God is " worſhipp'd, hath, *in Regard of us*, " great Virtue, Force, and Efficacy, as it " is a ſenſible Help to ſtir up Devotion, " and, in that Reſpect, *bettereth*, no " doubt, our holieſt and beſt Actions of " that Kind.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

DISSERTATION V.

Of the antient Jeruſalem, *and its* Temple.

Its Name, and Situation.

IT is an Opinion vulgarly receiv'd, and not without much Probability, that *Jeruſalem* is the ſame City, which (*z*) elſewhere is called *Salem*, and whereof *Melchiſedeck* is ſaid to have been King. Not that *Salem*, or the City of *Melchiſedeck* was of equal Extent with *Jeruſalem* in After-Times; but *Jeruſalem* was no other, than the City of *Salem* enlarg'd and beautify'd by the Kings of all *Iſrael*, at firſt by *David* and *Solomon*, and, after that, by the ſucceeding Kings of *Judah*, when the Monarchy came to be divided into two diſtinct Kingdoms.

THE Word *Salem*, in the *Hebrew* Language, (*a*) ſignifies *Peace:* And, as the City of *Melchiſedeck* called *Salem*, is probably thought to be the ſame with *Jeruſalem*; ſo is it certain, that *Jeruſalem* was (*b*) otherwiſe called *Jebus*, and therefore, as it preſerves the Name of *Salem* in the *latter*, ſo is it thought to preſerve the Name of *Jebus* in the *former* Part of it, and to be nothing elſe, but a *Compound* of *Jebus* and *Salem*, which, for the better Sound's Sake, by the Change of one Letter, and the Omiſſion of another, is ſoften'd into *Jeruſalem*.

WHETHER this City ſtood in the *Center* of the World, or no, we ſhall not pretend to determine, tho' ſome † very zealouſly contend for it; ſince it is a Matter of more material Diſquiſition, in what Tribe it may be ſuppos'd to have been ſituated. In the Conqueſt of the Land of *Canaan*, and at the famous Battle of *Gibeon*, (*c*) *Joſhua* put to Death the King of *Jeruſalem*, and, very probably, took the City, tho', by ſome Means or other not mention'd in Scripture, the *Jebuſites* afterwards got Poſſeſſion, and continu'd their Poſſeſſion even till the Days of *David*. In the Diviſion of the Land, it was apparently one of thoſe Cities, which (*d*) were given to the Tribe of *Benjamin*; and yet, when we read that, at one Time, (*e*) *the Children of* Judah, *could not drive out the* Jebuſites, and, at another, *(f) that the Children of* Judah *took and burnt* Jeruſalem, one would be tempted to think, that it lay within the Limits of that Tribe: But then this Difference may be eaſily reconcil'd

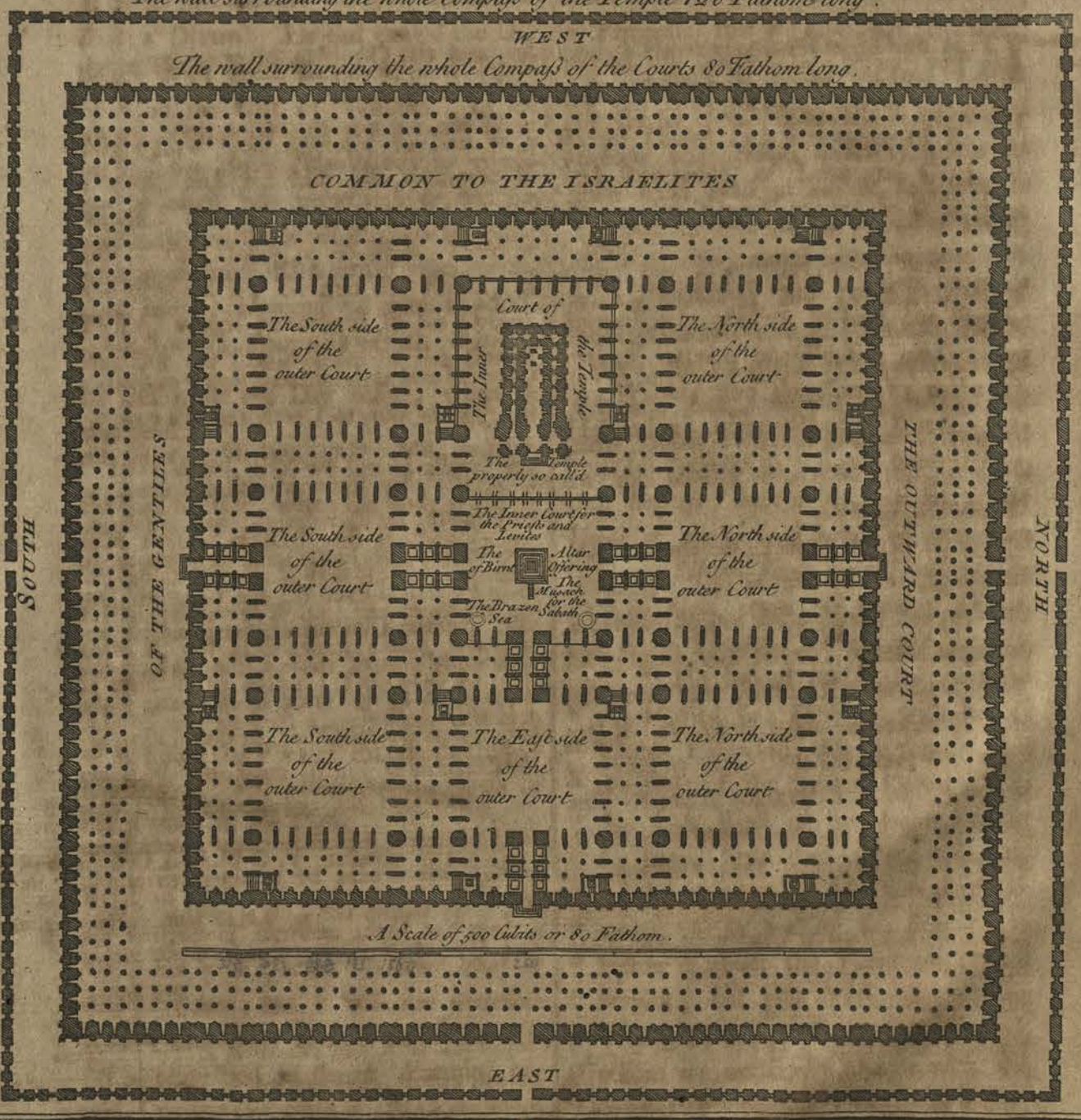
(*z*) Gen. xiv. 18. (*a*) Heb. vii. 2. (*b*) Compare Joſh. xv. 8. with 1 Chron. xi. 4.

† To this Purpoſe they obſerve, that the ſacred Writers are very well acquainted with this, as appears by that Paſſage of *Ezekiel*, Chap. v. 5. *Thus ſaith the Lord God, this is* Jeruſalem; *I have ſet it in the Midſt of the Nations and Countries round about her.* For what Purpoſe he did this, the Pſalmiſt has not been wanting to inform us, *Out of* Sion, ſays he, *the Perfection of Beauty, God hath ſhined*, Pſal. l. 2. Here the Almighty kept his Court, and from hence he ſent out his Embaſſadors, the Prophets, to publiſh his Decrees to the whole World around him, with more Eaſe, and ſpeedier Conveyance, than could poſſibly be done from any other Region of the habitable World. From hence, as from a central Point, the Light of the Law at firſt, and the Goſpel afterwards, ſhone out to the ſurrounding Nations, and therefore we find *Jeruſalem*, emphatically called *the City of our God, the Mountain of his Holineſs, beautiful for Situation, and the Joy of the whole Earth*, Pſal. xlviii. 1, 2. The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*, Vol. II.

(*c*) Joſh. x. 23, 40. and xii. 10. (*d*) Joſh. xviii. 28. (*e*) Joſh. xv. 63. (*f*) Judg. i. 8.

THE EAST PROSPECT OF THE TEMPLE, AND ITS INNER COURTS.

THE GROUND PLOT OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.



J. Mynde sc.

To the most Reverend Father in God LANCELOT L.d Archbishop of YORK this Plate is most humbly Inscrib'd by his Lordship's most dutyfull Son and Servant Thos Stackhouse.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

reconcil'd, if we will but conſider, that, as this City was built on the *Frontiers* of both Tribes, it is ſometimes made a Part of the one, and ſometimes of the other; that, by *Joſhua*'s Diviſion of the Country, *Benjamin* had moſt Right to it, but, by the Right of Conqueſt, *Judah*; however, when it came to be made the *Metropolis* of the whole Nation, it was thought to belong to the *Iſraelites* in common, and therefore was claimed by *neither*.

THE City of *Jeruſalem* was built upon two Hills, and encompaſs'd all round with Mountains. It was ſituated in a barren and ſtony Soil; but the Places adjacent were well water'd, having the Fountains of *Gion* and *Siloam*, and the Brook *Kidron* at the Foot of its Walls. *Jebus*, or the antient City, which *David* took, was ſeated on a Hill towards the *South*; and, on the oppoſite Quarter, towards the *North*, was Mount *Sion*, where *David* built a new † City, and called it after his own Name, and where ſtood his royal Palace likewiſe †, and the Temple of the Lord; for the Temple was built upon Mount *Moriah*, which was one of the Hills belonging to Mount *Sion*.

BETWEEN theſe two Mountains lay the Valley of *Millo*, which formerly ſeparated antient *Jebus* from the City of *David*, but was afterwards filled up by *David* and *Solomon*, to make a Communication between the two Cities: But beſides this Valley of *Millo*, we read in Scripture of (g) *the Houſe of* Millo, which is ſaid to be (h) *in the City of* David, and therefore was built either on Mount *Sion*, or ſome adjacent Place. Let us then enquire a little what this *Houſe of* Millo might poſſibly be. From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

Its Buildings.

MILLO, conſider'd in its *Etymology*, is thought to be deduc'd from a *Root*, which ſignifies *to be full*, and is therefore, in the ſacred Hiſtory, ſuppos'd to denote *a large capacious Place*, deſign'd for publick Meetings, or, in ſhort, a *Senate-Houſe*. That this was ſome publick Edifice, I think may be inferr'd from the Notice, that is taken of it among ſome other of *Solomon*'s publick Buildings, where the Reaſon of the Tax, which he levy'd upon his Subjects, is ſaid to be this, —— (i) *That he might build the Houſe of the Lord, and his own Houſe, and* Millo, *and the Walls of* Jeruſalem; *&c.* for, ſince we find it join'd with the *Houſe of the Lord, and the Walls of* Jeruſalem. we cannot but ſuppoſe, that it was a Building of the ſame publick Nature; and ſince we find farther, that (k) the *Servants of King* Joaſh *aroſe, and made a Conſpiracy, and ſlew him in the Houſe of* Millo, very probably when he was come thither to debate, and conſult with his Princes, and other chief Men, the Thing ſeems to be inconteſtable, that this *Houſe of* Millo was erected for a publick *Senate-Houſe*, tho' there is ſome Reaſon to imagine, that it was employ'd likewiſe for other Purpoſes.

IN

† This City was of a circular Form, ſituate on a much higher Hill, and ſurrounded with a broad, deep *Trench*, hewn (whether by Art, or Nature) out of a natural Rock. This Trench was defended by a *Wall* of great Strength, erected upon its inner Edge, and this Wall was, in like Manner, defended and beautify'd with ſtrong and ſquare *Towers*, at regular Diſtances; which Towers are ſaid to have been built of white Marble, the loweſt 60, and the higheſt 120 Cubits high, but all exactly of one Level on the Top, altho' in themſelves of very different Heights, according to the Declivity of the Ground, on which they ſtood. The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*, Vol. II.

† The Tower, which went under the Name of *David*, was ſituate upon the utmoſt Angle of Mount *Sion*, and the Beauty and fine Proportion of this Fabrick, as well as the Uſe that was made of it, may be fairly inferr'd from that famous Compariſon of *Solomon*'s; *Thy Neck is like the Tower of* David, *built for an Armoury, whereon there hang a Thouſand Bucklers, all Shields of mighty Men*, Cant. iv. 4. *The Tower of Furnaces*, which probably had it's Name from the many Fires, that were lighted up in it at once, anſwer'd all the Ends of a *Pharos*, or Watch-Tower, both to Land and Sea. By the Advantage of its Situation, it could not fail of being an excellent Light-Houſe both to the *Mediterranean*, and *Red-Sea*, and was probably ſo contriv'd, as to illuminate a great Part of the City likewiſe, and in that Reſpect, was not only a glorious Ornament, but of excellent Uſe. The *Houſe of the Mighty* was a Palace, erected by *David*, in Honour of his *Worthies*, or Chieftains in War, in which they had Apartments, according to their Reputation and Merit in Arms, were always ready at Hand, for Counſel or Aid, as the King's Affairs requir'd, and at leiſure Hours, by ſuperintending and inſtructing the Youth in their Military Exerciſes, anſwer'd all the Purpoſes of a *Royal Academy*, for the Science of War. The Hiſtory of the Life of King *David*, Vol. II.

(g) 2 Kings xii. 20. (h) 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. (i) 1 Kings ix. 15. (k) 2 Kings xii. 20.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Christ. 1023, &c.

In the Reign of *Hezekiah*, when *Sennacherib* came againſt *Jeruſalem* with a Purpoſe to beſiege it, the King took Counſel with his Princes, and, among other Things, that were thought proper for his Defence, 'tis ſaid, (*l*) *that he built up all the Wall that was fallen, and repaired* Millo, *and made Darts and Shields in Abundance.* From whence we may infer, that this *Millo* was a Place of great Conſequence to the Strength of *Jeruſalem*, and was very probably, made to ſerve two Purpoſes, *i. e.* to be both a *Parliament-Houſe*, and an *Arſenal.*

The Palace, which *David* built for himſelf, (to which was adjoin'd that which his Son built for the King of *Egypt*'s Daughter) muſt needs have been a very magnificent Structure, ſince he had both his (*m*) Workmen and Materials ſent him † from *Tyre*, which, at that Time, ſurpaſs'd all other Nations in the Art of Building: But of this, we can give no other Account, than that it ſtood *weſtward* from the Temple, and conſiſted of a large ſquare Court, defended by Flankers, from one of which was the Deſcent by Stairs into the Gardens, which, in all Probability, were water'd by the Fountain of *Siloam.*

Its Fountains. This Fountain of *Siloam* riſes juſt under the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, on the *eaſt* Side thereof, between the City and the Brook *Kidron*; and in all Probability was the ſame with the Fountain *Enrogel*, or the *Fuller*'s *Fountain*, whereof we find Mention (*n*) in *Joſhua*, and in the Books of *Samuel*, and the *Kings.* Some Travellers will have it, that the Water of this Fountain is *brackiſh*, and has not a good Taſte; but the Prophet *Iſaiah*, when he utters the Complaint of God againſt the *Jews*, (*o*) *foraſmuch as this People refuſeth the Waters of* Shiloah, *which go ſoftly*, &c. ſeems to denote the contrary. However this be, St *Jerom* himſelf affirms, that the Waters of this Fountain made the Valley, through which they ran, (as watering the Gardens and Plantations that were there) very pleaſant and delightful. From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

The Fountain of *Gihon*, which ſprings very probably from an adjacent Hill of the ſame Name, was on the *weſt* Side of *Jeruſalem*; and as King *Hezekiah* (*p*) order'd the *upper Channel* of this Fountain to be convey'd into *Jeruſalem*, that when the City was beſieg'd, the Enemy might not have the Benefit of its Waters; ſo we need not doubt, but (*q*) that that other Spring of *Siloam* was, in like Manner, convey'd into the City, and that, for the Convenience of its Inhabitants, they were both, in ſeveral Places, diſtributed (*r*) into *Pools*; tho' ſome make that of *Siloam* to be without the Walls.

The Brook *Kidron* runs in the Valley of *Jehoſaphat*, on the *Eaſt* of *Jeruſalem*, between the City, and the Mount of *Olives.* It has uſually no great Quantity of Water in it, and is frequently quite dry; but, upon any ſudden Rains, it ſwells exceedingly, and runs with great Impetuoſity. It was indeed of ſingular Service to the *antient* City, as it receiv'd its Common-Sewers, and, upon every ſuch violent Flood, empty'd them into the *Dead-Sea.*

Its Mountains. The Mount of *Olives*, which doubtleſs had its Name from the great Quantity of *Olive-Trees* that grew there, was ſituated to the *Eaſt* of *Jeruſalem*, and parted from the City only by the Valley of *Jehoſaphat*, and the Brook *Kidron*; for which Reaſon, it is ſaid to be a *Sabbath-Day's Journey*, i. e. about a Mile from it. It was on this Mountain, that *Solomon* built Temples to the Gods of the *Ammonites*, and of the *Moabites*, in Complaiſance to his Wives, who were Natives of theſe Nations;

(*l*) 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. (*m*) 1 Chron. xiv. 1.

† This muſt be underſtood of the *Old Tyre*, which was ſituate upon the *Continent*, and where the Temple of *Hercules* ſtood, of whoſe *Antiquity Herodotus* talks ſo much; and not of the *New Tyre*, which ſtood upon a neighbouring Iſland, but was not built until the Days of *Solomon*. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word.

(*n*) Joſh. xv. 7. 2 Sam. xvii. 17. and 1 Kings i. 9. (*o*) Iſaiah viii. 6. (*p*) 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.
(*q*) *Lamy*'s Introduction, lib. i. c. 3. (*r*) John ix. 7.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

Nations; and for this Reaſon it is likewiſe called in Scripture, (*s*) the *Mount of Corruption*, becauſe ſuch as follow vain Idols, are frequently ſaid in Scripture *to corrupt themſelves*. (*t*) Some indeed have imagin'd, that this *Mount of Corruption* was a diſtinct Place, but the Matter of Fact is, that *Mount Olivet* had three *Summits*, or was made up of three ſeveral Mountains, rang'd one after another, from *North* to *South*. The Middle *Summit* was that, from which our Lord *aſcended*; towards the *South* was that, whereon *Solomon* (*u*) *ſet up his Abominations*; and towards the *North* was the higheſt of all, (*x*) which was commonly called *Galilee*.

MOUNT *Calvary*, which, in all Appearance, had its Name * from the Similitude it bore to the Figure of a Skull, or Man's Head, was to the *Weſt* of the antient *Jeruſalem*, juſt without the Gates: And, as our Saviour ſuffer'd there, we may preſume it was the common Place, where Criminals of all Kinds were generally executed.

Its Vallies.

THE *Valley of Hinnon*, or of the *Sons of Hinnon*, lay to the *South* of the City, and was remarkable for the cruel and barbarous Worſhip of *Moloch*, where Parents made *their Children paſs thro' the Fire*, or be *burnt in the Fire*, by Way of Sacrifice to that Idol; and where it was uſual to have muſical Inſtruments (from whence it obtain'd likewiſe the Name of *Tophet*, the *Hebrew* Word *Toph* ſignifying the ſame as *Tympanum* in *Latin*, and *Timbrel* in *Engliſh*) to drown the lamentable Shrieks of the Children thus ſacrific'd. In this Place there was afterwards kept a perpetual Fire, to conſume the dead Carcaſſes and Excrements, which were brought from *Jeruſalem*; and therefore our Saviour, alluding to this, calls *Hell* by the Name of *Ge-henna*, or *the Valley of* Hinnon.

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

THE *Valley of Jehoſaphat*, which is likewiſe called *the Valley of Kidron*, becauſe of the above-mention'd Brook which runs through it, lies on the *Eaſt* of *Jeruſalem*, between the City, and the Mount of *Olives*. Our Saviour indeed aſcended from this Mount; but the Notion is very extravagant, that, when he returns again, he will judge the World in this Valley, merely becauſe the Prophet *Joel* hath ſaid, (*y*) *I will gather all Nations, and will bring them into the Valley of* Jehoſaphat, *and will plead with them for my People*; for, what is there called *the Valley of Jehoſaphat*, is not a *proper*, but an *appellative* Name, and denotes no more, than the *Judgment of God*.

THERE is another Valley, that the Scripture makes early Mention of, and that is, (*z*) *the Valley of Shaveh*, which is likewiſe called *the King's Dale*, where *Melchizedeck met* Abraham, *in his Return from the Slaughter of Chederlaomer*. According to *Joſephus*, it was, in his Time but about two Furlongs diſtant from *Jeruſalem*, and for this Reaſon perhaps, it has been thought by ſome, to be no other, than the Valley of *Jehoſaphat*; tho' others make it different, yet ſo, as to come up near to the ſaid Valley, and to lie on the *South-Eaſt* Part of the City, not far from the King's Gardens. (*a*) Why it obtain'd the Name of the *King's Dale*, whether it was from its near Situation to the King's Palace and Gardens, or from its being the Place, where the Kings were wont to exerciſe themſelves, or,

(*s*) 2 Kings xxiii. 13. (*t*) *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament. (*u*) 2 Kings xxiii. 13. (*x*) Vide *Reland*'s Palæſt.

* Some formerly have been of Opinion, that this Mount was called *Calvary*, becauſe the *Head* of the firſt Man in the World was bury'd there, and that our Saviour was crucify'd in the ſame Place; that his Blood, running down upon the Body of this Perſon, might reſtore him to Life, and procure him the Favour of a Reſurrection. To ſupport this Tradition, they tell us, that *Noah*, having preſerv'd *Adam*'s Body in the Ark, diſtributed the ſeveral Parts of it to his Children, and, as a particular Favour, gave the Skull, or Head, to *Shem*, who was to be the Parent of that holy Stock, from whom the *Meſſias* was to come; and that *Shem*, with a Spirit of Foreſight, bury'd the Skull in *Calvary*, where he knew the *Meſſias* would be crucify'd. But neither the antient Fathers, nor any modern Authors, that mention this *Tradition*, were ever perſuaded of its Truth; and (without any Diſreſpect to them) we may look upon all this as mere Fiction. *Calmet's* Dictionary, under the Word *Calvary*.

(*y*) Joel iii. 2. (*z*) Gen. xiv. 17, 18. (*a*) *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III.

A. M. 3981. &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023. &c.

or, at leaſt, to entertain themſelves with ſeeing others perform their Exerciſes of Running, Riding, and the like, is not agreed, and very likely will never be determin'd.

Its Gates.

There were ſeveral Gates belonging to the antient *Jeruſalem*, that are mention'd in Scripture, but it is no eaſy Matter to diſcover where their particular Situation was. There is Reaſon to believe likewiſe, that their Names have been vary'd, or that one and the ſame Gate has gone under different Appellations; and, as there were ſeveral *Circuits* of Walls in the City, which had their reſpective Gates, it is more than probable, that ſome of theſe Gates did not lead out of the City into the Country. *The Gate of the Valley*, which doubtleſs had its Name from leading into ſome Valley, (and, * as Travellers will have it) to the Valley of *Jehoſaphat*, was ſituate on the *Eaſt* Side of the City.

The *Dung-gate*, which ſeems to have taken its Name from the *Dung* and Filth of the Beaſts, that were ſacrific'd at the Temple, being carried out of it, was probably the ſame with what is now ſo called, and ſtands on the *Eaſt* Side of the City likewiſe.

The *Water-gate*, which took its Name from its Uſe, becauſe thro' it was the Water brought to ſerve the City and the Temple, was (*b*) on the ſame Side; and ſo was

The *Gate of the Fountain*, (ſo called from its Nearneſs to the Fountain of *Siloam*) only inclining a little towards the *South*.

The *Gate of Ephraim*, which open'd to the main Road, leading to the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and from it deriv'd its Name, ſtood on the *North* Side of the City, becauſe on that Side was that Tribe ſeated; (*c*) tho' others had rather place it on the *Weſt*. From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

The *Horſe-gate*, *Sheep-gate*, and *Fiſh-gate* are ſuppos'd by ſome to have had their Denominations from the ſeveral Markets of theſe Creatures, that were kept there. The *Horſe* and *Sheep-gates* were both on the *Eaſt* Side, not far from the Palace and the Temple; and the *Fiſh-gate* was on the *North*, tho' ſome, who think it had its Name from the *Fiſh* that were brought from the *Mediterranean-Sea*, had rather place it on the *Weſt* Side.

Lastly, *The High-gate*, or *the Gate of Benjamin*, ſo called from its Situation towards the Land or Tribe of *Benjamin*, is ſuppos'd by ſome to have been the *principal* Gate of the Royal Palace; but from what we read, (*d*) concerning *Jeremiah*'s being groſſly abus'd near this Gate, it appears to have been ſituated by *the Houſe of the Lord*.

Its royal Sepulchres.

Thus we have paſs'd through moſt of the Gates of this antient City; and on the *North* Side of it, (*without* the Walls *now*, but *then* probably *within* them) we meet with ſome *ſubterraneous* Chambers, that are wonderfully magnificent, and at preſent, called the *Sepulchres of the Kings*, (*e*) of which ſome late Travellers give us a Deſcription to this Effect: —— "When you "come to the Place, you paſs through "an Entry, hew'd out of a Rock, "which admits you into an open Court "about twenty ſix Feet ſquare, all cut "out of the Rock, which is of ſolid "Marble, and ſerves inſtead of Walls. "On the Left-Hand of this *Court* is a "*Portico* nine Paces long, and four broad, "(with

* Our Countryman, Mr *Sandys*, is of Opinion, that the *Gate of the Valley*, was formerly the ſame with what is now called *St Stephen's Gate*, not far from the *Golden* Gate, or great Gate, which leads into that, which was formerly the *Court of the Temple*. He likewiſe ſuppoſes, that this Gate of St *Stephen's* was formerly called the *Sheep-Gate*; but into this Opinion perhaps he might be led by the Nearneſs of St *Stephen's* Gate to the Pool of *Bethesda*, where the Sacrifices were waſh'd, before they were brought to the Prieſt to be offer'd: And therefore, ſince the *Valley Gate*, and the *Sheep-Gates* are diſtinctly mention'd by *Nehemiah*, we cannot but think, that they muſt have been different Gates. *Wells*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. III.

(*b*) Nehem. iii. 26.
(*c*) Explication du nouveau Plan de l'ancienne *Jeruſalem*, par M. *Calmet*.
(*d*) Jer. xx. 2.
(*e*) Vid. *Thevenot*'s Voyages, Part I. lib. ii. c. 4. and *Maundrell*'s Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jeruſalem*.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

" (... round ... Rock, a... ſupport it. " there is a P... " which (when ... it with ſome D... " large Chambe... " ty Feet ſqu... " are ſo ex... " ſo juſt, ...*lets*, could build ... " *vels* an... " mor... " pa... " ... and all of the ſame Fabrick with " ...e firſt, except that the two innermoſt " are deeper than the reſt, and have a " Deſcent of about ſix or ſeven Steps into " them. In every one of theſe Rooms " (except the firſt) were *Coffins* of Stone, " plac'd in *Niches*, along the Sides of " the Room, and amount in all to about " fifty."

THIS perhaps is the only real Work that now remains of the *Old Jeruſalem*; and, what makes it juſtly look'd upon as a Wonder, is, that the Ceiling, the Doors, as well as all the reſt, their Hinges, their Poſts, their Frames, *&c.* are all cut out of the ſame continu'd Rock. It may therefore be worth our enquiring a little in what Manner theſe Structures were employ'd, and who poſſibly might be the Perſons, that were repoſited in them.

And who were bury'd in them.

THAT theſe *ſubterraneous* Structures were not the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Judah*, the Generality of thoſe that have inſpected them are agreed, becauſe the ...*ſlept* ... *in the chief* ... *of* David, is ... the Place, whe... immediately born ... not repoſited in th... were buried: But it is ... bable (and what both th... *Arabick* Verſions ſeem to co... by *the Sons of* David here, we ... underſtand his *immediate* Sons, prope... called, but the Kings rather, that ſu... ceeded him. This is a Form of Speech frequently made uſe of by the ſacred Writers: And therefore the Senſe of *Hezekiah's being buried in the Sepulchres of the Sons of* David, muſt be, that he was buried in the Sepulchres of the Kings *deſcended from* David.

THE more probable Opinion, therefore, is that of *Le Bruyn*, who ſuppoſes, that theſe *Grots* were the Sepulchres of *Manaſſeh*, his Son *Amon*, and his Grandſon *Joſiah*, Kings of *Judah*. Of *Manaſſeh* the Scripture tells us expreſſly, that (*b*) *he was buried in the Garden of his own*

(*f*) 1 Kings ii. 10. and xi. 43.

" *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, who wrote about the Year 1173, relates, that not above fifteen Years before, a Wall, belonging to Mount *Sion*, fell down, and the Prieſts ſet twenty Men to work upon it. Two of theſe Workmen, being one Day left alone, took up a Stone, which open'd a Paſſage into a *ſubterraneous* Place, into which they enter'd. There they found a Palace, ſupported by Marble Pillars, and cruſted over with Gold and Silver. At the Entrance was a Table, and upon this Table a Golden Crown and Sceptre. This, *ſay the* Jews, was *David*'s Monument, and oppoſite to it was *Solomon*'s, adorn'd in the like Manner. As they were attempting to penetrate farther, they were overſet by a *Whirlwind*, and remain'd ſenſeleſs till the Evening, when they heard a Voice, bidding them ariſe, and begone. *Benjamin* aſſures us, that he had this Story from the Mouth of one *Abraham*, a *Phariſee*, who, *as he ſaid*, had been conſulted about this Event by the *Patriarch* of *Jeruſalem*, and declar'd, that this was *David*'s Monument. But the whole of this Account has ſo much the Air of a Fable, that it is needleſs to confute it. *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *David*.

(*g*) 2 Chron. xxxii. 33. (*b*) 2 Kings xxi. 18, 26.

begin From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 Kings viii.

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were three
bits, or about
et high, before
Level of the *Tem-*
moſt noble Proſ-
Part of the City,
s impoſſible to
g this Foun-
to tell how
Places be remov'd, and in
to bring it to an exact Square
Height: But when we conſider,
were 180,000 Workmen, for ſeven
and an Half, conſtantly employ'd,
cannot but admire what Buſineſs could be
found for ſo many Hands to do; and yet,
when we reflect on the Vaſtneſs of this
Fabrick, it would make one no leſs won-
der, how, in ſo ſhort a Time, it could
poſſibly be compleated. " For the Foun-
" dation (as *Joſephus* tells us) was laid pro-
" digiouſly deep, and the Stones were not
" only of the largeſt Size, but hard and
" firm enough to endure all Weathers, and
" be Proof againſt the Worm. Beſides this,
" they were ſo mortis'd into one another,
" and ſo wedg'd into the Rock, that the
" Strength and Curioſity of the *Baſis* was
" not leſs admirable, than the intended
" *Superſtructure*, and the one was every
" Way anſwerable to the other."

in the
of Uzza,
herefore, ſince
father were bu-
there is Reaſon to
was here buried like-
conſidering, that, in one
aneous Rooms, (as *Le Bruyn*
hich ſeem'd to be more lofty
reſt, there were three *Coffins* cu-
ly adorn'd with carv'd Works, which
took to be the Coffins of theſe three
Kings.

BUT of all the Buildings, that antient *Jeruſalem* had to boaſt of, the *Temple*, which *David* deſign'd, and *Solomon* perfected, was the moſt magnificent. We are not however to imagine, that this Temple was built like one of our Churches; for it did not conſiſt of one ſingle Edifice, but † of ſeveral Courts and Buildings, which took up a great deal of Ground. The Place whereon it was erected, was the Top of Mount *Moriah*, and the Building all together made an exact *Square* of eight hundred Cubits, or one thouſand four hundred and ſixty Feet long on each Side, exactly fronting the *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, *North*, and *South*.

(*k*) TO make this Building more firm

THE *Ground-Plot*, upon which the Temple was built, was a Square of ſix hundred Cubits every Way. It was encompaſs'd with a Wall of ſix Cubits high, and the ſame in Breadth, and contain'd ſeveral Buildings for different Uſes, ſurrounded with Cloyſters ſupported by Marble Pillars. Within this Space was the *Court of the Gentiles* fifty Cubits wide, and

(*i*) 2 Chron. xxxv. 24.

† Theſe ſeveral Parts of the Temple, the *Greeks* are very careful to diſtinguiſh by different Names. What was properly the Temple, they called ὁ ναὸς; and the Courts, and other Parts of the Temple, τὸ ἱερὸν. Thus when *Zacharias* is ſaid to have gone into the Temple to burn Incenſe, *Luke* i. 9. (which was done in the *Sanctum*) the Word is ναὸς; but when it is ſaid, that *Anna* the Propheteſs departed not from the Temple, *Luke* ii. 37. (*i. e.* liv'd in that Part of the *Court of the Iſraelites*, which was appropriated to religious Women) the *Greek* Word is ἱερὸν. And this Obſervation holds good all through the New Teſtament. *Lamy*, de Tabern. lib. v. c. 5.

(*k*) *Bedford*'s Chronology, lib. iv. c. 5.

THE HOLY OF HOLIES, IN

2

The Ark of ỹ Covenant shewing ỹ barrs on ỹ sides [1K. VIII. 8]. The Cherubims above on ỹ covenant each with two wings without hands, and a Cloud above be-

-tween ỹ Cherubims, which seems to shine, and to be, as it were, embraced by the wings of the Cherubims. according to Schaccus, & others.

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

To the most Rev.d Father in God, WILLIAM Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY, this Plate is most humbly Inscrib'd, by his Lordsh.ps most dutifull Son & Servant.

Tho.s Stackhouse.

A. M. 2981, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 1023, &c.

nd adorn'd, in like Manner, with Cloy-ers and Pillars. To ſeparate this Court om *the Court of the Iſraelites*, there was Wall of five hundred Cubits ſquare. he Court of the *Iſraelites* was an hundred ubits. It was pav'd with Marble of fferent Colours, and had four Gates, to ery Quarter one, and each riſing with Aſcent of ſeven Steps. To ſeparate is Court from the *Court of the Prieſts*, ere was a Wall of two hundred Cubits uare; and the Prieſts Court was an ndred Cubits, encompaſs'd with Cloy-rs, and Appartments, where the Prieſts, at attended the Service of the Temple, ere us'd to live. This Court had but ree Gates, to the *Eaſt*, to the *North*, d to the *South*, and were approach'd by Aſcent of eight Steps. Theſe Courts ere all open, and without any Covering, t, in caſe of Rain, or other bad Wea-er, the People could retire under the oyſters, that were ſupported with Rows Pillars, and went round every Court. the *Iſraelites Court*, over-againſt the te of the *Prieſts Court*, was erected a rone for the King, (which was a mag-ficent *Alcove*) where he ſeated himſelf en he came to the Temple. In *the ieſts Court* was the Altar of Burnt-Offer-gs, a great deal larger than that of the *bernacle*, having *ten* brazen Lavers, vereas the Tabernacle had but *one*, and *ea of Braſs* (which the *Tabernacle* had) ſupported by twelve Oxen.

ON the *Weſt* Side of the *Altar of Burnt-Cerings*, there was an Aſcent of twelve ps to what we may properly call the *mple*; and this conſiſted of *three* Parts, t *Porch*, the *Sanctuary*, and the *Holy of Holies*. The *Porch* was about twelve Cubits long, and twenty broad, at Entrance of which ſtood the two fam Pillars *Jachan* and *Boaz*, whoſe Nam import, that *God alone was the Support the Temple*; and its Gate was fourte Cubits wide. The *Sanctuary*, or *Na* of the Temple, was forty Cubits lo and twenty broad, wherein were the *tar of Incenſe*, and the *Table of Sh Bread*; but becauſe the Temple was lar and wanted more Light than the *Tab nacle*, inſtead of *one*, it had *ten go Candleſticks*. The *Holy of Holies* wa Square of twenty Cubits, wherein plac'd the *Ark of the Covenant*, contain the *two Tables of Stone*, wherein G had engraven his ten Commandmen but inſtead of *two Cherubims* (as were the Tabernacle) in the Temple there w *four*.

ROUND about the Temple, and agai the Walls thereof (as *Joſephus* tells were built thirty *Cells*, or little Hou which ſerv'd in the Way of ſo many *B treſſes*, and were, at the ſame Time, ſmall Ornament to it; for there were Sto of theſe Cells one above another, whe the *ſecond* was narrower than the *firſt*, the *third* than the *ſecond*, ſo that t *Roofs* and *Baluſtrades*, being within e other, made three different Terraſſes (were) † upon which one might v round the Temple. Within, theſe Houſes were *ceiled* with Cedar, their W were wainſcoted with the ſame, and belliſh'd with Carving, and Fretwo overlaid with Gold, which, with th dazzling Splendor, made every Th about them look glorious.

UPON the Whole then, we may o ſerve, (*l*) that the Glory of this Temp di

The Temple itſelf, ſtrictly ſo called, had two *Stories*, the upper of which was rais'd quite above theſe little Houſe their Roofs; for their Roofs reach'd no higher than the Top of the *firſt* Story. The ſecond Story, which ha building adjoining to its Side, made a large Room over the *Sanctuary*, and the *Holy of Holies*, of equal Dimen ſi with them; and 'tis no improbable Opinion, that this was the *upper Chamber*, in which the *Holy Ghoſt* wa p'd to deſcend upon the *Apoſtles* in a viſible Manner. This *upper Room* was appropriated to the pious *Laity*, as a Pl for them to come and pay their Devotions in; and therefore it ſeems very likely, that the *Apoſtles* were here w other devout Perſons, while the Temple was full of *Jews* of all Nations, who were come to celebrate the Feaſt o the *Pentecoſt*, and that thereupon they below, hearing the Noiſe, which was occaſion'd by the Shaking of the Pl, ran up to ſee the Cauſe of it, and, to their great Surprize, found the *Apoſtles* diſtinguiſh'd from the other *Jews* at them, both by *the cloven Tongues, which ſat upon each of them*, and by the ſeveral different Languages, that they ſpe. *Lamy*'s Introduction, lib. i. c. 4.

† *Prideaux*'s Connection, Part I. lib. iii.

not conſiſt in the Bulk or Largeneſs of (for in itſelf it was but a ſmall ...le of ilding, no more than an hundred and ...y Feet in Length, and an hundred and ...e in Breadth, taking the Whole of it ...gether from Out to Out, and is exceeded many of our *Pariſh Churches*) but its ...f Grandeur and Excellency lay in its ...-Buildings and Ornaments, in its ...rkmanſhip, which was every where ... curious, and its Overlayings, which ...re vaſt and prodigious; for the Over-...ng of the *Holy of Holies* only (which ...s a Room but thirty Feet ſquare, and ...enty high) amounted to ſix hundred ...lents of Gold, which comes to four ...llions three hundred and twenty Thou-...d Pounds of our *Sterling* Money.

To conclude this Diſſertation then, (*m*) the Words of the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian, The whole Frame, in fine, *ſays he*, " was rais'd upon Stones, poliſh'd to th " higheſt Degree of Perfection, and ſ " artificially put together, that there wa " no Joint to be diſcern'd, no Sign o " any working Tools being upon them " but the whole look'd liker the Wor " of Providence, and Nature, than th " Product of Art, and human Invention " And as for the Inſide, whatever Carv " ing, Gilding, Embroidery, rich Silks " and fine Linnen could do, of thei " there was the greateſt Profuſion. Th " very Floor of the Temple was overlai " with beaten Gold, the Doors wer " large, and proportion'd to the Heigh " of the Walls, twenty Cubits broa " and ſtill Gold upon Gold." *In a Word it was Gold all over, and * nothing wa wanting, either within or without, tha might contribute to the Glory, and Mag nificence of the Work.*

From 2 Sam. xix. to 1 King viii.

m) *Jewiſh* Antiq. lib. viii. c. 2.

It is not to be doubted, but that *Solomon* made all the Utenſils and Ornaments of the Temple proportionabl in Number and Richneſs, to that of the Edifice; and yet *Joſephus* ſeems to have carry'd his Account beyo credibility, when he tells us, that there were 10,000 Tables, beſides thoſe of the Shew-Bread; 10,000 Candl s, beſides thoſe in the holy Place; 80,000 Cups for Drink-Offerings; 100,000 Baſons of Gold, and double th ber of Silver: When he tells us, that *Solomon* caus'd to be made 1000 Ornaments for the ſole Uſe of the Hig ; 10,000 Linnen Robes and Girdles, for that of the common Prieſts; and 200,000 more for the *Levites* a icians: When he tells of 200,000 Trumpets, made according to *Solomon*'s Direction, with 200,000 more, ma he Faſhion, that *Moſes* had appointed, and 400,000 muſical Inſtruments of a mixt Metal, between Gold a r, called by the Ancients *Electrum*. Concerning all which, we can only ſay, that the Text is either ſilent, adicts this prodigious Account. Univerſal Hiſtory, Lib. i. c. 7.

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The End of the Fifth Book.

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